



**INSTITUT  
BARCELONA  
ESTUDIS  
INTERNACIONALS**

## **SUMMER SCHOOL IN GLOBAL POLITICS, DEVELOPMENT AND SECURITY 2018**

### ***Religion and Politics in Egypt after 2011***

**Instructor:** Georges Fahmi (European University Institute)

**Date:** June 27 - 29

**Time:** 3.00 pm - 5.00 pm

**Room:** 24.224 - Mercè Rodoreda Building 24 (Floor 2)

The ouster of the Mubarak regime in 2011 has opened the debate over the nature of the Egyptian state and its relation to religion. Religious actors, including religiously inspired political parties, official religious institutions, and the Coptic Church have taken advantage of the new political environment after 2011 to defend their ideas and interests. This course explores the complex relationship between religion and politics in Egypt in the post 2011 era by bringing together Institutions, meaning the changing political environment from 2011 and until 2018, together with Agency by looking at the religious actors themselves, both Muslim and Christian: their ideas, interests and strategies. The course will be divided into three sessions: the first will look the rise and fall of the Muslim Brotherhood after 2011, the second will analyze the role of official religious institutions such as al-Azhar and the Ministry of Endowments, and the third will focus on the political role of the Coptic Church.

### **Session 1. The rise and fall of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt**

The Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt after 2011. The factors that led to the fast rise of the Muslim Brotherhood to political power in Egypt after 2011. The characteristics of the Muslim Brotherhood rule (2012-2013) and how other political forces reacted to it. The tension between the Muslim Brotherhood and state institutions. The deep polarization within the Egyptian society between Islamists and their opponents. The military

intervention against the rule of the Muslim Brotherhood in July 2013. The changes the movement has been going through since July 2013. The internal debate within the movement whether to continue its nonviolent political approach or to turn to violence to achieve its political goals.

Required reading:

El-Sherif, Ashraf. "The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood's Failures", Carnegie Middle East Center, July 2014

[http://carnegieendowment.org/files/muslim\\_brotherhood\\_failures.pdf](http://carnegieendowment.org/files/muslim_brotherhood_failures.pdf)

Fahmi, Georges. "The debate over the use of violence within the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt after 2013", RSCAS Policy Paper 2018/01, European University Institute, 2018

[http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/52544/RSCAS\\_PP\\_2018\\_01.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y](http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/52544/RSCAS_PP_2018_01.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y)

Wickham, Carrie. "The Muslim Brotherhood and democratic transition in Egypt", Middle East Law and Governance, 3, 204-223, 2011

<http://booksandjournals.brillonline.com/content/journals/10.1163/187633711x591558>

## **Session 2. Al-Azhar and the state in Egypt after 2011**

Al-Azhar al-Sherif and the political transition after 2011. The ideational and material interests that shape al-Azhar's political attitudes. Al-Azhar rapprochement with Egyptian secular intellectuals after 2011. Al-Azhar's documents to support democracy and human rights. The tension between al-Azhar and the Muslim Brotherhood. Al-Azhar and the military intervention against the rule of the Muslim Brotherhood in 2013. Conflict and cooperation between al-Azhar and the state after 2013.

Required reading:

Brown, Nathan. "Post-Revolutionary Al-Azhar", Carnegie Middle East Center, Beirut, September 2011

[https://carnegieendowment.org/files/al\\_azhar.pdf](https://carnegieendowment.org/files/al_azhar.pdf)

Shams El-Din, Mai. "The cleric and the president: Egypt's critical power struggle", Mada Masr, 12 March 2017

<https://www.madamasr.com/en/2017/03/12/feature/politics/the-cleric-and-the-president-egypts-critical-power-struggle/>

Tamir, Moustafa. "Conflict and Cooperation between the State and Religious Institutions in Contemporary Egypt." International Journal of Middle East Studies, vol. 32, no. 1, pp. 3-22, 2000

[www.jstor.org/stable/259533](http://www.jstor.org/stable/259533).

### **Session 3. The Coptic Church and politics in Egypt after 2011**

The political role of the Coptic Church under Mubarak. The Church and the 25 January revolution. The rise of new Coptic actors after 2011. The internal competition within the Coptic community over political representation. The Coptic Church and the rule of the Muslim Brotherhood. The Church's support for the military intervention against the rule of the Muslim Brotherhood. The relation between the Church and the political regime after 2013.

#### Required reading:

Fahmi, Georges. "The Coptic Church and Politics in Egypt", Carnegie Middle East Center, December 2014

<http://carnegie-mec.org/2014/12/18/coptic-church-and-politics-in-egypt-pub-57563>

Henderson, Randall. "The Egyptian Coptic Christians: the conflict between identity and equality", *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 16:2, 155-166, DOI: 10.1080/09596410500059664

Melcangi, Alessia. "From Nasser to Sisi, the Difficult Balance of the Copts", Oasis, Venice, 6 March 2018

<https://www.oasiscenter.eu/en/copts-in-egypt-from-nasser-to-sisi>

#### Further reading:

Bayat, Asef. "Making Islam democratic: social movements and the post-Islamist turn", Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2007.

Ismail, Salwa. "Rethinking Islamist politics culture, the state and Islamism", London: I.B. Tauris, 2003.

Kandil, Hazem. "Soldiers, spies and statesmen: Egypt's road to revolt", London: Verso, 2012.

Rutherford, Bruce. "Egypt after Mubarak: Liberalism, Islam, and Democracy in the Arab World", Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Soliman, Samer. "The Autumn of Dictatorship: Fiscal Crisis and Political Change in Egypt", Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2011.

Tadros, Mariz. "Copts at the Crossroads: The Challenges of Building Inclusive Democracy in Egypt", Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2013.

Zeghal, Malika. "Gardiens de l'Islam: les oulémas d'Al Azhar dans l'Egypte contemporaine", Paris: Presses de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, 1996.