

ISLAMIC POLITICAL PARTIES AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

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Summary

Will Islamic political parties dominate in free and fair elections in Muslim-majority countries? Speculation about the future may or may not be accurate, but it is nonetheless relevant that Islamic parties have not fared particularly well in parliamentary elections over the past four decades. Islamic movements have participated in one third of all competitive parliamentary elections in Muslim societies since 1968. The median result for these 151 movements, in a total of 86 elections in 20 countries, is 8.9 percent of votes and 8.1 percent of seats. The fairer the elections are, the worse Islamic parties fare – in the freest elections, the median percent of seats won by Islamic parties is only 6.7 percent. The electoral performance of Islamic movements has improved over time, from a median of 7.0 percent before 2005 to a median of 12.0 percent since then, but the movements themselves have changed too. According to an analysis of 48 electoral platforms, Islamic parties are more likely now to emphasize democracy and gender equality, and to deemphasize the implementation of shari‘a. Islamic movements’ participation in parliamentary elections is no panacea for violence – participation and success in elections does not significantly alter a country’s level of terrorism and civil conflict in the year after elections. However, this analysis suggests that Islamic movements are by no means assured of dominating electoral politics in Muslim-majority societies. In fact, if the recent past is any indication, full democratization appears to stymie most Islamic movements rather than facilitate them.

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ISLAMIC POLITICAL PARTIES AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

Introduction

The participation of Islamist movements in democratic electoral processes is not just an academic subject of study; it is also of direct policy relevance. Over the past two decades, as the “fourth wave” of democratization has spread across the globe,¹ the prospect of Islamists coming to power via elections has sparked debates among policy-makers and observers in the Islamic world and elsewhere. For example, one influential author has suggested recently that Islamic movements would be unstoppable, at least in the Arab world, if they were allowed to compete freely in democratic elections: “Wherever Islamists have been allowed to run for office in Arabic-speaking countries, they have tended to win almost as many seats as the governments have let them contest.”² Another respected observer has written that “a sudden move toward open elections in Muslim-majority countries could bring parties with an Islamic character greater power. The reason for such election results is not that such parties enjoy the overwhelming confidence of the population but that they are often the only organized opposition to a status quo found unacceptable by a growing number of people.”³ Survey evidence of the popularity of Islamic movements supports these considerations. According to the World Values Survey, significant numbers of Muslim respondents in nine countries feel that “good government ... should implement only the laws of the shari‘a.” The percentage agreeing or strongly agreeing with this statement ranged from 44 percent in Bangladesh to 88 percent in Saudi Arabia.⁴

Yet Islamic movements almost never do this well in national elections. Despite the international attention to victories by the Islamic Salvation Front in Algeria (1991), the Justice and Development Party in Turkey (2002 and 2007), and the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) in Palestine (2006), these are rare occurrences. It is far more common for Islamic parties to lose. This paper examines the full record of Islamic party performance in parliamentary elections over the past four decades, looking beyond this handful of high-profile cases, and finds that most Islamic parties are unable to attract more than a small fraction of Muslim voters.

¹ Charles Kurzman, “Waves of Democratization,” *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Vol. 33, No. 1, Spring 1998, pp. 42-64.

² Noah Feldman, “Why Shariah?” *New York Times Magazine*, March 16, 2008, p. 48.

³ Richard Haass, “Toward Greater Democracy in the Muslim World,” *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 3, 2003, p. 144.

⁴ Ronald Inglehart et al., *World Values Survey*, 4th Wave, 2000-2006, worldvaluessurvey.org. The countries are Algeria (72 percent in 2002), Bangladesh (44 percent in 2002), Egypt (80 percent in 2000 and 72 percent in 2002), Indonesia (50 percent in 2001), Iraq (55 percent in 2004 and 48 percent in 2006), Jordan (79 percent in 2001), Nigeria (53 percent in 2000), Pakistan (62 percent in 2001), Saudi Arabia (88 percent in 2003). We thank Mansoor Moaddel for making the latest version of this dataset available to us.

How Many Elections Have Islamic Parties Participated in?

Election results are drawn primarily from the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), whose *Chronicle of Parliamentary Elections*, beginning in 1967 and now available on-line at www.ipu.org, offers summaries of almost every parliamentary election of the past four decades. Where IPU data is incomplete, additional results were drawn from academic and other country-specific sources.⁵ (A full list of Islamic party electoral results is included in the appendix.) During this period, 46 of 51 countries with significant Muslim communities – we use a threshold of 30 percent of more of the national population, though higher and lower thresholds make no substantive difference in the results -- held 258 parliamentary elections. Not all of these elections were free and fair, by any means (several different assessments of electoral fairness are discussed below). Uzbekistan, for example, has held nominally competitive elections since 1994. Elections there are so meaningless, however, that in the years following the country's first parliamentary elections, a political science professor in the capital was unable to list all four legal parties; ordinary citizens were hard pressed to name a single one.⁶ A surprising number of elections, however, have been at least partly free, allowing opposition parties to participate, albeit often with restrictions (we include these restrictions in our analysis).

Among these opposition parties are Islamic movements, by which we mean organized efforts to increase the role of Islam in political life. Some of these parties, though not all, seek to impose shari'a regulations (just under half of the Islamic party platforms collected for this project include such goals, as discussed below). At least one party, the Justice and Development Party in Turkey, has removed almost every reference to Islam in its electoral platforms, and refers to itself instead as a conservative party.⁷ It is included in this study nonetheless, because it grew out of an overtly Islamic movement and because its

⁵ Among the most valuable supplementary sources were Bhuian Md. Monoar Kabir, *Politics and Development of the Jamaat-e-Islami, Bangladesh* (New Delhi, India: South Asian Publishers, 2006); Kenneth Katzman, *Afghanistan: Elections, Constitution, and Government* (Washington, D.C.: CRS Report for Congress, 2006); Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2001); 'Abd al-Hadi al-Khwaja and 'Abbas Mirza al-Murshid, *Dirasat al-Tanzimat wa al-Jam'iyat al-Siyasiyya fi al-Bahrain* (Beirut, Lebanon: al-Markaz al-Lubnani li-'l-Dirasat wa al-Buhuth, 2007); Ghanim el Najjar, "The 2008 Parliamentary Elections in Kuwait: Change without Renewal," Carnegie Middle East Center, October 20, 2008; Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr, *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution: The Jama'at-i Islami of Pakistan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Farish A. Noor, *Islam Embedded: The Historical Development of the Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party PAS, 1951-2003*, 2 volumes (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 2004); Mary Ann Tétreault, *Stories of Democracy: Politics and Society in Contemporary Kuwait* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

⁶ Charles Kurzman, "Uzbekistan: The Invention of Nationalism in an Invented Nation," *Critique: Journal for Critical Studies of the Middle East*, No. 15, Fall 1999, p. 94.

⁷ M. Hakan Yavuz, *Secularism and Muslim Democracy in Turkey* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

agenda includes the right to assert one's religious identity in the public sphere. If this party is excluded from the study, the average performance of Islamic parties drops even lower.⁸

Of the 258 parliamentary elections held in Muslim societies over the past 40 years, 86 involved at least one Islamic party or movement (including movements that run a slate of candidates as independents). Thirty-two of these 86 elections involved two or more Islamic parties, for a total of 151 Islamic party electoral choices over the past four decades.⁹ As these statistics indicate, two thirds of the elections in Muslim countries did not include Islamic parties. The reasons for this non-participation are varied. Some countries ban virtually all opposition parties. Other countries, such as the former French colonies of West Africa, allow secular parties but have constitutional bans on religiously-based political parties.¹⁰ Other countries have banned all parties (as in Afghanistan's 2005 election) or religiously-based parties (as in Egypt) but allow party-affiliated candidates to run and serve in parliament as independents – these elections are included in the current study. In other countries, such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, non-Islamic parties may be popular or entrenched enough to discourage Islamic parties from forming. Or the Islamic movement may refuse to participate in elections that it considers illegitimate (such as Hamas in 1996, though it chose to participate in the next Palestinian parliamentary elections in 2006) or rigged (such as the Muslim Brotherhood in 1990, though it ran independent candidates in Egyptian parliamentary elections in other years). Militant wings of the Islamic movement have frequently condemned participation in elections, on some combination of religious grounds (usually claiming that elections usurp divine authority) and strategic grounds (usually claiming that elections undermine prospects for revolution). We have not attempted to assess which of these conditions held in each of the 172 elections in which Islamic parties did not participate.

When Do Islamic Parties Participate in Parliamentary Elections?

The proportion of elections involving Islamic parties grew from 28 percent in the 1960s through the 1980s to 34 percent in the 1990s and 35 percent in the first nine years of the 2000s. As one might guess, the percentage of elections involving Islamic parties was higher among more democratic countries than among less democratic countries: 48 percent of all elections in countries with democratic Polity codes (scores of 6-10) included Islamic parties, as compared with 28 percent of all elections in countries with

⁸ The Justice Party in Kosovo (Partia e Drejtësisë) is another party that calls itself “democratic conservative” and makes few references to Islam in its platform (see www.drejtësia.org), though it has attended international conferences with Islamic parties. It is excluded from consideration here on similar grounds, since it did not grow out of an explicitly Islamic party. If this party were included, the average performance of Islamic parties would decrease further, since it won only 0.6 to 1.7 percent of votes and 1 or 0 parliamentary seats in elections of 2001, 2004, and 2007.

⁹ This count includes independent Islamists as a single choice in each of six Kuwaiti elections (1985, 1992, 1996, 1999, 2003, and 2008).

¹⁰ Hassan Abdou, *Le statut des partis politiques dans les états de l'Afrique de l'Ouest francophone* (Villeneuve d'Ascq, France: Presses universitaires du septentrion, 1999), pp. 440-459.

lower Polity scores.¹¹ The same pattern holds for the Freedom House measure of freedom: Islamic parties participate in 42 percent of elections held in free or partly-free countries, and in 18 percent of elections held in unfree countries.¹²

Although we don't know the reasons for Islamic party non-participation in parliamentary elections in each country, we can examine some of the covariates of participation. Table 1 presents the results of logistic regressions, with robust standard errors, taking Islamic party participation (coded 1 for participation and 0 for non-participation) as the dependent variable. These models also include several control variables for each election year:

Democracy: The Polity IV Project has generated an estimate of democracy for each country in each year from 1800 to 2007. This variable, labeled "Polity," ranges from -10 (maximum autocracy) to +10 (maximum democracy).

Freedom: The Freedom House project has created estimates of freedom for each country in each year from 1972 to 2007. This variable is the average of two scales, political rights and civil liberties, each of which runs from 1 (maximum freedom) to 7 (minimum freedom).

Income: The World Bank's World Development Indicators database includes the most widely used indicator of national income, gross domestic product per capita, for almost every country for year since 1960. This variable is measured in constant U.S. dollars; we have logged the variable to normalize its distribution.¹³

Inequality: The World Income Inequality Database is a comprehensive compilation of the Gini coefficient, the most widely used indicator of income inequality, for a variety of countries for a variety of years since 1965. We have taken the average of the Gini coefficients rated by the database as "high quality" within five years before and after the election year. Gini coefficients range in principle from 0 (maximum equality) to 1 (maximum inequality).¹⁴

Year: The year of the election (1968-2008) is included to estimate a linear effect of time.

Conflict: The Armed Conflict Dataset developed in Scandinavia reports all conflicts resulting in 25 or more battle-related deaths in a given year, from 1946 through 2007. The conflict variable is coded as 0 if there was no conflict meeting the casualty threshold in a given country in the year prior to the election, and 1 if there was a conflict. It also gives a "best estimate" of the total number of battle-related deaths in each of these conflicts, a figure that we have logged in order to

¹¹ Polity codes are drawn from the *Polity IV Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2007*, directed by Monty G. Marshall, <http://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm>.

¹² Freedom House, *Freedom in the World, 1972-2006*, freedomhouse.org.

¹³ World Bank, *World Development Indicators Online*, subscription service.

¹⁴ United Nations University, World Institute for Development Economics Research (WIDER), *World Income Inequality Database V2.0c*, May 2008, <http://www.wider.unu.edu/research/Database/>.

normalize its distribution. We have included only those conflicts that take place within a given country's territory (as opposed to wars fought abroad, which are also reported in the dataset). Please note that this dataset does not indicate whether the conflict is related to Islam in any way – some conflicts in Muslim societies are associated with leftist rebellions, ethnic and regional competition, and other factors.¹⁵

Terrorism: The Global Terrorism Database lists terrorist incidents in each country from 1970 through 2004. We have logged the total number of incidents for each country in the year prior to the election, in order to normalize its distribution. We have also constructed a binary variable to differentiate country-years with any incidents from those with no incidents. Please note that this variable does not indicate whether the terrorist incidents are related to Islam in any way.¹⁶

As shown in Table 1, national income and income equality are consistently associated with Islamic party participation in parliamentary elections: in richer and more equal countries, Islamic parties are more likely to take part in these elections. (The negative coefficient for inequality operates like a double-negative.) Controlling for other factors, later elections are no more likely to include Islamic parties, by contrast with the bivariate trend. Conflict and terrorism both increase the likelihood of Islamic party participation. Democracy and freedom remain positively associated with Islamic party participation when conflict is included in the models, but not when terrorism is included. (The Freedom variable has a negative coefficient because higher numbers indicate lower levels of freedom).

¹⁵ Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) and the Centre for the Study of Civil War at the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO), *Armed Conflict Dataset v4*, 2008, <http://www.prio.no/CSCW/Datasets/Armed-Conflict/UCDP-PRIO>.

¹⁶ National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terror (START), *Global Terrorism Database*, <http://www.start.umd.edu/data/gtd>. We thank the START center for making the country-year totals for 1998-2004 available to us prior to public release of version 2 of the database.

Table 1. Logistic Regression of Islamic Party Participation in Parliamentary Elections, 1968-2008

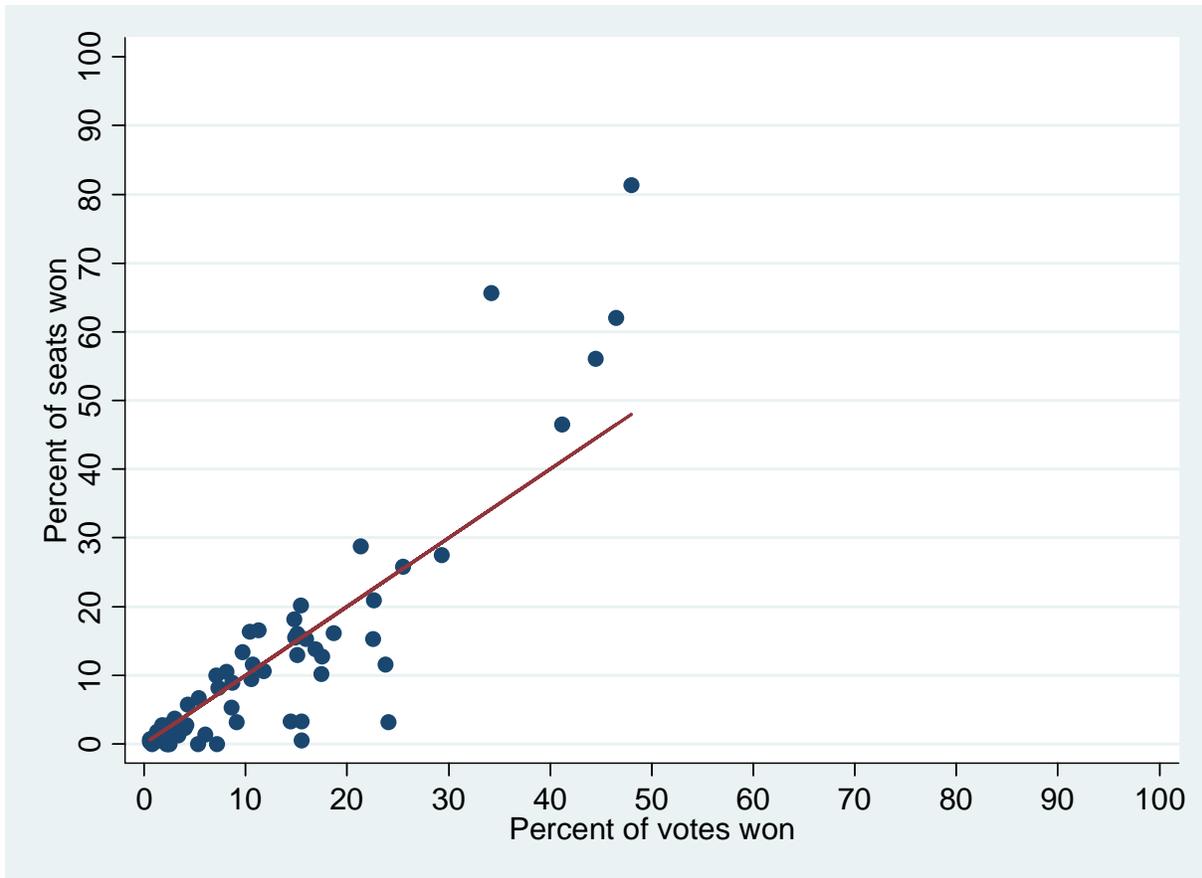
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Democracy	0.12**	0.04		
	0.04	0.05		
Freedom			-0.70*	-0.41
			(0.28)	(0.25)
Income	1.41***	1.47***	1.44***	1.47***
	(0.29)	(0.37)	(0.32)	(0.36)
Inequality	-0.14**	-0.09*	-0.14**	-0.10*
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Year	-0.04	-0.06*	-0.02	-0.05
	(0.036)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Conflict	1.51**		1.50**	
	(0.57)		(0.56)	
Terrorism		0.92***		0.89***
		(0.25)		(0.25)
Constant	80.01	118.6*	36.31	99.39
	(52.20)	(59.68)	(50.58)	(59.07)
Observations	125	125	125	125
Pseudo R-squared	0.32	0.38	0.33	0.39
Notes	Robust standard errors below coefficients. *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05			

When Do Islamic Parties Do Well in Parliamentary Elections?

In the 86 elections in which they participated, Islamic parties have averaged only 12.2 percent of votes and 13.2 percent of the seats in parliament. Even these figures are skewed upwards by the handful of big wins that attract so much attention. A more robust indicator is the median performance: half of the Islamic parties that participated in elections won 8.9 percent or less of the vote and 9.2 percent or less of seats. Aggregating all Islamist parties in the same election gives an average of 20.6 percent of votes and 20.3 percent of seats, or medians of 15.5 percent of votes and 14.8 percent of seats. This is not insignificant representation, but is not dominant.

Data on the percent of votes won by each party is far harder to come by than data on the percent of seats. We were able to obtain voting results for just under half of the parties, as compared with the number of seats for almost all of them. Votes and seats are highly correlated, but there are a handful of instances where the two indicators diverge, as indicated in Figure 1.

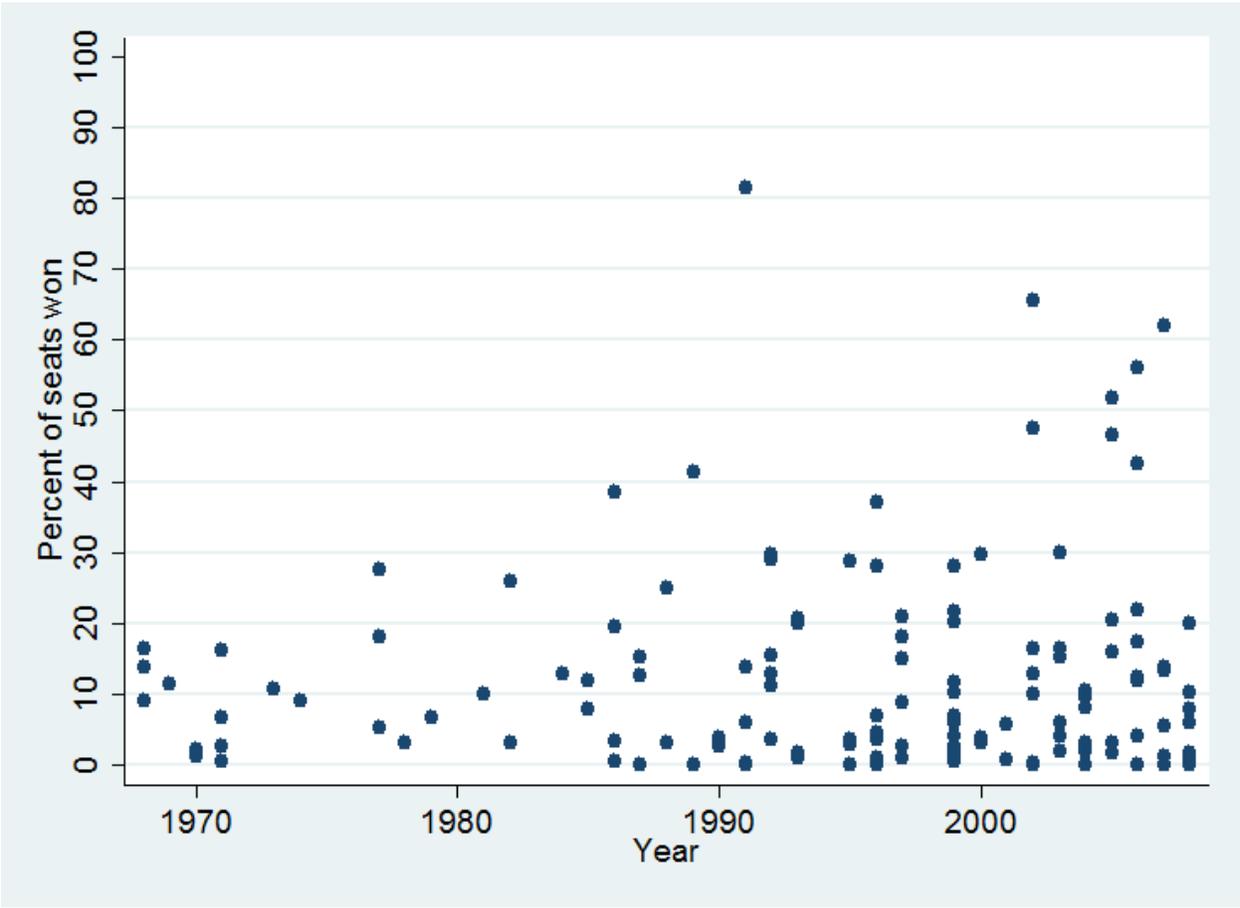
Figure 1. Percent of Votes and Seats in Parliament Won by Islamic Parties



As shown in Figure 1, no party ever received an outright majority of votes. However, several parties receiving considerable pluralities were able to win a majority of the seats in parliament: the Islamic Salvation Front (Algeria, 1991), the Justice and Development Party (Turkey, 2002 and 2007), and the Islamic Resistance Movement (Palestine, 2006). In a handful of cases, the percent of seats was considerably lower than the percent of votes, most notably the Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party (Malaysia, 2004), which received 24 percent of votes and only 3 percent of seats. For the remainder of this analysis, we will focus on the percent of seats, rather than the percent of votes, to reduce missing-data problems.

Gauging by the percentage of seats in parliament, Islamic parties have fared slightly better over time, as indicated in Figure 2, though the increase is not statistically significant. Of the 28 Islamic parties that competed more than once over the past two decades, four increased their representation by five or more percent; six decreased their representation by the same margin; and most have not changed much.

Figure 2. Percent of Seats in Parliament Won by Islamic Parties, 1968-2008



Islamist parties perform similarly in the freest elections, as compared with less free elections, according to several measures of electoral fairness:¹⁷

Political Competition: This variable is one of the indicators developed by the Polity IV Project as an element of its overall democracy scale. It ranges from 1 (suppressed) to 10 (institutionalized electoral).

Political Rights: This measure is one of the two scales developed by Freedom House. Freedom House splits the measure into three categories: free, partly free, and not free.

Election Type: This measure was developed by political scientists Graeme Robertson and Grigore Pop-Eleches, who we thank for making the variable available to us. It is based on the summaries of reports by international election monitoring organizations about each country for each year from 1991 to 2006. The measure includes four categories: unfree, limited freedom, free but some problems, free and fair.

Electoral Fairness: We developed this variable from the International Parliamentary Union’s report on each election in a Muslim society since 1968. The measure includes three categories specific to Islamic parties: Islamic parties are banned but permitted to run candidates as independents; Islamic parties are permitted to contest elections but face significant irregularities or limitations; and Islamic parties are permitted to contest elections that are basically free and fair.

For presentation here, we have dichotomized each of these measures into two categories of elections: Freest and Less Free.¹⁸

Table 2. Median Percent of Parliamentary Seats Gained by Islamic Parties Under Different Levels of Electoral Fairness

	Less Free Elections	Freest Elections
Electoral Fairness (coded for this project)	20.2% of seats in 41 elections	10.5% of seats in 44 elections
Political Competition (Polity)	15.3% of seats in 66 elections	14.4% of seats in 8 elections
Political Rights (Freedom House)	16.2% of seats in 63 elections	5.8% of seats in 6 elections
Election Type (Robertson/Pop-Eleches)	16.4% of seats in 23 elections	20.4% of seats in 20 elections

¹⁷ We do not report results for the electoral fraud variable in the World Bank’s Database of Political Institutions (version released April 2008), because it identifies fraud in implausibly few elections (8 of 71) in which Islamic parties took part during the years covered by the database (1975-2006).

¹⁸ For Political Competition, the category Less Free is comprised of categories 1-8; for Political Rights, it combines Partly Free and Not Free; for Election Type, it combines Unfree and Limited Freedom; for Electoral Fairness, it combines Independents and Irregularities.

Table 2 suggests that these measures of electoral fairness may be capturing different phenomena – of the 44 elections that our project deemed basically fair, 38 appeared in the Polity database and only 7 of them received a high Political Competition rating; 35 appeared in the Political Rights database and 6 received a rating of Free. There is more consistency between the Electoral Fairness measure and Electoral Type: the two measures agree on 15 of 19 elections in the Electoral Type database that we deemed basically fair. In any case, three of the four measures show that Islamic parties perform worse in the freest elections than in less free elections. Comparison-of-means tests find that none of these differences are statistically significant. We do not present multivariate regressions for the percent of seats won by Islamic parties because few variables are significant and the models are poor.

This finding runs directly counter to the Western concern that free elections will lead inevitably to Islamic party victories. However, we should offer the caveat that the freeness of elections may be related to the government’s assessment of how popular Islamic parties are. If governments restrict electoral freedoms more in countries where they believe that Islamic parties are popular, then Muslim societies with free elections would tend to be places where Islamic parties are less popular. We have partial evidence that this is the case from the World Values Survey: the countries with the highest rates of respondents supporting shari‘a were more likely to have less-free elections than countries with lower rates of support for shari‘a.

A further caveat is the practice of running partial electoral slates. In a number of countries, Islamic parties run candidates in a limited number of districts so as not to present too great a challenge to the government. Just before elections in Jordan in 2003, a prominent figure in the Islamic movement told a journalist that his party “had assured the palace that they did not seek to gain a majority in the upcoming elections.”¹⁹ Sometimes this limitation is imposed on the party, as in the Lebanese election of 2000, when Hizbullah won 11 of 27 seats reserved for the Shi‘a, but might have won 4 or 5 more seats if Syria had not limited its number of candidates.²⁰ Other times it is hard to know whether partial slates reflect pressure from the government or a calculation by the Islamic party to focus its resources on the districts where it has the best chance of winning, as in Malaysia, where the Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party contested 46 out of 192 seats in 1995 (winning 7) and 63 out of 193 seats in 1999 (winning 27).²¹ It would take more detailed information than we currently have on the 86 elections in which Islamic parties participated to determine the percentage of votes or seats won by Islamic parties in the races where they ran candidates.

¹⁹ Christopher Parker, “Transformation without Transition: Electoral Politics, Network Ties, and the Persistence of the Shadow State in Jordan,” in Iman A. Hamdy, editor, 2004, *Elections in the Middle East: What Do They Mean?* (Cairo, Egypt: American University in Cairo Press, 2004), p. 154.

²⁰ Augustus Richard Norton, *Hezbollah* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 102. In the 1992 election, Hizbullah left some seats open in order to broker alliances with other parties, according to A. Nizar Hamzeh, “Lebanon’s Hizbullah: From Islamic Revolution to Parliamentary Accommodation,” *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 1993, pp. 321-337.

²¹ Farish A. Noor, *Islam Embedded: The Historical Development of the Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party PAS, 1951-2003* (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 2004), Vol. 2, pp. 772, 780.

Undoubtedly these percentages would be higher than the national-level totals that we report in this paper, but from partial evidence it does not appear that Islamic parties often win more than half of the races that they enter.

What Do Islamic Parties Stand for?

We were able to collect 48 electoral platforms of Islamic parties participating in parliamentary elections during the period 1968-2008. (For a complete list, see the appendix to this report. Digital copies of the platforms are available from the authors upon request.) Many of the recent platforms were located on the Internet; some of the older ones were printed in newspapers, books, and pamphlets. We thank Mounia Bennani-Chraïbi, Michael Herb, Bhuian Md. Monoar Kabir, and the International Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis (International Institute of Social History) in Amsterdam for contributing platforms to this collection, and many others for searching their files and offering suggestions. The authors and several research assistants – we thank Said Abdelrahman, Paul Dionne, and Yektan Türkyılmaz for their work on this aspect of the project – then pulled out quotations from the platforms that spoke to a series of issues that we identified as potentially relevant to the study of Islamic party politics:

1. Does the party call for a violent revolution against the state?
2. Does the party support democracy? Do they define democracy?
- 3a. Does the party require the implementation of the shari‘a? 3b. What is their definition of the shari‘a? 3c. Who will adjudicate disputes over the meaning of the shari‘a?
4. What three issues does the platform consider to be most important?
5. Where does the party stand on women's rights and the implementation of Islamic family law?
6. How does the party propose to treat minorities?
7. Does the party platform propose any welfare programs such as pensions, poverty relief, and medical care for those in need?
8. Is jihad mentioned? If so, in what context?
9. What is the party’s position on the Israel/Palestine conflict?
10. Does the party mention an anti-corruption stance in its platform?
11. Does the party platform propose banning interest based banking?
12. Is the party platform accepting of a free market economy?
13. Is the party platform encouraging towards foreign investment?

Before we discuss the findings, we should mention four caveats about these platforms:

First, these 48 platforms may not be representative of all 151 Islamic parties and movements that have participated in parliamentary elections since 1968. We were only able to locate platforms for one quarter of Islamic parties before 2000, as compared with one half of Islamic parties since then. We were less likely to locate platforms for marginal parties than for successful parties – we have less than a third of the parties that received fewer than 10 percent of seats, but all five of the Islamic parties that won a majority of parliamentary seats.

Second, we do not know how these platforms fit into the electoral context of each country, because we did not collect platforms from non-Islamic parties in the same elections. It is possible that some of the positions we identified in Islamic party platforms were also adopted by other parties. Perhaps a future project might attempt to collect all electoral platforms from Muslim societies.

Third, our coding scheme for these platforms is relatively simple, as compared with the coding procedures for European and other OECD countries adopted by the Manifesto Project/Comparative Manifestos Project.²² The platforms that we have collected vary greatly in length and detail – the shortest is a summary document of less than 300 words, and the longest is more than 100 pages -- and we felt that weighting subjects by the number of sentences or other mechanical procedures would be inappropriate and overly time-consuming.

Fourth, we did not attempt to compare the platforms with the parties' actual record in and out of parliament. Some observers are skeptical that the statements of Islamic parties, including their electoral platforms, reflect their true goals and practices. This project simply examines their statements, and makes no broader claims about what Islamic parties have done or might do in the future.

Nonetheless, this collection is by far the largest sample of Islamic party platforms ever analyzed, and the contents are intriguing. Table 3 provides two sets of information about the 48 Islamic party platforms we have coded: The top line in each cell gives the median percent of seats won by the parties adopting a particular platform position. The bottom line in each cell gives the number of platforms adopting that position.

²² Ian Budge, Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Andrea Volkens, Judith Bara, and Eric Tanenbaum with Richard C. Fording, Derek J. Hearl, Hee Min Kim, Michael McDonald, and Silvia Mendez, *Mapping Policy Preferences. Estimates for Parties, Electors, and Governments 1945-1998* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2001); Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Andrea Volkens, Judith Bara, Ian Budge, and Michael Macdonald, *Mapping Policy Preference II: Estimates for Parties, Electors and Governments in Eastern Europe, the European Union and the OECD, 1990-2003* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2006).

Table 3. Median Percent of Seats in Parliament Won by Islamic Parties, By Platform Position

1. Does the party call for a violent revolution against the state?	No		Yes	
	12.8% of seats (48 platforms)		-- (0 platforms)	
2. Does the party support democracy? Do they define democracy?	Opposition to democracy	No mention of democracy	Secular democracy	Islamic democracy
	-- (0 platforms)	29.6% of seats (11 platforms)	11.7% of seats (24 platforms)	5.7% of seats (13 platforms)
3a. Does the party require the implementation of the shari'a?	No		Yes	
	13.8% of seats (24 platforms)		10.4% of seats (24 platforms)	
3b. What is their definition of the shari'a?	Weak form		Strong form	
	16.4% of seats (7 platforms)		6.0% of seats (17 platforms)	
3c. Who will adjudicate disputes over the meaning of the shari'a?	No mention	Consensus	Singular authority	
	6.0% of seats (9 platforms)	16.4% of seats (11 platforms)	9.5% of seats (4 platforms)	
4. What three issues does the platform consider to be most important?	Issue not among top three:		Issue among top three:	
Economy	13.4% of seats (29 platforms)		3.2% of seats (19 platforms)	
Shari'a	13.7% of seats (31 platforms)		8.0% of seats (17 platforms)	
Islamic morals	12.7% of seats (33 platforms)		13.4% of seats (15 platforms)	
Democracy/ Liberalization	12.7% of seats (37 platforms)		20.2% of seats (11 platforms)	
Political Structure	13.4% of seats (37 platforms)		13.0% of seats (11 platforms)	
National Security and Defense	10.7% of seats (37 platforms)		16.0% of seats (11 platforms)	
Social Welfare	13.6% of seats (38 platforms)		3.5% of seats (10 platforms)	
Justice	13.0% of seats (40 platforms)		6.8% of seats (8 platforms)	
Nationalism/ National Unity	11.7% of seats (42 platforms)		18.1% of seats (6 platforms)	
Israel/ Palestine	11.7% of seats (44 platforms)		18.2% of seats (4 platforms)	
Pan Islamism	13.0% of seats (46 platforms)		2.0% of seats (2 platforms)	
5. Where does the party stand on women's rights and the implementation of Islamic family law?	No mention	Full equality for women	Distinct role for women	
	9.4% of seats (10 platforms)	8.0% of seats (16 platforms)	13.8% of seats (21 platforms)	

6. How does the party propose to treat minorities?	No mention	Full equality	Separate but equal	
	13.0% of seats (22 platforms)	16.0% of seats (23 platforms)	3.2% of seats (3 platforms)	
7. Does the party platform propose any welfare programs such as pensions, poverty relief, and medical care for those in need?	No mention	Limited	Extensive	
	2.6% of seats (2 platforms)	12.7% of seats (33 platforms)	13.8% of seats (13 platforms)	
8a. Is jihad mentioned?	No		Yes	
	10.7% of seats (32 platforms)		16.4% of seats (15 platforms)	
8b. In what context?	Non-violent	Self-defense	Specific case	In general
	37.0% of seats (1 platform)	5.7% of seats (3 platforms)	18.2% of seats (10 platforms)	41.2% of seats (1 platform)
9. What is the party's position on the Israel/ Palestine conflict?	No mention	General support for Muslim freedom movements	Explicit support for Palestinian independence	
	10.4% of seats (19 platforms)	2.6% of seats (6 platforms)	13.8% of seats (23 platforms)	
10. Does the party mention an anti-corruption stance in its platform?	No mention	Briefly	Yes, it is important to the platform	
	20.2% of seats (7 platforms)	13.2% of seats (24 platforms)	10.4% of seats (17 platforms)	
11. Does the party platform propose banning interest based banking?	No	No, but Islamic banking is supported	Yes	
	13.4% of seats (26 platforms)	13.2% of seats (8 platforms)	7.0% of seats (14 platforms)	
12. Is the party platform accepting of a free market economy?	No mention	Limited	Extensive	
	12.0% of seats (12 platforms)	8.0% of seats (15 platforms)	12.9% of seats (21 platforms)	
13. Is the party platform encouraging towards foreign investment?	No mention	Limited	Extensive	
	13.0% of seats (13 platforms)	13.8% of seats (15 platforms)	9.36% of seats (20 platforms)	

To begin with a basic point, none of these 48 platforms supports or threatens violent revolution. However, 15 of the 48 platforms do mention jihad. Most of these use the term in reference to Palestine; one refers to the anti-colonial struggle in Algeria as a jihad, one refers to the anti-Soviet struggle in Afghanistan, and three refer to national defense as jihad. Only one of the platforms refers to jihad in a general way: the Islamic Action Front in Jordan in 1989, whose platform pledges “support for jihad movements in the Islamic world.” The Islamic Action Front’s later platforms (1993, 2003, 2007) do not include this phrase, though they refer to jihad in Palestine and Iraq and to jihad as national defense. Other platforms explicitly reject violent struggle, such as the Jama‘at-e-Islami in Pakistan in 1969: “No party has any right to resort to violence or propagate revolutionary methods to bring about a change in the political life of the country nor to launch any movement to achieve this end by force against the democratic will of the people.”

Most of the platforms (37 of 48) specifically endorse democracy. Of these, most (24 of 37) define democracy in secular terms as selection of governmental leaders by the majority of citizens. Others justify democracy in Islamic terms. The platforms of the Yemeni Association for Reform in 1993 and 1997, for example, refer to “shura democracy” -- shura is a Qur’anic term meaning consultation, which is often taken as a synonym or precursor or justification for electoral democracy. The 1997 platform elaborates the meaning of shura as follows: “The shura which we believe in and which we seek to realise and establish the system of government on, is not a static mold which we try to force on our current situations. It means participation in government and the people’s right to decide on their affairs and choose their rulers, monitoring them and making them accountable and ensuring their adherence -- in the decisions they make and creation of conditions for the nation’s good -- to take the opinion of the people directly or through their representatives, so that no individual or one party monopolises the state to the exclusion of others.”

Half of the platforms in this collection (24 of 48) call for the implementation of shari‘a. This includes a quarter of the platforms that give secular rationales for democracy (6 of 24) and almost all of the platforms that favor Islamic democracy (12 of 13) -- the one exception is the Islamic Action Front in Jordan, whose 2007 platform drops its earlier platforms’ support for shari‘a law (instead, it frames its party vision as stemming from the ultimate goals of the shari‘a, such as protecting life, intellect, freedom, property and the honor of the human being). Of the 24 platforms that call for the implementation of shari‘a, most (17 of 24) take a strong form of the position, arguing that sacred sources should be the sole source of legislation. Other platforms (7 of 24) take the weaker position that no law should go against the shari‘a, or that shari‘a should be a guiding framework for legislation. An example of a strong shari‘a position -- combined with a secular justification for democracy -- is the Justice and Development Party in Morocco, whose 2002 platform emphasizes “the Islamization of the constitution” so that “the text clearly states that the Islamic shari‘a is the ultimate source for all legislation and laws.” At the same time, this platform endorses multi-party competition, peaceful transition of power, constitutional reform, guarantees of freedom and human rights (so long as they do not violate Islamic principles), and the development of civil society. Of the 24 platforms that call for implementation of shari‘a, 9 say nothing about who would decide what constitutes shari‘a; 11 say that shari‘a would be decided according to the Islamic principles of consensus and consultation; and 4 platforms endorse a singular authority of one form or another. The 2007 platform of the Movement for the Society of Peace in Algeria, for example, proposes the creation of the office of Grand Mufti, a chief Islamic legal authority for the country (this platform also declares: “Our objective is the construction of a modern state according to the principles of Islam, of democratic choice,

and of the republican system”). None of the platforms invokes anything like the theocratic system of the Islamic Republic of Iran, not even the platforms of the Party of God in Lebanon, whose leaders have sometimes endorsed the Iranian concept of “governance of the jurisprudent.”

None of the platforms in this collection favors disenfranchisement of women (Islamic parties in Kuwait attempted to prevent the enfranchisement of women in the 1990s and early 2000s, but the two platforms we have from the Kuwaiti Salafi movement in 1992 and 2003 make no mention of this). Just over a third of the platforms (17 of 48) call explicitly for equal rights for women. The 2002 platform of the Justice and Development Party in Turkey, for example, devotes a sub-section to women’s rights: “All necessary measures shall be taken to encourage women to participate in public life. Women shall be encouraged to enroll as members to our Party and to play an active role in politics. Support shall be provided to associations, foundations and non-governmental organizations related to women. Organizations dealing with women’s problems will be consulted when legal arrangements will be made on the subject of women. The prevention of violence, sexual and economic exploitation against women shall be included among priority policies of our Party....” The 2002 platform of the Felicity Party in Turkey, by contrast, mentions women’s rights in passing within a section on family issues, and concludes that “women’s most important problem is the dilemma of [combining] work and family life.” Just under half of the platforms in this collection (21 of 48) emphasize distinct roles for women and men.

Just under half of the platforms (23 of 48) promise to protect the rights of non-Muslim minorities. Of these 23 platforms, all but 3 promise non-Muslims the same rights as Muslims. The 3 platforms describing distinct rights for minorities are from the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt (2000) and the Jama‘at-e-Islami in Pakistan (1969 and 1988). The Jama‘at-e-Islami 1969 platform says that “every non-Muslim minority should be given separate representation on the basis of its population,” and the 1988 platform of the Islamic Democratic Alliance -- which included the Jama‘at-e-Islami -- promises that “minorities will be regulated by their own religious laws, usage and customs.” (We have only a summary of the 2002 platform of the United Action Congress -- which included the Jama‘at-e-Islami -- that made no mention of separate rights for minorities). In Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood’s 2000 platform exempted Jews and Christians from shari‘a law and offered Coptic Christian Egyptians their own system of family law. The party’s 2005 platform, by contrast, promises full equality for Egyptians of all religions.

For each platform in the collection, we coded the three issues that the platform seemed to treat as most important. No single issue occupied the top three for a majority of the platforms: the most frequently mentioned theme was the economy, which was among the top three issues for 19 of 48 platforms. Implementation of shari‘a was next at 17 platforms, followed by improvement of Islamic morals with 15 platforms (taken together, shari‘a and morals were among the top three issues for 28 platforms). Democratization or liberalization was among the top three issues for 11 platforms, as was reform of the political structure. Most of the platforms that treat the economy as a major issue favor economic liberalization as a solution: 13 of the 19 platforms that prioritized economic subjects also supported market-based competition as the organizing principle of economic activity, as compared with 3 of 19 platforms supporting price controls or an active government role in economic distribution (only 8 of 29 platforms that did not prioritize economic issues supported free markets). Similarly, 11 of the 19 platforms prioritizing economic issues also supported engaging more in the global economy, as compared

with 6 of 19 that opposed foreign investment or proposed some measure of economic self-reliance (only 9 of 29 platforms that did not prioritize economic issues supported economic globalization). Only 3 of the 19 platforms prioritizing economic issues favored banning interest, compared with 11 of 29 platforms that did not prioritize economic issues.

Over time, there has been a significant shift toward more liberal positions, as shown in Figures 3 and 4. Prior to the mid-1990s, a majority of the 48 platforms in our collection favored the implementation of shari‘a and a ban on interest and made some mention of jihad and of opposition to Israel; half or fewer of the platforms adopt these positions since that time. Platforms are more likely in recent years to mention democracy, the rights of women, and the rights of minorities than in earlier years.

Much slighter shifts in the same direction are visible in the 12 Islamic parties for which we have two or more platforms at different points in time. On the issue of implementing shari‘a, for example, four parties dropped their support for shari‘a (the Islamic Renaissance Movement in Algeria, the Islamic Action Front in Jordan, the Jamaat-e-Islami in Bangladesh, and the Party of Justice and Development in Morocco), and none added it. Eight parties maintained their position across time (four intending to implement shari‘a and four not). On the issue of democracy, as well, only three parties switched position: the Islamic Renaissance Movement in Algeria, one of three parties that had made no mention of the issue, switched to support for secular democracy; the Jamaat-e-Islami in Bangladesh switched from an Islamic conception of democracy to support for secular democracy; and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt switched from secular democracy to Islamic democracy and back again over three platforms. On the issue of women’s rights, four parties added support for full equality for women (the Salafi Islamic Association in Kuwait, Hizbullah in Lebanon, the Jamaat-e-Islami in Bangladesh, and the Party of Justice and Development in Morocco), and only one downgraded from full equality to a distinct role for women (the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt, which also sparked controversy with its draft platform of 2007, which made a point of saying that a woman could not serve as head of state, among other shifts).²³ Three of five parties that referred to jihad in their platforms removed any mention of jihad in later platforms (the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt, the Jamaat-e-Islami in Bangladesh, and the Yemeni Association for Reform).

²³ The Muslim Brotherhood’s draft platform of 2007 is not included in our dataset, because it has not been finalized and adopted. The text can be found at <http://www.islamonline.net/arabic/daawa/2007/08/ikhwan.pdf>; an earlier draft platform was published in *Al-Masri al-Yawm* (Egyptian Today), August 10-11, 2007, <http://www.almasry-alyoum.com/article2.aspx?ArticleID=71826> and <http://www.almasry-alyoum.com/article2.aspx?ArticleID=71861>. Two other parties (a later platform from Hizbullah in Lebanon and the Felicity Party in Turkey) downgraded from full equality to no mention of women’s rights.

Figure 3. Declining Platform Characteristics Over Time

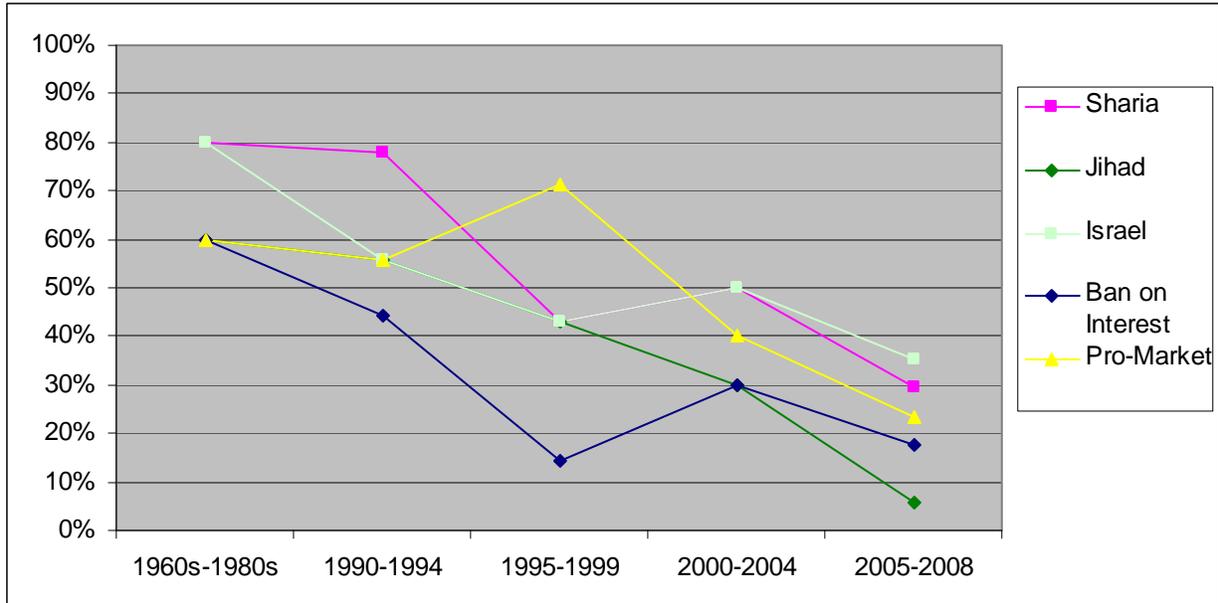
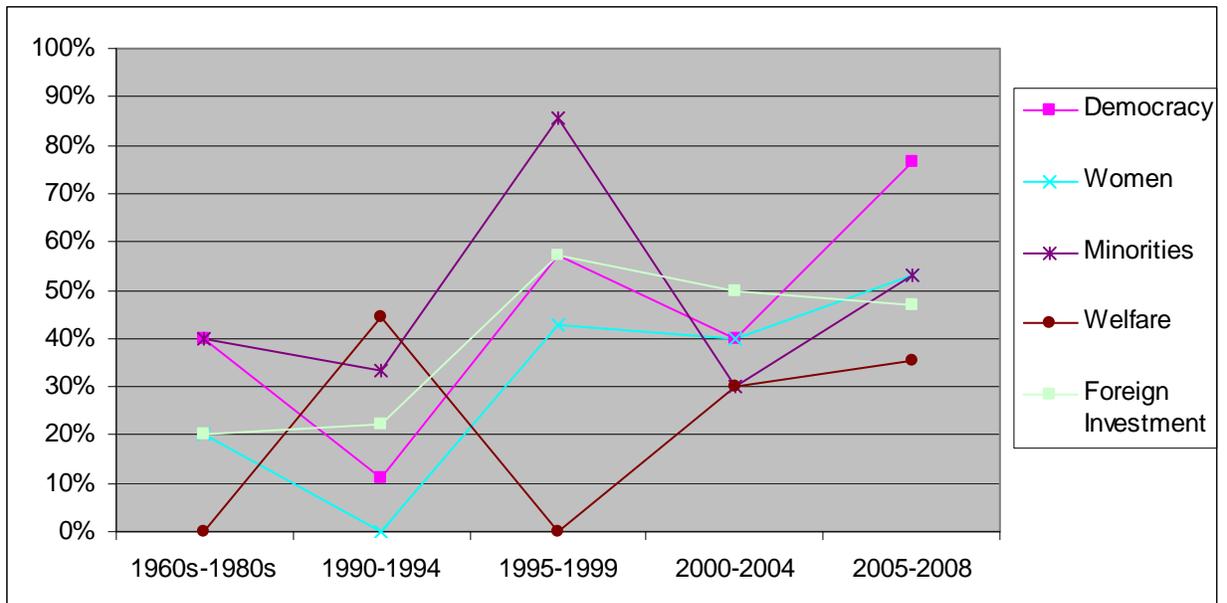


Figure 4. Increasing Platform Characteristics Over Time



Party platform positions do not seem to matter much, across all countries, in the percentage of votes or seats won by Islamic parties, with the exception of a few outliers in categories with only one platform. Comparison-of-means tests for the entire collection show that almost none of the differences in the platforms are associated with statistically significant differences in the percentage of seats in parliament. However, in elections where more than one Islamic party participated, and where clear ideological differences between the parties are reported by observers, the more liberal Islamic party almost always outperforms the less liberal Islamic party. In Turkey, the Justice and Development Party won more than 10 times as many votes as the Felicity Party in 2002 and 2007.²⁴ Similarly, in Iraq's elections for a transitional assembly in January 2005, the United Iraq Alliance received 60 times more votes than candidates associated with Muqtada al-Sadr. In Bangladesh, the Jamaat-e-Islami received 4 to 12 percent of the vote, while the Islamic Unity Front never received more than 1 percent. In the Sudanese elections of 1986, the Umma Party won almost double the seats of the more hardline National Islamic Front. In Iran, reformist candidates won three quarters of the seats in parliament in 2000, the only parliamentary election in which they were permitted to run in large numbers. In Indonesia, the most liberal Islamic party, the National Awakening Party, has also been the highest-performing Islamic party. The only exception to this pattern may be the Islamic Constitutional Movement in Kuwait, which won more seats than other Islamic movements only once, in 1992.

Does Islamic Party Participation in Parliamentary Elections Increase or Reduce Civil Conflict?

Experts have generated conflicting expectations about what effect the participation of Islamic movements in electoral politics has on civil conflict. One perspective holds that representation of Islamic parties in parliament opens the door for the mobilization of more radical Islamic groups, who “benefit from freer debate in the public sphere, greater accountability of the rulers and fair electoral process,” in the words of Emmanuel Sivan. Another perspective holds that electoral competition channels Islamic movements away from revolutionary violence toward institutional politics; this view worries whether the “blocking of the political channels might not sooner or later push a young cohort of militants to opt once again for violence,” again in Sivan's words.²⁵ Examples may be found for both processes, but our findings suggest that Islamic party participation in parliamentary elections does not significantly affect levels of civil conflict, when control variables are included.

We tested four measures of civil conflict, two of them binary and two of them continuous. One pair comes from the Armed Conflict Dataset: the existence of a conflict resulting in 25 or more battle-related deaths in the year after the election, and the logged number of battle-related deaths in each of these conflicts. (Country-years that do not meet the 25-death threshold are assigned an arbitrary count of 12 deaths.) The second pair comes from the Global Terrorism Database: the existence of any terrorist

²⁴ The Turkish elections of 2002 and 2007 are the only ones where we have party platforms for more than one Islamic party in the same election. All of the other comparisons in this paragraph are based on observers' descriptions of the parties.

²⁵ Emmanuel Sivan, “The Clash Within Islam,” *Survival*, Vol. 45, No. 1, Spring 2003, pp. 33-34.

incidents in the year after the election, and the logged number of incidents in this year. (Because the current version of this dataset ends in 2004, elections after 2003 are not included in this analysis.) As noted earlier, these variables do not indicate whether the conflict was related to Islam or not. For the binary outcome variables, we used logistic regression with robust standard errors; for the continuous outcomes, we used ordinary least squares regression with robust standard errors.

The best predictor of civil conflict after elections is civil conflict before elections. When Islamic party participation is added to models with the lagged dependent variable, participation has consistently positive and significant coefficients. However, when other variables are introduced as controls – democracy, inequality, income, and year – the coefficients for Islamic party participation lose their significance. In other words, Islamic party participation is not associated with heightened levels of civil conflict when other country-level characteristics are taken into account. Similarly, the success of Islamic parties in a given election has little effect on subsequent violence, when country-level characteristics are taken into account. The percentage of seats won by Islamic parties is significant only for one of four outcome variables, the existence of a civil conflict. Similarly, voter turnout is significant only for one of four outcome variables. These findings suggest that Islamic party participation in parliamentary elections is not a panacea for civil conflict, at least in the short run – but neither does it worsen conflict.

The fairness of the electoral process also has little effect on civil conflict, when other factors are taken into account. We tested binary versions of all four indicators of electoral fairness, described above, against all four indicators of civil conflict. Out of these 16 combinations, only two were statistically significant, both of them negatively: if electoral fairness matters, it appears that fairer elections are associated with reduced levels of violence.

Conclusion

We invite scholars to develop further measures for the systematic study of Islamic parties' electoral participation. It would be helpful, for example, to gather additional Islamic party electoral platforms, and for other readers to offer their interpretation of the platforms in our collection. We could use more detailed measures of the limitations on Islamic party participation in elections, such as the number of constituencies in which these parties have run candidates. We could use indicators of civil conflict that measure Islamic violence specifically, rather than civil conflict in general. Given the current state of the data, in any case, we conclude that:

- Islamic parties have participated in dozens of parliamentary elections over the past four decades.
- With a few notable exceptions, Islamic parties not done especially well in these elections.
- Islamic parties' electoral platforms have shifted somewhat in a more liberal direction in recent decades.
- Islamic party participation and performance in parliamentary elections matters little for subsequent violence.

Appendix 1. Islamic Party Electoral Platforms, 1968-2008

Algeria

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Appendix 2. Elections and Islamic Parties in Muslim Societies, 1968-2008

Country	Election	Electoral Fairness	Islamic Party	Percent Votes	Percent Seats	Platform Included in Collection
Afghanistan	1969					
Afghanistan	1988					
Afghanistan	2005	Independents Only	Hezb-e-Islam (Party of Islam)		16.1	
Albania	1991					
Albania	1992					
Albania	1996					
Albania	1997					
Albania	2005					
Algeria	1991	Irregularities	Harakat al-Nahda al-Islamiyya (Islamic Renaissance Movement)	2.2	0.0	Platform
Algeria	1991	Irregularities	Harakat Mujtama' al-Salim (Hamas) (Movement for the Society of Peace)	5.3	0.0	Platform
Algeria	1991	Irregularities	Al-Jabha al-Islamiyya li'l-Inqadh (Islamic Salvation Front)	48.0	81.4	Platform
Algeria	1997	Independents Only	Harakat al-Nahda al-Islamiyya (Islamic Renaissance Movement)	8.7	9.0	
Algeria	1997	Independents Only	Harakat Mujtama' al-Salim (Hamas) (Movement for the Society of Peace)	14.8	18.2	
Algeria	2002	Independents Only	Harakat al-Nahda al-Islamiyya (Islamic Renaissance Movement)	0.6	0.3	
Algeria	2002	Independents Only	Harakat Mujtama' al-Salim (Hamas) (Movement for the Society of Peace)	7.1	10.0	
Algeria	2002	Independents Only	Harakat al-Islah al-Watani (Movement for National Reform)			
Algeria	2007	Independents Only	Harakat al-Nahda al-Islamiyya (Islamic Renaissance Movement)	3.4	1.3	Platform
Algeria	2007	Independents Only	Harakat Mujtama' al-Salim (Hamas) (Movement for the Society of Peace)	9.7	13.4	Platform

Algeria	2007	Independents Only	Harakat al-Islah al-Watani (Movement for National Reform)			
Azerbaijan	1995					
Azerbaijan	2000					
Azerbaijan	2005					
Bahrain	1973	Independents Only				
Bahrain	2002	Independents Only	Independent Islamists		47.5	
Bahrain	2006	Independents Only	Jam'iyya al-Asala al-Islamiyya (Original Islamic Society)		12.5	
Bahrain	2006	Independents Only	Jam'iyyat al-Minbar al-Watani al-Islami (National Islamic Tribune Society)		17.5	
Bahrain	2006	Independents Only	Jam'iyyat al-Wifaq al-Watani al-Islami (National Islamic Reconciliation Society)		42.5	
Bahrain	2006	Independents Only	Jam'iyyat al-'Amal al-Islami (Islamic Action Society)		0.0	
Bangladesh	1973					
Bangladesh	1979	Basically Fair	Muslim League & Islamic Democratic League (IDL-R)		6.7	
Bangladesh	1986	Basically Fair	Muslim League		1.3	
Bangladesh	1986	Basically Fair	Jamaat-e-Islami	4.6	3.3	
Bangladesh	1988	Basically Fair				
Bangladesh	1991	Basically Fair	Islami Oikkya Jote (Islamic Unity Front)	0.8	0.3	
Bangladesh	1991	Basically Fair	Jamaat-e-Islami (Islamic Society)	12.1	6.0	Platform
Bangladesh	1996	Basically Fair	Islami Oikkya Jote (Islamic Unity Front)	1.1	0.3	
Bangladesh	1996	Basically Fair	Jamaat-e-Islami (Islamic Society)	8.6	1.0	Platform
Bangladesh	2001	Basically Fair	Islami Oikkya Jote (Islamic Unity Front)	0.7	0.7	
Bangladesh	2001	Basically Fair	Jamaat-e-Islami (Islamic Society)	4.3	5.7	Platform
Bangladesh	2008	Basically Fair	Islami Oikkya Jote (Islamic Unity Front)		0.0	

Bangladesh	2008	Basically Fair	Jamaat-e-Islami (Islamic Society)		0.7	Platform
Bosnia-Herzegovina	1996					
Bosnia-Herzegovina	1998					
Bosnia-Herzegovina	2000					
Bosnia-Herzegovina	2002					
Bosnia-Herzegovina	2006					
Brunei	.					
Burkina Faso	1970					
Burkina Faso	1978					
Burkina Faso	1992					
Burkina Faso	1997					
Burkina Faso	2002					
Burkina Faso	2007					
Chad	1969					
Chad	1990					
Chad	1997					
Chad	2002					
Comoros	1978					
Comoros	1982					
Comoros	1987					
Comoros	1992					
Comoros	1993					
Comoros	1996	Basically Fair	Front National pour la Justice (National Front for Justice)		7.0	
Comoros	2004					
Djibouti	1982					
Djibouti	1987					
Djibouti	1992					
Djibouti	1997					
Djibouti	2003					
Djibouti	2008					
Egypt	1976					
Egypt	1979					
Egypt	1984	Independents Only	Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun (Muslim Brotherhood) with Hizb al-Wafd al-Jadid (New Wafd Party)	15.1	12.9	
Egypt	1987	Independents Only	Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun (Muslim Brotherhood) with Hizb al-'Amal (Labour Party)	17.5	12.7	Platform

Egypt	1990	Independents Only	Boycott by Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun (Muslim Brotherhood)			
Egypt	1995	Independents Only	Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun (Muslim Brotherhood)		3.0	Platform
Egypt	2000	Independents Only	Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun (Muslim Brotherhood)		3.9	Platform
Egypt	2005	Independents Only	Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun (Muslim Brotherhood)		20.4	Platform
Eritrea	.					
Ethiopia	1973					
Ethiopia	1987					
Ethiopia	1995					
Ethiopia	2000					
Ethiopia	2005					
Gambia	1972					
Gambia	1977					
Gambia	1982					
Gambia	1987					
Gambia	1992					
Gambia	1997					
Gambia	2002					
Gambia	2007					
Guinea	1968					
Guinea	1974					
Guinea	1980					
Guinea	1995					
Guinea	2002					
Guinea-Bissau	1977					
Guinea-Bissau	1989					
Guinea-Bissau	1994					
Guinea-Bissau	1999					
Guinea-Bissau	2004					
Indonesia	1971	Irregularities	Perti (Islamic Educators Association)	0.7	0.6	
Indonesia	1971	Irregularities	Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia (Indonesia Islamic Union Party)	2.4	2.8	
Indonesia	1971	Irregularities	Partai Muslimin Indonesia (Muslim Party of Indonesia)	5.4	6.7	

Indonesia	1971	Irregularities	Partai Persatuan Nahdlatul Ummah Indonesia (Indonesian Nahdlatul Community Party)	18.7	16.1	
Indonesia	1971	Irregularities	Nahdatul Ulama (Revival of the Ulama)			
Indonesia	1977	Irregularities	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) (United Development Party)	29.3	27.5	
Indonesia	1982	Irregularities	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) (United Development Party)	25.5	25.8	
Indonesia	1987	Irregularities	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) (United Development Party)	16.0	15.3	
Indonesia	1992	Irregularities	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) (United Development Party)	14.9	15.5	
Indonesia	1997	Irregularities	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) (United Development Party)	22.7	20.9	
Indonesia	1999	Basically Fair	Partai Persatuan Nahdlatul Ummah Indonesia (Indonesian Nahdlatul Community Party)	0.6	0.6	
Indonesia	1999	Basically Fair	Partai Keadilan (Justice Party)	1.4	1.4	Platform
Indonesia	1999	Basically Fair	Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB) (Crescent Star Party)	1.8	2.8	
Indonesia	1999	Basically Fair	Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN) (National Mandate Party)	7.3	7.0	
Indonesia	1999	Basically Fair	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB) (National Awakening Party)	17.4	10.2	
Indonesia	1999	Basically Fair	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) (United Development Party)	10.7	11.6	

Indonesia	2004	Basically Fair	Partai Persatuan Nahdlatul Ummah Indonesia (Indonesian Nahdlatul Community Party)	0.8	0.0	
Indonesia	2004	Basically Fair	Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB) (Crescent Star Party)	2.6	2.0	
Indonesia	2004	Basically Fair	Partai Bintang Reformasi (PBR) (Reform Star Party)	2.4	2.5	
Indonesia	2004	Basically Fair	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) (Prosperous Justice Party)	7.3	8.2	
Indonesia	2004	Basically Fair	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB) (National Awakening Party)	10.6	9.5	
Indonesia	2004	Basically Fair	Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN) (National Mandate Party)	6.4	9.6	
Indonesia	2004	Basically Fair	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) (United Development Party)	8.2	10.5	
Iraq	2005	Basically Fair	Yekgirtuy Islami Kurdistan (Kurdistan Islamic Union)	1.3	1.8	Platform
Iraq	2005	Basically Fair	Jabhat al-Tawafiq al-'Iraqiyya (Iraqi Accord Front)	15.1	16.0	Platform
Iraq	2005	Basically Fair	al-Ittihad al-'Iraqi al-Muwahhad (Unified Iraqi Alliance)	41.2	46.5	Platform
Jordan	1989	Independents Only	Jama'at al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin (Society of Muslim Brothers) & allied independents		41.3	Platform
Jordan	1993	Basically Fair	Jabhat al-'Amal al-Islami (Islamic Action Front - IAF)		20.0	Platform
Jordan	1997	Irregularities	Jabhat al-'Amal al-Islami (Islamic Action Front - IAF)		15.0	
Jordan	2003	Basically Fair	Jabhat al-'Amal al-Islami (Islamic Action Front - IAF)	10.4	16.4	Platform
Jordan	2007	Irregularities	Jabhat al-'Amal al-Islami (Islamic Action Front - IAF)		5.5	Platform

Kazakhstan	1994					
Kazakhstan	1995					
Kazakhstan	1999					
Kazakhstan	2004					
Kazakhstan	2007					
Kirgizstan	2000					
Kirgizstan	2005					
Kirgizstan	2007					
Kuwait	1971	Independents Only				
Kuwait	1975	Independents Only				
Kuwait	1981	Independents Only	Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun (Muslim Brothers)		10.0	
Kuwait	1981	Independents Only	Al-Tajammu' al-Islami al-Salafi (Salafi Islamic Association)			
Kuwait	1985	Independents Only	Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun (Muslim Brothers)		8.0	
Kuwait	1985	Independents Only	Independents		12.0	
Kuwait	1985	Independents Only	Al-Tajammu' al-Islami al-Salafi (Salafi Islamic Association)			
Kuwait	1990	Independents Only				
Kuwait	1992	Independents Only	Al-Tajammu' al-Islami al-Sha'bi (Popular Islamic Association)		13.0	Platform
Kuwait	1992	Independents Only	Al-Haraka al-Dusturiyya al-Islamiyya (Islamic Constitutional Movement)		29.0	
Kuwait	1996	Independents Only	Independents		28.0	
Kuwait	1996	Independents Only	Al-Haraka al-Dusturiyya al-Islamiyya (Islamic Constitutional Movement)			
Kuwait	1996	Independents Only	Al-Haraka al-Salafiyya (Salafi Movement)			
Kuwait	1996	Independents Only	Al-Tajammu' al-Islami al-Salafi (Salafi Islamic Association)			
Kuwait	1999	Independents Only	Independents		40.0	

Kuwait	1999	Independents Only	Al-Haraka al-Dusturiyya al-Islamiyya (Islamic Constitutional Movement)			
Kuwait	1999	Independents Only	Al-Haraka al-Salafiyya (Salafi Movement)			
Kuwait	1999	Independents Only	Al-Tajammu' al-Islami al-Salafi (Salafi Islamic Association)			
Kuwait	2003	Independents Only	Al-Harakat al-Salafiyya (Salafi Movement)		0.0	
Kuwait	2003	Independents Only	Al-Tajammu' al-Islami al-Salafi (Salafi Islamic Association)		0.0	Platform
Kuwait	2003	Independents Only	Al-Haraka al-Dusturiyya al-Islamiyya (Islamic Constitutional Movement)		4.0	
Kuwait	2003	Independents Only	Independents		38.0	
Kuwait	2006	Independents Only	Al-Haraka al-Dusturiyya al-Islamiyya (Islamic Constitutional Movement)		12.0	
Kuwait	2006	Independents Only	Independents		30.0	
Kuwait	2006	Independents Only	Al-Haraka al-Salafiyya (Salafi Movement)			
Kuwait	2006	Independents Only	Al-Tajammu' al-Islami al-Salafi (Salafi Islamic Association)			
Kuwait	2008	Independents Only	Al-Haraka al-Dusturiyya al-Islamiyya (Islamic Constitutional Movement)		6.0	Platform
Kuwait	2008	Independents Only	Al-Tajammu' al-Islami al-Salafi (Salafi Islamic Association)		8.0	Platform
Kuwait	2008	Independents Only	Independent Sunni Islamists		20.0	
Kuwait	2008	Independents Only	Hizb al-Umma (Umma Party)			
Lebanon	1992	Irregularities	Jami'at al-Mashari' al-Khayriyya al-Islamiyya (The Association of Islamic Charitable Projects)		4.0	
Lebanon	1992	Irregularities	al-Jama'a al-Islamiyya (The Islamic Society)		11.0	

Lebanon	1992	Irregularities	Hizbullah (Party of God)		29.6	Platform
Lebanon	1996	Irregularities	Jami'at al-Mashari' al-Khayriyya al-Islamiyya (The Association of Islamic Charitable Projects)		0.0	
Lebanon	1996	Irregularities	Al-Jama'a al-Islamiyya (The Islamic Society)		3.7	
Lebanon	1996	Irregularities	Hizbullah (Party of God)		37.0	Platform
Lebanon	2000	Irregularities	Hizbullah (Party of God)		29.6	Platform
Lebanon	2005	Basically Fair	Hizbullah (Party of God)		51.9	Platform
Libya	.					
Malaysia	1969	Basically Fair	Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS) (Islamic Party of Malaysia)	23.8	11.5	
Malaysia	1974	Basically Fair	Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS) (Islamic Party of Malaysia), as part of the Barisan Nasional (National Front)		9.1	
Malaysia	1978	Basically Fair	Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS) (Islamic Party of Malaysia)	15.5	3.3	
Malaysia	1982	Basically Fair	Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS) (Islamic Party of Malaysia)	14.5	3.3	
Malaysia	1986	Basically Fair	Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS) (Islamic Party of Malaysia)	15.5	0.6	
Malaysia	1990	Basically Fair	Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS) (Islamic Party of Malaysia)		3.9	
Malaysia	1995	Basically Fair	Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS) (Islamic Party of Malaysia)		3.7	
Malaysia	1999	Basically Fair	Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS) (Islamic Party of Malaysia), as part of Barisan Alternatif (Alternative Front)		21.8	Platform
Malaysia	2004	Basically Fair	Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS) (Islamic Party of Malaysia), as part of Barisan Alternatif (Alternative Front)	24.1	3.2	Platform

Malaysia	2008	Basically Fair	Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS) (Islamic Party of Malaysia), as part of Barisan Alternatif (Alternative Front)		10.4	Platform
Maldives	1989					
Maldives	1994					
Maldives	1999					
Maldives	2005					
Mali	1979					
Mali	1982					
Mali	1985					
Mali	1988					
Mali	1992					
Mali	1997					
Mali	2002					
Mali	2007					
Mauritania	1996					
Mauritania	2001					
Mauritania	2006					
Morocco	1993	Independents Only				
Morocco	1997	Basically Fair	Mouvement Populaire Démocratique et Constitutionnel (Constitutional and Democratic Popular Movement)	4.1	2.8	
Morocco	2002	Basically Fair	Hizb al-‘Adala wa al-Tanmiyya (Parti de la Justice et du Développement) (Justice and Development Party)		12.9	Platform
Morocco	2007	Basically Fair	Hizb al-‘Adala wa al-Tanmiyya (Parti de la Justice et du Développement) (Justice and Development Party)		13.7	Platform
Niger	1970					
Niger	1989					
Niger	1993					
Niger	1995					
Niger	1996					
Niger	1999					
Niger	2004					
Nigeria	1979					
Nigeria	1983					
Nigeria	1992					

Nigeria	1999					
Nigeria	2003					
Nigeria	2007					
Oman	1991					
Oman	1994					
Oman	1997					
Oman	2000					
Oman	2003					
Oman	2007					
Pakistan	1970	Basically Fair	Jamaat-e-Islami (Islamic Society)	6.0	1.3	Platform
Pakistan	1970	Basically Fair	Jamiat-e-Ulema-i-Islam (Society of Religious Scholars of Islam)	4.0	2.3	
Pakistan	1970	Basically Fair	Markazi Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Pakistan (Central Society of Religious Scholars of Pakistan)	4.0	2.3	
Pakistan	1977	Irregularities	Pakistan National Alliance including Jamaat-e-Islami (Islamic Society), Muslim League, Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Pakistan (Society of Religious Scholars of Pakistan)		18.0	
Pakistan	1985					
Pakistan	1988	Basically Fair	Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (Islamic Democratic Alliance)		3.2	Platform
Pakistan	1990	Irregularities	Jamiat-e-Ulema-i-Islam (Society of Religious Scholars of Islam)		2.8	
Pakistan	1990	Irregularities	Jamaat-e-Islami (Islamic Society)	3.0	3.7	
Pakistan	1993	Basically Fair	Mutahida Deeni Mahaz (United Religious Front)		0.9	
Pakistan	1993	Basically Fair	Pakistan Islamic Front		1.4	
Pakistan	1993	Basically Fair	Islamic Jamhoori Mahaz (Islamic Democratic Front)		1.8	
Pakistan	1997	Irregularities	Jamiat-e-Ulama-e-Islam, Fazlur Group (Society of Religious Scholars of Islam)		0.9	
Pakistan	1997	Irregularities	Boycott by Jamaat-e-Islami (Islamic Society)			

Pakistan	2002	Irregularities	Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (United Action Council)	11.3	16.5	Platform
Pakistan	2008	Basically Fair	Jamiat-e-Ulama-e-Islam, Fazl (Society of Religious Scholars of Islam, Fazl)		1.8	
Pakistan	2008	Basically Fair	Boycott by Jamaat-e-Islami (Islamic Society)			
Palestine	1996		Independents		4.6	
Palestine	2006	Basically Fair	Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiyya (Hamas) (Islamic Resistance Movement)	44.5	56.1	Platform
Qatar	.					
Saudi Arabia	.					
Senegal	1968					
Senegal	1973					
Senegal	1978					
Senegal	1983					
Senegal	1988					
Senegal	1993					
Senegal	1998					
Senegal	2001					
Senegal	2007					
Sierra Leone	1973					
Sierra Leone	1977					
Sierra Leone	1982					
Sierra Leone	1986					
Sierra Leone	1996					
Sierra Leone	2002					
Sierra Leone	2007					
Somalia	1969					
Somalia	1979					
Somalia	1984					
Somalia	2004					
Sudan	1968	Basically Fair	Hizb al-Umma, Janub (Nation Party, South)	2.4	2.8	
Sudan	1968	Basically Fair	Hizb al-Umma, Imam (Nation Party, Imam)	18.0	13.8	
Sudan	1968	Basically Fair	Hizb al-Umma, Sadiq (Nation Party, Sadiq)	21.2	16.5	
Sudan	1978					
Sudan	1980					
Sudan	1982					
Sudan	1986	Basically Fair	Al-Jabha al-Islamiyya al-Qaumiyya (National Islamic Front)		20.0	
Sudan	1986	Basically Fair	Hizb al-Umma al-Jadid (New Nation Party)		38.0	

Sudan	1996					
Sudan	2000					
Sudan	2005					
Syria	1973		Boycott by al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun (Muslim Brotherhood)			
Syria	1977					
Syria	1981					
Syria	1986					
Syria	1990					
Syria	1994					
Syria	1998					
Syria	2003					
Syria	2007					
Tajikistan	1995	Irregularities	Hizbi Nahzati Islomi Tojikiston (Party of the Islamic Front of Tajikistan, also known as Islamic Renaissance Party)		0.0	
Tajikistan	2000	Irregularities	Hizbi Nahzati Islomi Tojikiston (Party of the Islamic Front of Tajikistan, also known as Islamic Renaissance Party)		3.0	
Tajikistan	2005	Irregularities	Hizbi Nahzati Islomi Tojikiston (Party of the Islamic Front of Tajikistan, also known as Islamic Renaissance Party)	9.2	3.2	Platform
Tanzania	1970					
Tanzania	1975					
Tanzania	1980					
Tanzania	1985					
Tanzania	1995					
Tanzania	2000					
Tanzania	2005					
Tunisia	1969					
Tunisia	1974					
Tunisia	1979					
Tunisia	1981					
Tunisia	1986					
Tunisia	1989	Independents Only	Independents linked to al-Nahda (Renaissance)		0.0	
Tunisia	1994					
Tunisia	1999					

Tunisia	2004					
Turkey	1969					
Turkey	1973	Basically Fair	Milli Selâmet Partisi (National Salvation Party)	11.8	10.7	Platform
Turkey	1977	Basically Fair	National Salvation Party	8.6	5.3	
Turkey	1983					
Turkey	1987	Basically Fair	Refah Partisi (Welfare Party)	7.2	0.0	
Turkey	1991	Basically Fair	Refah Partisi (Welfare Party)	16.9	13.8	Platform
Turkey	1995	Basically Fair	Refah Partisi (Welfare Party)	21.3	28.7	
Turkey	1999	Basically Fair	Fazilet Partisi (Virtue Party)	15.5	20.2	Platform
Turkey	2002	Basically Fair	Saadet Partisi (Felicity Party)	2.5	0.0	Platform
Turkey	2002	Basically Fair	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP) (Justice and Development Party)	34.2	65.6	Platform
Turkey	2007	Basically Fair	Saadet Partisi (Felicity Party)	2.3	0.0	Platform
Turkey	2007	Basically Fair	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP) (Justice and Development Party)	46.5	62.0	Platform
Turkmenistan	1994					
Turkmenistan	1999					
Turkmenistan	2004					
United Arab Emirates	2006					
Uzbekistan	1994					
Uzbekistan	1999					
Uzbekistan	2005					
Yemen	1993	Basically Fair	Tajammu' al-Yamani li'l-Islah (Yemeni Association for Reform)		20.6	Platform
Yemen	1997	Basically Fair	Tajammu' al-Yamani li'l-Islah (Yemeni Association for Reform)		20.9	Platform
Yemen	2003	Basically Fair	Tajammu' al-Yamani li'l-Islah (Yemeni Association for Reform)	22.6	15.3	