



The Impact of Islamist Political Parties in Muslim Democracy:

A Systematic Review and Its Implications for Bangladesh

Student: Arefa Sultana

ID2233316

POAD9050 Masters Dissertation in Public Administration

Topic Coordinator: Professor Andrew Parkin

Supervisor: Dr Luis da Vinha

A Coursework Project Submitted to

The College of Business, Government and Law

Flinders University

In Partial Fulfilment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Public Policy and Management

2021

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS	I
ABSTRACT	IV
DECLARATION	VI
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	VII
DEDICATION	VIII
LIST OF FIGURES	IX
LIST OF TABLES	X
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	XI
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background	1
1.2 Historical Foundations	1
1.3 Religion and Politics in Bangladesh.....	2
1.4 Religion and Democracy in Bangladesh	3
1.5 Aims and Objectives of the Study	4
1.6 Research Questions	5
1.7 Significance of the Study.....	5
CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	7
2.1 Voting Behaviour and Electoral Strategy of Islamist Parties.....	7
2.2 Democracy and Freedom of Expression	7
2.3 Freedom of Expression, Secularism, and Muslim Democracy.....	9
2.4 Secularism and Democracy in the Muslim World.....	10
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY	14
3.1 Systematic Review	14
3.1.1 Eligibility and selection criteria	15
3.1.2 Develop search strategy.....	15
3.1.3 Study selection criteria	16
3.1.4 Coding studies.....	17
3.1.5 Assess the quality of the studies.....	17
3.1.6 Synthesis	18
3.1.7 Report findings.....	18
3.2 Implications of Findings in Bangladesh Perspective	19
3.3 Analysis	19

3.4 Ethical Approval	19
3.5 Risk Assessment and Limitation of the Project.....	20
CHAPTER 4: SYSTEMATIC REVIEW OF LITERATURE.....	21
4.1 Section One: Review the Literature	21
4.1.1 Electoral strategy of Islamist parties and their appeal to voters.....	21
4.1.1.1 The appeal of Islamist parties to voters of Muslim majority countries.....	22
4.1.1.2 Electoral Strategies of Islamist Parties.....	24
4.1.2 Participation of Islamist parties and its impact on Muslim democracy.....	26
4.1.2.1 Compatibility of Islam and democracy.	27
4.1.2.2 Incompatibility of Islam and democracy.....	29
4.1.2.3 The compatibility of Islam with democracy is conditional.	31
4.1.3 Participation of Islamist parties and its impact on democracy in South Asian Muslim majority countries	38
4.1.3.1 The declination of democracy in Pakistan.	38
4.1.3.2 Gender-related democracy deficit.....	40
4.1.3.3 Insurgent electoral violence in Afghanistan.	44
4.2 Section Two: Synthesis of Information of the Studies.....	45
4.2.1 Voting behaviour and electoral strategy of Islamist parties.....	45
4.2.2 Islam and democracy: the question of compatibility and incompatibility	46
4.2.3 Islamist parties and democracy in South Asian Muslim-majority countries	48
4.3 Findings of systematic review.....	49
4.3.1 Finding 1.....	49
4.3.2 Finding 2.....	49
4.3.3 Finding 3.....	49
4.3.4 Finding 4.....	50
4.3.5 Finding 5.....	50
CHAPTER 5: THE IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS OF THE SYSTEMATIC REVIEW IN	51
BANGLADESH PERSPECTIVE.....	51
5.1 The Implications of Findings of the Systematic Review in Bangladesh	51
5.1.1 Implication of systematic review findings 1: Religious ideology of voters and changing voting behaviour	51
5.1.2 Implication of systematic review findings 2: Electoral strategy of Bangladesh political parties	56
5.1.2.1 Religious affiliation of the major political parties of Bangladesh.	56
5.1.2.2 Democracy as electoral strategy of the Islamist parties.....	59

5.1.3 Implication of systematic review findings 3: The participation of Islamist parties in politics and its compatibility with democracy in Bangladesh	61
5.1.4 Implication of systematic review findings 4: The aspects of participation of Islamist parties which are incompatible with democracy in Bangladesh	63
5.2 Findings to Answer Research Question	67
CHAPTER 6: ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS.....	69
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION.....	73
REFERENCES	75
APPENDIX A- SEARCH STRATEGY	88
APPENDIX B- CODING STUDIES	89
APPENDIX C: CASP 2018 SCORE OF INCLUDED STUDIES	98
APPENDIX D: RELEVANT DATA SELECTED FROM WORLD VALUE SURVEY WAVE 7 BANGLADESH (2017-2020).....	100

ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to analyse the impact of the participation of Islamist parties on democracy in Bangladesh. This research project includes both a systematic review approach and a case study. The project begins with a systematic review of the empirical literature focusing on the participation of Islamist parties in Muslim majority countries and their impact on democracy. The use of a systematic review provides an opportunity to assess the research question using an explicit, accountable and rigorous research method that surveys the relevant literature in a more systematic and structured way. The databases used in this project are- East & South Asia Database, International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS), Political Science Database, Politics Collection, Religion Database, Social Science Database, Social Science Database, Sociology Collection, and Sociology Database. Subsequently, a case study is conducted to assess the reviews' findings compare with the Bangladesh. Both primary and secondary data were collected in this section, using databases, such as Taylor and Francis Online, SAGE premium journal 2021, and Google scholar, among others. The relevant data from World Value Survey Wave 7 was also analysed to complement the review. The findings of this study demonstrate that the participation of Islamist parties in politics is compatible with democracy if they adopt secularism as one of their ideologies. The findings identify the tendency for changing voting behaviour patterns based socio-economic profile of the voters, and therefore help explaining the electoral strategies of Islamist parties to influence voting behaviour. The findings also analyse the impact of Islamist parties' participation on democracy in Bangladesh. This project is limited because it follows the systematic review method where the studies are based on inclusion criteria. More precisely, there is a limited discussion of the research question in the South Asian perspective. Further explorative studies could be conducted to identify the interrelation of voting behaviour, electoral strategies of Islamist parties to influence voting behaviour and its impact on the particular form of South Asian Muslim democracy. Moreover, as the discussion on religion and politics is sensitive and argumentative, the findings of this project are not irrefutable. Also, peer-reviewed articles are considered from selected databases because of the time limitation. The research could be comprehensive if more databases are included in the systematic review. Collecting primary

data directly from the voters by using surveys or interviews to identify the appeal of Islamist parties in Bangladesh democracy could provide more information. This study contributes to identifying ideological hegemony on voters' preference and how evolving voting behaviour leads Islamist parties to pursue various electoral strategies to meet changing voter aspirations. This research may also assist in understanding how Islamist parties' have adopted a positive attitude towards democracy as an electoral strategy which can influence the adoption of human rights, especially in Muslim-majority countries such as Bangladesh. Therefore, the political scientists may find interest in this study. Besides that, the post-positivist policy analyst may be interested in this study to examine how the specific value used by political parties during policy making can influence voter's choice. Voters of the Muslim-majority countries may also be benefit from a greater understanding of the electoral strategies of Islamist parties and the corresponding impact on the country's democracy.

Keywords Religion, Islam, democracy, secularism, election, voting behaviour

DECLARATION

I clarify that this research project does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Sulaiman', written over a horizontal line.

Signature.....

Date: 25/06/2021

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Dr Luis da Vinha who has inspired me untiringly in countless ways whenever I felt difficulties completing this project. I appreciate his encouraging comments and constant belief in my potential. I am very grateful for his endless support and productive comments throughout this dissertation. I am also thankful to Professor Andrew Parkin for his guidance in every step of the completion of this project. I sincerely appreciate his dedication to help students in improving their project by encouraging new ideas and solving problems. My thanks to the learning set and peers designed by this topic helped me to identify any gaps of my project. My dream has been to complete my Master of Public Policy and Management degree at an advanced education institution, such as Flinders University, which would not have been possible without the support of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade Australia Award Scholarship. I want to thank the Government of Australia for enabling me in that endeavour and for its generous support each year of many students from developing countries. Finally, I want to thank the student advisors at the International Student Service of Flinders University for their cooperation throughout the study.

DEDICATION

To my husband- Md. Abdur Rahim, and my son- Md. Araf Safwan

Thank you for supporting me and standing beside me in this journey. Your support and devotion has increased my confidence. All my achievements have been made possible because of your support. Thank you. I love you more than you could ever imagine.

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1	Changing voting behaviour and electoral strategy of Islamist parties
Figure 2	Democracy, Secularism and Muslim Democracy- A theoretical framework
Figure 3	Stages of systematic review
Figure 4	The result of study selection
Figure 5	Dimension of religious outlook
Figure 6	Distribution of posterior probabilities by religious outlooks
Figure 7	Democracy in different regime of India and Pakistan
Figure 8	Religious denomination
Figure 9	Importance of religion to respondents
Figure 10	Respondents' consideration themselves as a religious person
Figure 11	If science and religion conflicts, religion is always right
Figure 12	Respondents' trust to people from other religion
Figure 13	Regionally comparative poverty rate in Bangladesh
Figure 14	Having a system governed by religious law in which there are no political parties or elections
Figure 15	Interpretation of laws by religious authorities is an essential characteristics of democracy (1 to 10 scale of measurement)
Figure 16	Electoral violence of Political parties of Bangladesh
Figure 17	Respondents' opinion on the statement: the only acceptable religion is my religion
Figure 18	The findings on Bangladesh perspective
Figure 19	Position of parties regarding democracy, secularism and Islamism

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	Mentionable Legislation for Women's Rights
Table 2	Political participation of women in South Asian countries
Table 3	Per capita poverty rate in Bangladesh
Table 4	Ideologies of four main political parties of Bangladesh

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	Arab Democracy Barometer
AKP	Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi (Justice and Development Party)
AL	Awami League
BNP	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
CASP	Critical Appraisal Skill Programme
FY	Financial year
HADEP	People’s Democracy Party
HI	Hefazat-e-Islam
IOP	Islamic Oikko Jot
JI	Jamaat-e-Islami
JMB	Jamaatul Mujahedeen Bangladesh
JP	Jatiya Party
LFO	Legal Framework Order
MMA	Muttahida Majlis-e Amal
MP	Member of Parliament
NAP	National Action Party
NWFP	Northwest Frontier Province
PJD	Party of Justice and Development
PKR	People’s Justice Party
PKS	Prosperous Justice Party
PML (N)	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PPP	Pakistan People’s Party

PPPP	Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians
PTI	Pakistan's Justice Party
SEP	Strong Egypt Party
TLP	Tahreek-e-Labbaik Party
WVS	World Value Survey Wave 7 (2017- 2020)

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Bangladesh is a Muslim-majority country that is governed by a secular, parliamentary form of democracy with a president as head of state and an elected prime minister as head of government (Hasan 2011, p. 97; Islam 2018, p. 20). Regional and local government instrumentalities are likewise headed by councils and executives who are elected based on the Bangladesh Constitution of 1972. With over 90% of the 166 million population being Muslim, and Islam being the country's state religion by constitutional amendment, political parties that compete for power in government and their electorates could be heavily influenced by the dominant Islamic religious considerations (Hasan 2011, p. 97; Riaz, 2010, p. 51; Worldometers 2021). However, the ruling political party over the past two decades has won support on a platform of secularism, reform, respect for other religions, and suppression of radical Islamic groups (Driessen 2018, p. 131). Despite this paradox and seemingly contradictory political situation, Islam in Bangladesh still plays a significant role in affecting people's voting behaviour and attitudes toward elected government and politics in terms of their perceptions of trustworthiness, progressive social services, and organisational capacity of the Islamist parties.

1.2 Historical Foundations

Bangladesh achieved independence in 1971 and declared democracy and secularism as the constitutional principles upon which the nation was formed (Islam 2018, p. 20). According to Hasan (2020, p.6), secularism became a central aspect of the constitution to prohibit the inclusion of the Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) religious political movement, which was affiliated with Pakistan in 1971 when Bangladesh was fighting for its independence. In 1975, the father of the nation, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, along with his family members (except Sheikh Hasina, the present Prime Minister, and Sheikh Rehana, daughters of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman who were abroad that time) was assassinated. After that General Ziaur Rahman, the country's first military leader illegally came into power. President Ziaur Rahman abandoned the constitutional

principle of secularism from the constitution in 1977 and replaced it with 'absolute trust and faith in Almighty Allah'. In the next military regime, Islam was declared as the state religion by the eighth amendment of the constitution in 1988 under the leadership of President Ershad (Riaz, 2010, p. 53). As time passed, the presence of Islam in politics has changed the country's image from being a secular state to leaning toward an Islamic state. However, in 2011, secularism was again incorporated in the constitution through the fifteenth amendment under the leadership of Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina (Bhuiyan 2017, p. 212-13). Since then, there has been ongoing debate on secularism in government policy and whether it is inconsistent with religious faith and Islamist politics in the country (Bhuiyan 2017, p. 212). At times, this debate has generated social unrest and violent demonstrations, which have also allegedly led to extrajudicial killings and human rights violations by the government in quelling disturbances (Aziz & Razzaque 2018; Odhikar 2020).

1.3 Religion and Politics in Bangladesh

The people of Bangladesh generally consider religious ideology when they vote (Hasan 2020, p. 108). They assume the religion of the candidate will determine what type of policies the particular party will adopt if they are elected. As a result, political parties more or less consider the religion of the majority of the people of the country as their electoral strategy for gaining popular support (Jahan & Shahan 2014, p. 436). However, the question can be asked whether religious ideology is the only factor that draws voters to the polls to support Islamist parties. According to Cammett and Luong (2014, p. 187), Islamists enjoy an advantage in generating popular appeal and winning votes. However, the sources of this advantage are not only ideological hegemony but also the voter perceptions of the progressive social services and organisational capacity of Muslim-based political parties in Bangladesh. These factors jointly and sometimes individually contribute to the credibility of Islamist parties as professional, trustworthy, and pure (Cammett & Luong 2014, p. 187). This finding suggests that there is a significant opportunity for the voting behaviour influenced by religious ideology to be changed according to the views of the electors on the services and capacity of the parties. Erle, Wichmann and Kjærsum (2011, p. 12) argued that poor people vote in favour of Islamist parties,

but rich people usually vote for secularist. Moreover, other authors have found that less educated people are more likely to vote for Islamist parties than more educated people (Elsayyad & Hanafy 2014, p. 128; El-Said & Rauch 2015, p.51). These findings indicate that voting behaviour inspired by ideological hegemony could be changed according to the capacity of parties to ensure economic and educational development. However, because of this changing voting behaviour according to the credibility of the parties, the Islamist parties in Bangladesh usually use other different strategies besides emphasising their religious credibility to ensure the maximum of their appeal to voters to win the election (Sommer-Topcu 2015, p. 841).

1.4 Religion and Democracy in Bangladesh

Gidengil and Karakoç (2016,p. 332) identified democracy as one of the important strategies of Islamist parties for electoral success. Fan and Lu (2009, pp. 397-8) argued that the campaign marketing strategy is one of the factors that have a significant impact on voting behaviour. However, the presence of Islamist parties in Bangladesh politics and their use of Islam to gain voter support has become a threat to the country's democracy (Riaz 2010, pp. 66-7). According to Mueller (2009, p. 398-9), Islam and democracy are not compatible. A Muslim country has a 50% higher risk of becoming undemocratic than a non-Muslim country. Mueller (2009, p. 402) identified Bangladesh as one of 43 Muslim-majority liberal democratic countries. It is a widely accepted principle that citizens of a democratic country should be informed, capable of deciding and understanding policies, and electing candidates in free and fair elections (Mueller, 2009, p. 402). However, voters in Bangladesh are unaware of the kinds of policies that Islamist parties would pursue if they vote for them (Hasan, 2020, p. 108). Furthermore, Islamist parties, according to Riaz (2010, pp. 66-7), are a danger to Bangladesh's democratic stability. Since some Islamist parties believe in extremism, so the restriction of their participation in politics could lead them to militancy. Riaz (2010) also asserts that the use of religion in politics results in the sufferings and marginalisation of religious and ethnic minorities during policymaking. Therefore, uncontrolled religious domination in government poses a

potential threat, and could result in negative socio-political consequences in Bangladesh (Riaz 2010, pp. 66-7).

Despite these challenges to the country's democracy, the presence of Islam is an integral part of Bangladeshi politics and enjoys political advantage, because if political parties gain the support of the religious majority, they will be able to secure the majority of the votes to win the election. A further consideration is whether the participation of Islamist political parties is compatible with democracy, which is a question debated in both the popular media and in the academic literature (Jahan 2003). Given that this is an important topic in the political discourse and one that could well determine the future path of Bangladesh, this study examines the participation of Islamist parties in Bangladesh politics to determine if their involvement is compatible with democracy, political stability, and prosperity for the country (Lewis 2013). This thesis therefore argues that Islam, as a state religion in Bangladesh, is accordant with democracy, but only if the Islamist political party adopts secularism as one of its ideologies. Therefore, the constitution of Bangladesh should ensure that political parties embrace this concept because secular democracy helps to eradicate violence (Grewal 2020, p. 519), improves religious and ethnic tolerance (Milligan, Anderson & Brym 2014), and guarantees liberty, equality, and fraternity (Taylor 2010, p. 23), which are the values of democracy (Rawat 2017, p. 20).

1.5 Aims and Objectives of the Study

The overall aim of this study is to investigate the impact of the participation of Islamist parties on Bangladesh democracy so that the using of Islam and its compatibility with Bangladesh politics can be identified. To achieve this aim, the main objectives of this study are:

1. To systematically review the existing literature to explore the reason Islamist parties consider democracy as one of their ideologies and whether the participation of Islamist parties in politics is compatible with democracy.

2. To explore the meaning of the findings of the systematic review for Bangladesh to identify the way the participation of Islamist parties can be compatible with Bangladesh democracy.

1.6 Research Questions

Therefore, the main research question of this study is: How is the participation of Islamist parties in Bangladesh compatible with democracy?

To answer this main question, the following sub questions will also be addressed:

1. What is the conclusion of the systematic review of existing literature about the impact of Islamist parties in Muslim countries?
 - a. Why do Islamist parties consider democracy as one of their ideologies?
 - What is the appeal of Islamist parties to the voters?
 - Is the voting behaviour of the people constant? If not, what are the electoral strategies of Islamist parties to meet the changing aspirations of the people?
 - b. How is the participation of the Islamist parties compatible or incompatible with the democracy of Muslim countries?
2. How much of the conclusions of the systematic review are applicable for Bangladesh?

1.7 Significance of the Study

The findings of this study have the potential to significantly contribute to the discipline of political science by identifying voting behaviour influenced by not only religious ideology but also the socio-economic profile of the voters. This study does not reject the ideological hegemony on voting behaviour but shows that voting behaviour stemming from religious ideology changes according to the socio-economic profile of the voters. Therefore, the findings show how evolving voting behaviour leads Islamist parties to pursue various electoral strategies

to meet changing voter aspirations. This research is also crucial for understanding how Islamist parties' provisional positive attitude to democracy as an electoral strategy could ultimately be a threat to democracy. The discussion on compatibility and incompatibility of Islam with democracy in Bangladesh, which is the third largest Muslim-majority country of the world (Hasan 2011, p. 97), will significantly contribute to the literature on Muslim democracies in the South Asian perspective. To meet the purposes of this study, firstly the conclusions of the existing literature will be systematically reviewed. Following the method of systematic review, this thesis will discuss the concept of changing voting behaviour and therefore the positive attitudes of Islamist parties towards democracy as an electoral strategy of Islamists parties. It will also explain how Islam is compatible and sometimes incompatible with democracy from the perspectives of different Muslim-majority countries. Secondly, the findings of the systematic review will be applied in the case of Bangladesh to identify if the participation of Islamist parties is compatible with democracy. These arguments, however, will test the key hypotheses that the changing voting behaviour leads Islamist parties to consider democracy as their electoral strategy; and the participation of Islamist parties is compatible with democracy if they consider secularism as one of their ideologies.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Voting Behaviour and Electoral Strategy of Islamist Parties

Cammett and Luong (2014, p. 187) claim that Muslims in Bangladesh usually consider Islamist parties as competent and trustworthy which the Islamists parties turn to their advantage at the ballot box. Voters significantly consider the credibility of the Islamist parties to supply social services. Therefore, the voting behaviour is not constant; rather it is subject to the perceptions of voters and could be changed with economic and educational development (Erle, Wichmann & Kjærnum 2011, p. 12). This leads Islamist parties to consider different electoral strategies such as democracy to attract Muslims as well as non-Muslims (Karakaya & Yildirim 2013, p. 1322). Gurses (2014, p. 650) identified this positive attitude of Islamist parties towards democracy as provisional and fragmented. Figure 1 briefly shows this discussion.

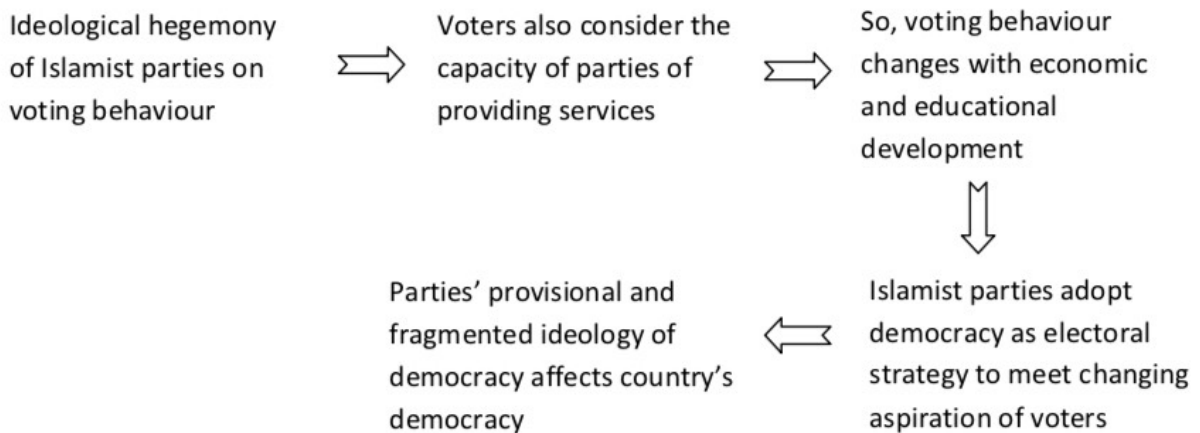


Figure 1: Changing voting behaviour and electoral strategy of Islamist parties (Source: Author's elaboration)

2.2 Democracy and Freedom of Expression

To identify how the participation of Islamist parties and their provisional electoral strategy affects the democracy of a Muslim-majority country, it is necessary to know what various concepts of democracy are used in common and academic debates. Dahl (1998, p. 37)

points out that, according to the constitution, all citizens need to be considered as equally eligible to participate in the decision-making of the policies that the government will follow. Whatever the case may be on other issues, all persons in the community are to be treated equally in terms of political power. Dahl (1998, p. 37) identified five definite criteria for the democratic process: effective participation, voting equality, enlightened understanding, control of the agenda, and inclusion of all adults. Dahl (1998) signified the equal and effective participation of the members of the association so that they can express their opinions during decision-making. Altman & Pérez-Liñán (2002) agreed with Dahl (1998) and said effective participation is one of the significant dimensions of quality democracy. Bradford (1952, p. 149) agreed that the participation of citizens and the feedback of their participation is fundamental for democracy. According to Beetham (2012, p. 3), democracy means that all members of an organisation or community should have equal opportunity and voice in decision-making which has a significant impact. There is freedom of expression and pluralism under the democratic system (Beetham 2012, p. 6). McMurry (2019, p. 1052) added that applying human rights, such as freedom of association, freedom of expression, and non-discrimination to enable participatory processes, is necessary. The author asserts that freedom of expression is significant for deliberative democracy. Through freedom of expression, the marginalised groups can have equal opportunities to express their opinion, which strengthens the participatory process (McMurry 2019, p. 1062). Besson (2011, p. 19) also agreed that protecting human rights is necessary for democracy and argued that human rights and democracy are mutually strengthened by each other. Rostbøll (2011, p. 18) signifies freedom of expression for democracy and said if one expresses views in one way that indicates that one is open to learning and listening from others which is necessary to know what is good for each person by knowing the justification of others. All rights are based on freedom of speech and there is no other freedom without freedom of expression (Cushman 2016, p. 348). Carlsson (2016, p. 191) said democracy does not work without well-informed participation by citizens who have the opportunity to understand the public affairs. Besides that, Barrington's (1998) study critically mentioned freedom of expression and stated it is vital for democracy and to prevent political instability (Carolan 2014, p. 9). In democratic process, 'all the members must have equal and

effective opportunities for making their views known to the other members' of the association (Dahl 1998, p. 37).

2.3 Freedom of Expression, Secularism, and Muslim Democracy

Bishara's study in 1993 argued that if freedom of expression is an element of democracy, then secularism is also a significant element of democracy (Bahlul 2004, p.102). Secularism indicates the separation of state and church (Taylor 2010, p. 23). However, ensuring secularism requires at least three elements. Firstly, the element of liberty includes religious liberty, freedom to exercise religion, and freedom to not follow any religion. Secondly, secularism needs equality among the people of different religions or faiths which requires no religious outlook within the state. Thirdly, it requires fraternity through which 'all the spiritual families must be heard, included in the ongoing process of determining what the society is about (its political identity) and how it is going to realize these goals' (Taylor 2010, p. 1). This definition of secularism by Taylor (2010) is the response to the democratic state of diversity and pluralism (Keton 2014, p. 50). Hämäläinen and Tomaszewska (2017, p. 4) state the senses of secularism allow a man to believe his relation with nature; even those who reject the existence of God. Another sense of secularism is pluralist-liberal secularism that is based on freedom of conscience and religion. Peonidis (2019, p. 2-3) said secular and liberal democracy allows freedom to criticize religion. If the government supports religious neutrality and places a high value on freedom of religious and rational thinking, then all people are free to practice their religion in nonviolent ways, are even allowed not to belong to any religious faith, and have the right to criticise other religions if incompatible with their own. Also, the freedom to live an atheist lifestyle includes the freedom to question religion for epistemic, spiritual, or realistic purposes (Peonidis 2019, p. 2-3). As secular free expression significantly reinforces democracy, therefore it should not be undermined (Carter 2014, p. 5).

Rowley and Smith (2009, p. 273) state the deficit of democracy and freedom is comparatively more in the countries that are historically considered as part of the Islamic heartland (e.g., Afghanistan, Algeria, Iran, Iraq, and Pakistan) than the other Muslim-majority countries of the world. Some scholars have argued Islam is incompatible with democracy (Al-

Amin 2014; Benstead 2015; Islam & Islam 2017; Maksum 2017). Akkerman's study in 2005 argued that Muslims are intolerant and not compatible with modern secularism (Ribberink, Achterberg & Houtman 2017, p.260). The modern Muslim world, however, can be described by the different typology of Islamist ideology. Shepard (1987) identified different categories of Islamic ideology which are necessary to measure the compatibility of Islam with democracy. The author structures the Islamic ideology into these six categories: secularism, Islamic modernism, radical Islamism, Islamic totalism, traditionalism, and neo-traditionalism.

2.4 Secularism and Democracy in the Muslim World

To achieve the purpose of this research about democracy and religion in Bangladesh, only secularism and Islamic modernism could be discussed because only these two categories have connectivity with democracy to some extent. Shepard (1987, p. 309-11) stated that pure secularist in Muslim democracy may not exist, but different subcategories of secularists, such as moderate secularist, Muslim secularist, and pan-Muslim, have been identified in the Muslim world. Moderate secularists are those who believe in the separation of religion from politics and combines nationalism with capitalism, socialism or liberalism. The constitution is the source of law and Islam is not a state religion for them. Sovereignty is vested to the people of the nation. Shepard (1987, p. 309-11) mentioned Turkey as an example. However, the separation of state and religion by moderate secularist does not indicate the lack of their religiosity. Moderate secularists practice religion in personal life and consider religion as the way to develop personal ethics, welfare, and public order (Shepard 1987, p. 309-11). On the other hand, modern Islamists believe in flexibility of *Shari'a* law and in following the teachings of the *Quran* and *Sunna*. They consider *Jihad* as a defensive battle and emphasise the texts in the *Quran* that teach about tolerance of non-Muslims. Their apologetic way to achieve flexibility is to link Islamic tradition with Western practices, and modern Islamists claim that the Western practices of democracy were originally derived from Islam (Shepard 1987, p. 311-14). Islamists ideology seeks to win power by holding democracy as a strategy to build Islamic state (Nasr 2005, p. 13). On the other hand, as Nasr (2005) showed, Muslim democrats do not have a deep desire to enshrine Islam in politics but use Islam as a tactic to win votes. According to Werner

(2019, p. 486), apart from all of these strategies of parties, voters are only concerned about the credibility of the parties to keep campaign promises that they mentioned in the election manifesto and to provide common goods. Moreover, Cammett and Luong (2014, p. 199) argue the primary source of the advantage of Islamist parties is their reputation which is indirectly influenced by their effectiveness in providing social services, their organisational capacity, and social power they wield through ideological hegemony. To consider all these arguments, figure 2 shows how democracy is connected with Muslim democracy.

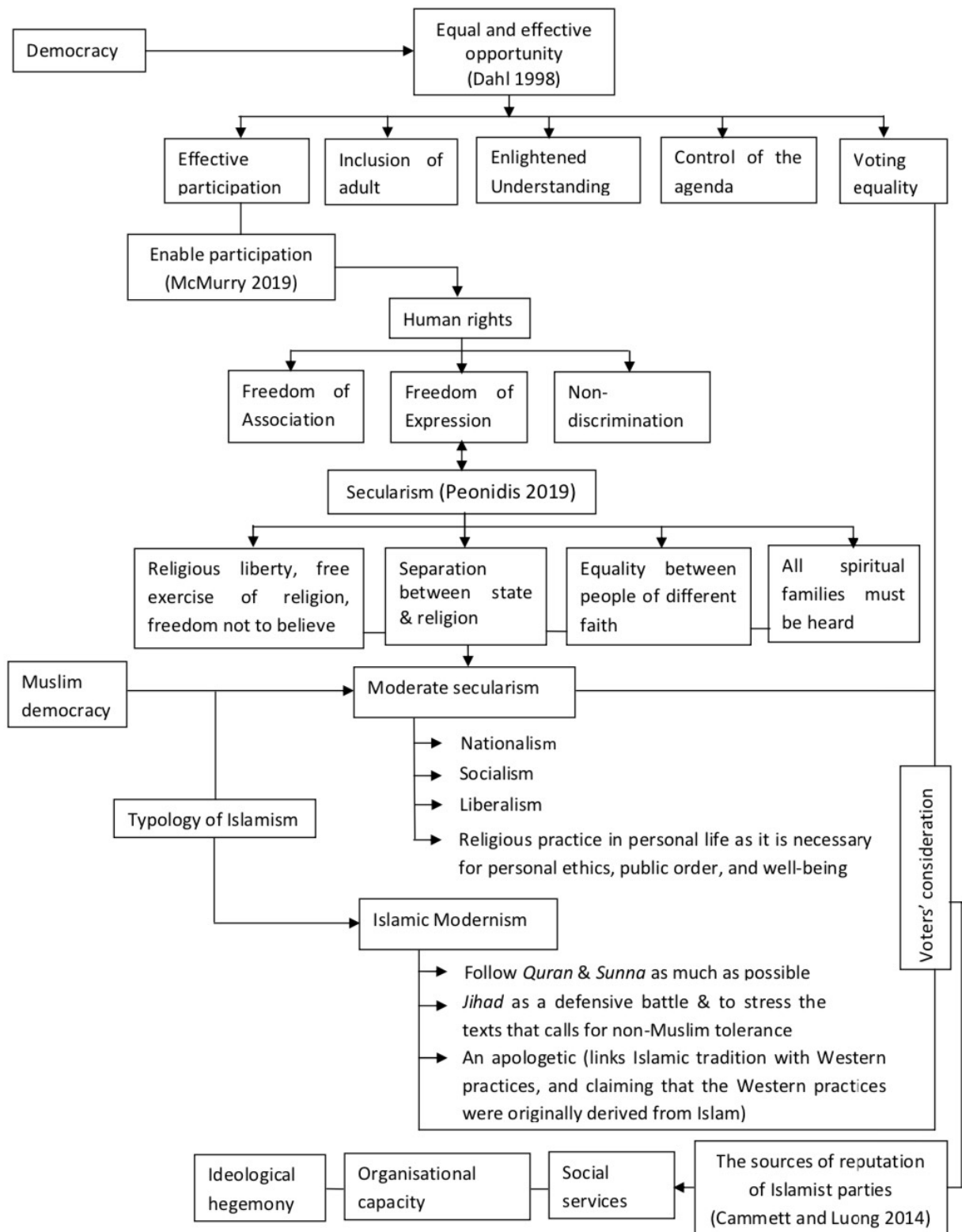


Figure 2: Democracy, Secularism and Muslim Democracy- A theoretical framework (Source: Author's elaboration)

Figure 2 has identified five definitive criteria for the accountable, democratic process: effective participation, voting equality, enlightened understanding, control of the agenda, and inclusion of adults. It shows how the effective participation within democracy through freedom of expression connects with secularism which is adopted by moderate secularist parties. Moderate secularist parties connect with Muslim democracy as they believe in secularism, and sometimes socialism, liberalism, and practice of Islamic faith in personal life. For Muslim democrats considering different ideologies to consolidate their electoral performance, these beliefs become the key points that determine voters' choices among the political parties. Therefore, moderate secularist parties are connected to democracy. These findings demonstrate that Islamic modernism, in reality, is not connected with secularism; rather, it follows the *Quran* and *Sunna* as far as possible. Even though modern Islamists sometimes adopt democratic principles, they claim that the Western practices of democracy were originally derived from Islam (Shepard 1987, p. 311-14). Therefore, the conclusion from this discussion is that Islamism in combination with secularism is compatible with democracy, which is an idea that this research contributes to and demonstrates as a reality in the Bangladesh political system.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

This study uses a combined methods approach to the research, which includes a systematic review of the literature, and a case study of the Bangladesh context. Dacombe (2017, p. 149) states that systematic reviews are similar to any other form of political science study. It has well-defined research topics and questions, data is gathered from the existing body of literature on the subject in order to answer the research question which is then interpreted and analysed. The findings are then discussed and conclusions arrived at from the evidence. Systematic reviews may demonstrate important differences with a basic literature review by minimising bias, enhancing transparency, and documenting findings and synthesis in a way that is transparent enough to allow replication (Dacombe 2017, p. 150). Gisselquist, Niño-Zarazúa and Samarin (2021, p.7) state that systematic reviews include identifying and synthesising applicable research using a straightforward, transparent, and replicable process. According to Newman and Gough (2019, p. 17), it is also possible to conduct a review of reviews besides the review of primary research by examining the existing research which can comparatively be considered as novel. In contrast to these views, there are arguments against using systematic review methods, which include that it is rigidly positivist, theoretically vacant, and undervalues qualitative study (Okoli 2015). However, Dacombe (2017, p. 153) has argued that using a systematic review can be embraced in social science if these objections can be resolved. Therefore, the combined method used in this study supplements the systematic review with the Bangladesh case study to resolve shortcomings and confirm the validity of the findings of the review.

3.1 Systematic Review

Before conducting the systematic review, a protocol was established, as the planning of the methods prior to undertaking a review is very helpful to understand the scope of the review and answer the review questions (Newman & Gough 2019, p. 6). The protocol includes the five stages shown in Figure 1.



Figure 3: Stages of systematic review (Source: Newman & Gough 2019, p. 6)

3.1.1 Eligibility and selection criteria

Based on the research question, the selection criteria for the systematic review include relevant peer-reviewed articles in English language (Newman & Gough 2019, p. 8). Other subject and content criteria for inclusion in the review are, firstly, electoral strategy of Islamist political parties and its impact on voting behaviour; secondly, the compatibility and incompatibility of Islam with democracy; finally, the participation of Islamist political parties in South Asia Muslim majority countries and their influence on democracy. The main aim of these selection criteria is to narrow the scope of the review to within realistic boundaries and to answer the overarching question of how the participation of Islamist parties influence Muslim democracy in Bangladesh.

3.1.2 Develop search strategy

The search strategy sourced peer-reviewed articles published by the databases of East & South Asia Database, International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS), Political Science Database, Politics Collection, Religion Database, Social Science Database, Social Science Database, Sociology Collection, and Sociology Database. Access to these databases at Flinders

University is readily available through the search engine, Findit@Flinders. At first the ProQuest database has been selected because it is one of the useful databases for social science students (Dworak 2012, p. 48). Also in ProQuest database, there are 18 databases available from which nine databases have manually been selected to ensure maximum availability of relevant peer-reviewed articles. Moreover, ProQuest allows downloading only title and abstract of the articles for each of the search strategies at primary stage which helps to manage time within the limited scope of this project. It means if one search strategy is applied, titles and abstracts of a number of articles can be downloaded at a time. After sorting the duplicates and screening the title and abstract of original articles, it was possible to download the articles that are relevant and appropriate for inclusion. The search strategy in these databases includes the following terms to identify the articles: 1. ab(Religion OR Islam OR Muslim) AND ab(islamist parties) AND stype.exact("Scholarly Journals") AND at.exact("Article") AND la.exact("English") AND PEER(yes), 2. ab(Democracy OR voters OR Voting behaviour) AND ab(Islamist parties) AND stype.exact("Scholarly Journals") AND at.exact("Article") AND la.exact("English") AND PEER(yes), 3. ab(Islamist Political Parties) AND ab(South Asia) AND stype.exact("Scholarly Journals") AND at.exact("Article") AND la.exact("English") AND PEER(yes), 4. ab(Democracy AND Islam) AND ab(South Asia) AND stype.exact("Scholarly Journals") AND at.exact("Article") AND la.exact("English") AND PEER(yes). During the search, the restrictions given to articles were (1) scholarly journal, (2) articles, and (3) English language. Abstract of the articles was selected as the place of the searching keywords (see appendix A).

3.1.3 Study selection criteria

The searching part of the study was completed by March 2021. Using the above-mentioned restrictions, the titles and abstracts of the search results were downloaded. At first, 587 articles had been found. The number of duplicate articles was 144 which were sorted from the list. After that, the total number of original articles was 443. The title and abstract of these articles was screened. After screening, 409 articles were excluded as the abstract of these articles did not have discussion on linkage of electoral strategy of Islamist political parties and voting behaviour, or the compatibility and incompatibility of Islam with democracy, or the

participation of Islamist political parties in South Asia Muslim majority countries and its influence on democracy. Thereafter, 34 articles had been found that were eligible for full review following the selection criteria. These articles that appeared eligible for full review were then downloaded. The articles selected for downloading were examined by following the selection and eligibility criteria.

3.1.4 Coding studies

After the selection of the articles, the characteristics of the studies were coded systematically. The coding of the studies was done by following the outlines mentioned by Newman and Gough (2019, p. 12). The authors state that the coding of the studies includes three aspects, which are firstly, the details of what research has been undertaken; secondly, how the research has been undertaken to identify the relevance and assess the quality of the studies with the research question of the present study; and finally, what was the result of each study to synthesise the result with the research question. Therefore, the details of the study (what research has been undertaken and how), the findings of the study, and its relevance to the present study have been coded (see appendix B).

3.1.5 Assess the quality of the studies

After coding the characteristics of each study, the Critical Appraisal Process was followed to assess the quality of the studies. Gough's study in 2007 identified three elements of the Critical Appraisal, which are the validity of the study according to the research question of the project, the quality of the methods of the study and the relevance of the study to the review question (Newman & Gough 2019, p. 13). The Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (CASP) (2018) qualitative studies checklist form was used, as it is available to download from the CASP website. There are ten questions in this form which have been graded as 1 if yes, and as 0 if no/can't tell to assess the selected studies. Each of the studies is evaluated by the score of 10. By using this element, the degree of relevance to find the most relevant studies was assessed as shown in appendix C. Accordingly, the number of most relevant articles which were finally

eligible for inclusion in the study was 21. Figure 4 summarises the selection process of included studies in this research.

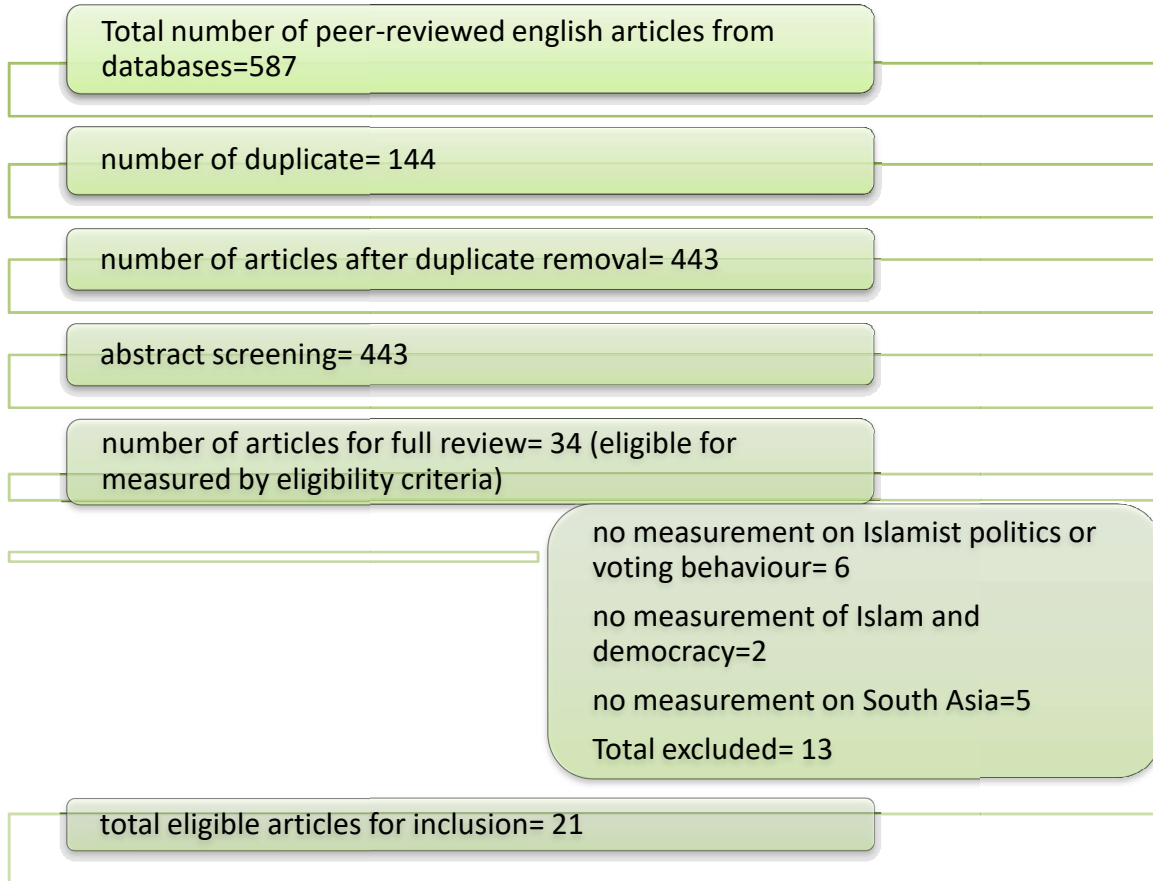


Figure 4: The result of study selection (Source: Author's elaboration)

3.1.6 Synthesis

The 21 most relevant articles were finally eligible for inclusion in this project and the information was extracted. Then the information was synthesised from the articles and used to answer the research questions.

3.1.7 Report findings

Finally, the conclusion of the synthesised information of these studies was presented. These findings have answered the first research sub-question under the main research question. Although this is the last stage of Systematic Review (Newman & Gough 2019, p. 6),

the validity of the findings of systematic review has been checked by cross-referencing with the case of Bangladesh, a south Asian Muslim majority country, and the third largest Muslim majority country of the world (Hasan 2011, p. 97), that has similar characteristics or context to the countries where some studies of systematic review have been conducted.

3.2 Implications of Findings in Bangladesh Perspective

In addition to the systematic review of peer-reviewed publications, the study considered some grey literature in the form of government reports and non-government documents as well as media reports to broaden the data available specific to the case study of Bangladesh. For example, to conduct the case study on Bangladesh, some data was collected from World Value Survey (WVS) wave 7, which is publicly available online. The data from books, peer-reviewed journals, and newspapers, which are available in different databases, such as Google scholar, ProQuest Central, Taylor and Francis online, SAGE Journals Premier 2021 PREM2021, and SpringerLink Books were also collected. In the case study chapter material on Bangladesh, the discussion is mainly qualitative in nature, but also includes some quantitative data used to discuss the voting behaviour of the people of Bangladesh. Accordingly, the findings on the Bangladesh perspective provide the answer to the second research sub-question.

3.3 Analysis

Finally, the findings on Bangladesh perspective were analysed. The discussion in this chapter significantly analyses whether the findings on Bangladesh perspective are compatible with the findings of the systematic review. Therefore, this chapter provides the answer to the main research question.

3.4 Ethical Approval

This project does not require any ethical approval because there is no human participation in this project, which systematically reviewed the existing literatures that are publicly available. However, the researcher was conscious of the need to ensure as far as possible that the published studies conducted by other researchers in the reviewed literature

were conducted ethically. To the extent possible, the researcher also endeavoured to ensure any information gleaned from the literature was accurate, reliable, and has been presented in this thesis in an unbiased manner.

3.5 Risk Assessment and Limitation of the Project

As the discussion on religion and politics is sensitive, it is essential to include the reliable sources of data to collect accurate information and to make the arguments in an impartial and factual manner. Therefore Flinders University Library databases have been used, and references have been cited properly to ensure the accuracy and reliability of data, as well as acknowledgement of the many authors who have contributed to this research through their own work. However, because of the time limitation, secondary sources of information, such as peer-reviewed articles from selected databases, were required. The study could have been more comprehensive if more databases were included. In addition, some possibly unreliable data from newspaper articles and books have been used as secondary sources to supplement the findings of the systematic review. Thus, the study was reliant on the literature and therefore limited in not having been able to include first hand interviews and data collected directly from the voters and other stakeholders to gain further insight into Islamist parties in the Bangladesh democracy.

CHAPTER 4: SYSTEMATIC REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter presents the discussion of the literature on the topic of the research project in three sections. The first section presents the systematic review of the literature from 21 studies specifically selected for the review, which are: Awan 2018; Akdağ 2015; Ali 2009; Ciftci, Wuthrich & Shamaileh 2019; Condra et al. 2009; Daadaoui 2010; Ellian 2008; Entelis 2004; Fossati 2019; Fleschenberg 2007; Grewal et al. 2019; Gurses 2014; Haynes 2010; Jawad 2013; Khatab 2009; Nitza-Makowska 2020; Pellicer & Wegner 2014; Rane 2011; Razavi 2006; Sherif 2016; and Shehu 2014. The second section synthesises all the information gleaned from these studies and uses this synthesis to find the answers to the research questions posed in Chapter 1. Finally, the findings of the systematic review of the literature are presented.

4.1 Section One: Review the Literature

In this section, three main arguments have been presented in three different subsections. Firstly, the influence of religious ideology on voting behaviour and, therefore, the electoral strategies of Islamist parties to influence voting behaviour has been discussed. Secondly, the participation of Islamist political parties and the impact of their participation on democracy in Muslim majority countries have been identified. The final subsection presents a discussion from the South Asian perspective on whether the participation of Islamist parties is compatible with the principle of democracy in those countries.

4.1.1 Electoral strategy of Islamist parties and their appeal to voters

Seven articles were found which mentioned the voting behaviour of the people of Muslim majority democratic countries and the electoral strategies of the Islamist political parties used to influence voting behaviour (e.g., Akdağ 2015; Daadaoui 2010; Fossati 2019; Grewal et al. 2019; Gurses 2014; Pellicer & Wegner 2014; and Rane 2011). The central argument put forward by these studies is that the voters often consider Islamist political parties to be competent, trustworthy, and pure because of their religion (Grewal et al. 2019, p. 872). However, voting behaviour changes with the changing socio-economic profile of voters (Pellicer

& Wegner 2014), which leads Islamist parties to consider democracy as one of their electoral strategies (Akdağ 2015; Gurses 2014; Rane 2011).

4.1.1.1 The appeal of Islamist parties to voters of Muslim majority countries. Two studies (e.g., Daadaoui 2010; Fossati 2019) have discussed the influence of religious ideology on political behaviour. For example Fossati (2019) argues that in Indonesia there has been an ideological resurgence affecting political behaviour where a system of *Aliran* (literally meaning ideology) identities is associated with party choice. *Aliran* identity includes three socio-cultural groups, which are *abangon*, *santri* and *priyayi*. All three are generally followers of Islam religion, but each group practises a different socio-cultural ideology. *Abangon* is the group of people who practice the version of Islam that is strongly influenced by Hinduism-Buddhism. *Santri* are the believer in orthodox Islam. *Priyayi* includes the Javanese people who are part of the state bureaucracy and have a high socioeconomic position. The people of these three groups are Muslim but belong to different socio-cultural classes. So their ideology is different from each other, and that difference has tended to initiate certain political behaviours and to influence people's political party choice. Therefore, Fossati (2019) claims that ideology plays important roles in Indonesian politics and should be considered carefully when studying Indonesian political attitude and behaviour of voters.

On the point of ideological consideration, Daadaoui (2010) also discussed the political culture in Morocco, which the author described as a parliamentary constitutional monarchy that is strongly religious as well as traditional. According to Daadaoui (2010), the strategies used by the government to weaken its opposition parties, the ability of government to increase its perceived religious legitimacy among voters has resulted in an inability of opposition parties to mobilize the voter base. Consequently, the monarchy controls the political system of the country and it uses the religious symbol and religious mandate to maintain power in government (Daadaoui 2010, p. 205). The finding of the study, therefore, indicated that Islamic religion and traditional are the main factors in Moroccan politics. For example, the study showed that 74% of respondents (n= 287) of this study supported the view that the King should be devoutly religious and faithful to Islamic values. Therefore, effective portrayal of the

leadership as religious plays a key role in the politics of Morocco and provides the power base for the government and the monarchy. Projecting an image of religiosity in this case has become the most significant political strategy to gain and hold voter support.

One study (Grewal et al. 2019) has specifically mentioned the influence of Islamist political parties on voting behaviour. Grewal et al. (2019) mentioned that the electoral dominance of Islamist political parties is remarkable in Muslim-majority countries. The voters of most of the Muslim majority countries consider that if they support Islamist political parties it will be the way to please God. The people of these countries are usually committed to after-life and tend to rely on God during their moments of grievances and grief. The authors identified the linkage between economic strain and the support for political Islam and showed the correlation between the poor economic condition and the positive attitude towards Islamist political parties. They initiated the simple regression model to show how the poor respondents trust Islamist Parties in comparison to their wealthy counterparts (Grewal et al. 2019, p. 863). The sufferings with different level of economic crisis, poverty or unemployment rely on the concept of Islam; and therefore people support Islamist parties as the way to please God. Religion as the divine practice alleviates the psychological sufferings of individuals (Grewal et al. 2019, p. 861). The authors mentioned this view logistically supports the concept of the religion of Marx where he identified religion as 'the opium of the people'. However, this becomes an electoral advantage of Islamist parties which they convert into vote to win the ballot box. Using the example of Tunisia, Grewal et al. (2019) argued that religion could have a significant influence on the voting behaviour of the people of a Muslim majority country in a specific condition such as poverty. It does not mean that all the voter of a Muslim majority country considers the religion of the candidate as a religious act but it happens during the economic crisis which is driven by the concept of divine rewards of after-life. For example, when the respondents from Tunisia were asked whether they support *Shari'a* because they consider it as the better law which will make a better life or as because *Shari'a* is the will of Allah and it will help them to please Allah in the afterlife, 75% of the respondents chose the second answer (Grewal et al. 2019, p. 872). This indicates that the respondents enduring an economic crisis are more likely to support Islamist political parties for their divine rewards in the afterlife.

On the other hand, Pellicer and Wegner (2014) identified that voting behaviour changes according to socio-economic status. Pellicer and Wegner (2014) support the study of Grewal et al. (2019) in the point of considering religion by voters in a specific condition. However, they argued that the support towards Islamist parties is not constant and it changes with changing socio-economic profile of the voters. They categorised the socio-economic profile of the voters of the Moroccan Party of Justice and Development (PJD) and identified three types of voter profile, which are: clientelistic, grievance, and horizontal network types of supporters (Pellicer & Wegner 2014, p. 117). Clientelistic voters are the supporters of PJD who are poor, uneducated and excluded from state networks. If PJD's supporters are associated with grievances it indicates that supporters are poor or have little wealth, whereas they aspire to achieve higher education and inclusion in the elite state networks. Furthermore, if the supporters have medium wealth, high education and not excluded from the state network, they will be considered as supporters with horizontal network profile. Through the case study on the election of 2002 and 2007, Pellicer and Wegner (2014) identified that the supporters of PJD were with grievance profile in the election of 2002 election which changed in the election of 2007 and turned to the supporters with a horizontal network profile. However, the finding in this study included that the voters of the Islamist party did not consistently depend on the ideology of the party but on the credibility of the parties to make policies. Although this study specifically drew on the picture of Moroccan elections of 2002 and 2007 and argued that the voter turnout exists in Morocco based on the capability of the Islamist parties, the discussion on three variables (education, poverty, and state networks) with the voting choice can be noted here to make the concordance of this study with the study of Grewal et al. (2019). Both studies focused on the specific condition when voters considered Islamist parties competency either for gaining divine rewards in after-life or for ensuring better policies according to their aspirations.

4.1.1.2 Electoral Strategies of Islamist Parties. Three studies (Akdağ 2015; Gurses 2014; Rane 2011) indicated that Islamist parties adopt different strategies to survive in power or to share power. Gurses (2014) said Islamist political parties adopt a favourable attitude to democracy not because they are committed to democratic values but when there is a chance of winning

the election or sharing the power. Through the analysis of the data from the World Value Survey and in-depth interviews of the members of Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi- AKP), members of parliament, mayors, members from different religious social movements and Islamist communities, Gurses (2014, p. 650) showed that the positive attitude of Islamist Parties in Turkey towards democracy is not original but provisional and fragmented. For example, when the respondents were asked 'what is the main obstacle to the country's democracy?' they simply indicated 'military intervention'. However, the same respondents when asked the question related to minority rights, hesitated to answer or answered vaguely. Moreover, when one of the members of AKP, who strongly argued that democracy means fulfilling people's demands, was asked about the rights of the Kurdish minority, he avoided the question by mentioning it as a different issue (Gurses 2014, pp. 650- 1). Therefore, Gurses (2014) contributed to the existing debate on Islamist and its inclusion-moderation aspect in democracy.

However, Akdağ (2015) specifically mentioned AKP's electoral strategy and said AKP's consideration of the Kurdish issue should be considered as the rational strategy to increase the voters of the party. The author argued that AKP has initiated the Kurdish Opening policy to solve the Kurdish crisis in Turkey as their electoral strategy in increase the party's vote. Through spatial modelling, Akdağ (2015) made a concise discussion on AKP's changing policy-making which the author argued as for the electoral success of the party rather than the ideological resurgence. Therefore, the author contributed to the point of adopting the electoral strategy by the Islamist party for electoral success.

Rane (2011, p. 337) supported this argument on the electoral strategy of Islamist parties and said Islamist political parties have adopted the principle of democracy, good governance, and socio-economic prosperity, justice, pluralism as Islamic objectives; and thereby attract the Muslims as well as non-Muslims votes or secularist support which helps them to ease the apprehensions between Western government and Muslim politics to some extent. This study showed the trendy political Islam more precisely and said Islamist political parties include Islamic values as pragmatic but accept democracy to reject violence. However, this study

concentrated on the policies and politics of second-generation Islamist political parties who articulate themselves different from first-generation Islamist parties based on their different political approach to Islam which they named as the *Maqasid* approach. The failure of first-generation Islamist parties to sufficiently meet the expectation of the people and thereby result in electoral failure encouraged the emergence of second-generation Islamic parties with the *Maqasid* approach (Rane 2011, p. 339). This approach indicates that the Islamist political parties belong to Islam-oriented identity and their main aim is not to establish *Shari'a* law or Islamic state, rather to hold the democracy, good governance, pluralism, economic prosperity and human rights as Islamic objectives. Through the *Maqasid* approach, Islamist parties are redefining the concept of political Islam and maintaining good relationship with the west.

Furthermore, Rane (2011) interviewed key representatives of Turkey's Justice and Development Party (AKP), Malaysia's People's Justice Party (PKR), and Indonesia's Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) and found that these parties adopt democratic values as the electoral strategy (Rane 2011, p. 339). For example, one member of PKR in Malaysia articulated that their party is different from first-generation Islamist parties based on the *Maqasid* approach under which their party's objective is to provide education, health care for the welfare of their people. Mentioning the response of the leader of AKP, PRK and PKS, it has been illustrated that the Islamist political parties advocate the principle of democracy and Islam and maintain positive relations with Muslim as well as Western countries (Rane 2011, p. 354). The author concluded that accepting the *Maqasid* approach by the Islamist parties should not be considered from the view of maintaining relations with the West. Rather, this is a strategy mainly to promote collective welfare with Islamic values to ensure spiritual and material prosperity and therefore to ensure benefit for Muslim states.

4.1.2 Participation of Islamist parties and its impact on Muslim democracy

Nine articles discussed compatibility and incompatibility of democracy with Islam (e.g., Ciftci, Wuthrich & Shamaileh 2019; Ellian 2008; Entelis 2004; Haynes 2010; Jawad 2013; Khatab 2009; Razavi 2006; Sherif 2016; Shehu 2014). Khatab (2009) and Shehu (2014) discuss the arguments that showed how Islam or Islamic ideology helps to promote democracy. Ellian

(2008) strongly argued on incompatibility of Islam with democracy. Four studies (Ciftci, Wuthrich & Shamaileh 2019; Haynes 2010; Jawad 2013; Sherif 2016) indicate that modern Islamist democracy has included the similar principles of democracy; therefore, it is compatible with democracy. Entelis (2004) and Razavi (2006) only provide brief discussion on the concept of compatibility and incompatibility of Islam with democracy. The argument of these studies can be interpreted as the participation of Islamist political parties can be compatible with democracy if they practice democratic principles, secularism, and pluralism.

4.1.2.1 Compatibility of Islam and democracy. Khatab (2009) represents the arguments of Sayyid Qutb on the compatibility of Islam with democracy. Sayyid Qutb is an Islamic intellectual who is known for his charisma in Egyptian politics, developing systematic thought, and presenting Islam and different substantive issue related to Islam that overwhelms modern Muslim society. Khatab (2009) discussed many misunderstandings of Muslim militants on the central concept of Qutb's *hakimiyya*. For example, the author mentioned the concept of Ayman al-Zawahiri, leader of al-Qa'ida, on democracy where al-Zawahiri claims democracy is the way of '*shirk bi-Allah*' (it means 'the association of partners with God'). According to al-Zawahiri, God exercises sovereign power in Islam but people exercise sovereignty in democracy. Moreover, human beings are the legislator in democracy but Almighty Allah is the legislator in Islam (Khatab 2009, p. 316). Therefore, according to al-Zawahiri, democracy is a new religion that has taken over the power of God to make legislation and handed it to the people. It denies the sovereignty of God and recognises the sovereignty of people. Therefore, the concept of election and participating in it is *haram* (forbidden) in Islam. Qutb's response to such arguments, on the other hand, is concise and simple: 'democracy is in Islam; justice is in Islam' (Khatab 2009, p. 318). Qutb's study in 1983 mentioned that democracy is not about voting or election; rather it is a broader concept related to social justice, universal peace, intercultural relation, the welfare of individual and society. Although Qutb's concept of *hakimiyya* is the centre of the arguments of militancy to prove Islam's incompatibility with democracy, Qutb meant 'the highest governmental and legal authority' by the term *hakimiyya*. Qutb added that 'Allah does not descend Himself to govern, but sent down His *Shari'a* to govern' (Khatab 2009, p. 320). It indicates that Qutb does not refer to Almighty Allah but rather His *Shari'a* by the term

hakimiyya (sovereignty). Also, *Shari'a* allows people to legislate themselves following *Shari'a*. In other words, Qutb refers to *Shari'a* as the foundation following which people can legislate themselves. It aims to establish justice, equality and fraternity for the welfare of the people. Qutb argued Islam comes with *Quran* and *Hadith* which are full of laws and can be considered as the foundation of legislation (Khatab 2009, p. 321). On the point of modernity, Qutb's study in 1993 argued that *Shari'a* can respond to modernity with its capacity of growth and renewal; Muslims can utilise the experience of the other nations for building harmony if it does not contradict Islamic principles (Khatab 2009, p. 322). Khatab (2009, p. 329) concluded that Islam is not incompatible with democracy. Democratic values can be better implemented under the Islamic system. The author said the argument against the compatibility of Islam with democracy is not based in religious ideology; rather it is politically motivated (Khatab 2009, p. 329).

Another author, Shehu (2014), contributed to the discussion on the debate of compatibility and incompatibility of Islam with democracy. The author said Sharia is the legal system of Islam and thereby it is not possible to discuss Islam without Sharia. Similarly, the discussion of democracy without constitutionalism is absurd. Bahlul (2005) argued that Islamic regimes cannot be democratic because secularism is the base of democracy (Shehu 2014, p. 249). According to Shehu (2014, p. 250), constitutionalism and pluralism or multiculturalism are significant elements for the survival of democracy. As democracy is about protecting the rights of the people, the pluralism of all aspects of the political, social, and economic system must be accommodated within democracy. If the idea of incompatibility of democracy with Islam is based on the argument that the word 'government' and 'state' is not included in *Holy Qur'an*, Shehu (2014, p. 256) argued that it is caused by the misinterpretation of Islam, and mentioned that Allah commended human beings to follow His rules. Shehu (2014) illustrated this argument by the narration of an Islamic story that tells of the time when Prophet Mohammed (SAW) arrived at Madina, and he noticed different ethnic groups there and created a constitution that declared Madina as a nation-state. This state system, therefore, indicates that the system of government under the cultural and religious pluralism of Madina was recognised by the constitution (Shehu 2014, p. 256).

If the incompatibility argument relies on the concept of election as takes place in democracy, Shehu (2014, p. 264) said the election of leaders is also supported in Islam. For example, immediately after the death of the Prophet, when there was a contention about which among his four lieutenants would succeed him to become the leader of the Muslim world, Abu-Bakr was elected as the first Caliph with spiritual as well as political leadership. Articulating the principle of the post-election speech by Abu-Bakr, Shehu (2014, p. 264) argued that Islam includes the principles of the government that can evolve according to the need of time and progress. Furthermore, if the argument of incompatibility is on the concept of the sovereignty of God in Islam vs. sovereignty of people in democracy, Shehu (2014, pp. 265- 7) mentioned that democracy allows communities to have mosques or churches where people are free to show their gratitude toward sovereignty to God. The sovereignty of God and His rule are the basis of human laws. There is nothing in Sharia that forbids people from exercising sovereignty over the political leaders to shape the form of the government and to ensure political sovereignty. Shehu (2014, pp. 272-3) concluded that Islam and democracy is compatible, yet controversy might arise because of the lack of uniformity of the Muslim scholars in their interpretation of Sharia Law, cultural hatred, and intolerance.

4.1.2.2 Incompatibility of Islam and democracy. Ellian (2008) argued that Islam is incompatible with democracy, and presented some arguments on the incompatibility of Islam with democracy. Ellian (2008) contends that the early historical foundations of Islam shed light on the contrasts between democracy and the Muslim faith. For example, pre-Islamic Arab society is known as the period of *Jahiliyyah* (meaning ignorant or primitive in Arabic) whose people are now considered to have been barbarians because they worshiped multiple gods and idols. However, pre-Islamic Arab people were tolerant of other gods and religions, whereas contemporary Islam rejects the concept of religious tolerance and thereby has created 'a condition of organized forgetfulness that had to be maintained by violence' (Ellian 2008, pp. 89-90). Moreover, Islam says Muslims should follow the living philosophy and teachings of the Prophet Mohammed who built a political regime by creating four caliphs. *Siyasa* (politics) is the word that indicates to manage or train which was originally used to indicate the activity to manage or train the animals. Some of the Islamic rulers have considered people as their

subjects or animals that they need to manage or train, rather than regarding people as having democratic rights (Ellian 2008, pp. 90-1). Islam is political, rather than secular, for a number of reasons. Mohammed was the head of the state and also the political and religious leader who took all the decisions on the conversion of people to the Islamic religion. He invited the people of Mecca to join the brotherhood and asked people to be devoted to one god. The worship of one god in Islam and the denial of the existence of other gods is the source of conflict against plurality, duality, and trinity in other religions and in a democratic society. The Prophet is sovereign because the caliphs after him are not considered as the prophet, rather they are considered as the successor who works as the messenger of Allah. However, the main difference between Islam and Christianity is that the Christian church is a religious community that has no concern related to political power but Islam is significantly identified as at least part of the political community in Muslim-majority countries (Ellian 2008, pp. 93-5). Islam refers to the *Quran* as the source of legal laws and therefore is in conflict with a liberal society and its democratic legislative systems. In a liberal state, the constitution is the foundation of the inalienable faith in freedom and equality for all. However, Muslims can live in any regime as there is variation in the Muslim community within which some Muslims are strong believers, some are not, and some are democratic in philosophy or socialist or Marxist (Ellian 2008, pp. 96-7). Therefore, Muslim-majority communities hold no uniform concept of governance or commonality of social values, as would be the case in a democratic society. The liberal state is neither ideological nor religious, since it significantly respects different ideologies and religions as equal and, therefore, rejects the idea of a single religious state (Ellian 2008, p. 97). As the concept of freedom of religion accepts the existence of more than one god or spiritual belief and can lead to polytheism. This is the main problem when debating the question of the compatibility of Islam with democracy because the *Quran* is unequivocally against polytheism. However, considering Quran as the source of law, and ignoring the concept of pluralism, Islam contradicts with a liberal state and its democratic legislative system.

Furthermore, some may argue that Islam is not incompatible with democracy because it recognises freedom of religion, which is not true according to Ellian (2008). For example, even if Islam permits other religions in a Muslim-majority country, it does not allow someone to

criticise Islam. Moreover, non-Muslims in an Islamic state have to pay extra taxes (*jizya*) for ensuring the safeguarding of their community. In this sense, the Muslims and non-Muslims in an Islamic state are not equal (Ellian 2008, p. 98). In addition, Islam rejects apostasy which means the abandonment or renunciation of Islamic belief. For example, Ehsan Jami, the founder of the committee of ex-Muslims in Netherlands was attacked in 2007 because of his apostasy (Ellien 2008, p. 88). Finally, the lack of equal rights for women in the Islamic religion is at the foremost of discussion when there is a debate about human rights and gender equality. There are many instances of women in the Islamic world suffering undeniable societal disadvantage, discrimination, and inequality that have been documented widely in the literature (Ellien 2008, p. 102). These circumstances are inconsistent with democratic principles and suggest a wide gulf exists between Islam and basic human rights in a democratic society.

4.1.2.3 The compatibility of Islam with democracy is conditional. Jawad (2013) presented Rachid Ghannouchi's arguments on the compatibility of Islam with democracy. Rachid Ghannouchi is a well-known Islamic scholar and the founder of a democratic school of modern Islamic political thinking. By analysing the arguments of Rachid Ghannouchi, Jawad (2013) explored the issues of traditional Islamist thinking that conflict with the modern Islam philosophy. Also, the author mentioned two variables as the main obstacles (secularism and modernity) to achieve liberal democracy in Muslim society. The compatibility of Islam with democracy is the subject of contemporary debate which relies on two different arguments. At one end, Jawad (2013, p.325) illustrated the concept of the late King Fahd of Saudi Arabia who was asked the question on the compatibility of Islam and democracy. King Fahd stated Islam is a complete system of governance under Sharia Law, while the free election method is unsuitable for Saudi Arabia, and thereby confirmed his view that Islamic values are opposed to democratic values (Jawad 2013, p.325). On the other hand, Jawad (2013, p.325) mentioned Rachid Ghannouchi's argument on the compatibility of Islam with democracy where Ghannouchi argued that Islam does not contradict the Western concept of democracy because the concept of modern Islamic democracy has included similar principles of democracy, such as equality, justice, freedom and responsibility, legitimacy, and tolerance. Jawad (2013, pp. 327-34) mainly elaborated on the ideas of compatibility of Islam with democracy based on the six arguments of

Rachid Ghannouchi. Firstly, democracy has Islamic essence. Jawad (2013, p. 327) indicated the concept of democracy, which is the government of the people, by the people, for the people, is similar to the concept of *fiqh*, when Muslims agreed that Allah is their Lord and they are the vicegerent (*Khalifa*) of Allah. Secondly, modern Islamic democracy believes in *Shari'a* (Islamic law) and *Shura* (consultation) and significantly includes the fundamental principles of democracy like justice, freedom and responsibility, and legitimacy (Jawad 2013, pp. 328- 9). Thirdly, Ghannouchi mentioned the hostility from *Jihadis* or *Salafis* is the result of their lack of understanding of the Muslim approach to governance and its historical development. There is the scope or spaces (*faraghat*) that Muslims choose the right solution to the problem by using their *ijtihad* (rules of Islamic jurisprudence). Fourthly, Islam does not contradict human rights. Modern political Islam includes freedom of belief, political rights and liberties, social and economic rights, including right of ownership, equal distribution of resources, right to work, right to health care, and the right of non-Muslim by recognising equality irrespective of ethnicity, colour, social order, or faith. Fifthly, as civil society is essential for democracy, sometimes Western analysts question modern Islamic democracy based on the lack of having civil society. Ghannouchi mentioned *Ulamas* (religious scholars) as the civil society of Islamic democracy who can influence the political system by influencing people by their advantage of having the respect of the people. Finally, on the question of whether Islamic democracy is the solution, Ghannouchi argued that 'Islamic democracy is better than Western democracy (Jawad 2013, p. 334). However, Jawad (2013, p. 336- 337) critically mentioned differences of traditional and modern Islamic thought on Islamic obstacles to democracy based on the idea of political pluralism, separation of power, secularism, and modernity. The author showed that where traditional Islamic schools of thinking misinterpreted political pluralism and separation of power, the modern school supports parties with different *ijtihad* and considers the separation of power as the way to avoid despotism. Regarding secularism and modernity, the modern school argues that secularism is not desired in the Muslim world because Islam does not contradict freedom of thought. Ghannouchi's idea on modernisation is that it is required but not by relinquishing Islamic civilization. However, Jawad (2013, p. 338) concluded the Islamic

scholars including Ghannouchi have not completely answered the questions on the issue of secularism and modernity that are impeding democracy in the Islamic state.

Haynes (2010, p. 312) described Turkey as a model of compatibility of democracy and Islam where 99% of the population are Muslim. Since the origin of the country under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal 'Ataturk' (the father of the Turks), the country experienced modernisation and secularisation until the death of Ataturk in 1938. According to Haynes (2010), during that time, the indigenous tradition of Turkey, especially Islam, was believed to be the cause of the country's backwardness and thereby it is important to adopt European culture and political systems. This ideology however led the country to promulgate the power of armed forces as well as secularism (Haynes 2010, p. 314). After domination of the armed forces in Turkey's politics for many years, Turkish democracy faced systematic challenges. In 1983, the military government introduced the system intending to eliminate ideological parties and proclaimed that any party wanting to take seats in parliament was required to have ten per cent of the national vote threshold or more. But in the 1995 election, the Islamist political group achieved 24.4 per cent of the total vote with the rise of the sense of nationalism and Islamism in Turkey. Nationalist parties, National Action Party (NAP) and Kurdish nationalist People's Democracy Party (HADEP), won 8.2% and 4.2 % respectively (Haynes, 2010, p. 315). In the election of 2002 and 2007, AKP respectively won 34% and 47% of the total vote (Haynes, 2010, p. 316). Now the question is whether the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) is an Islamist party. Some issues have arisen, including when Melih Gokcek, the leader of the city government of AKP, banned the sale of alcoholic beverages from the area named Ankara although the ban was lifted later (Haynes 2010, p. 316). On the other hand, AKP's government no longer restricted wearing headscarves in universities (Haynes 2010, p. 316). The religious belief of people in Turkey is central to the success of business in the country which provides strong support for AKP in government. Haynes (2010, p. 317) argued that the voters support AKP for managing their 'bread and butter', for the successful economic performance of AKP, and for more job opportunities than existed during the years of the military regime. Haynes (2010, p. 322) concluded that Turkey constitutes an indispensable part of European heritage as well as being an example of an Islamic democracy. While undemocratic gender discrimination is

still commonplace in Turkey, the same can be said of Greece which is a significantly Christian majority country. It illustrates that the principles of democracy are always practiced in countries, no matter what their religious or political status may be (Haynes 2010, p. 323).

Another author, Sherif (2016), presented the case of the Strong Egypt Party (SEP) and argued that the ideology of this party in a Muslim-majority country is the combination of economic progress and political democracy, as well as cultural conservatism. Egypt's SEP can be considered as an example of the progressive democratic Islamists, a new approach based on democracy, pluralism, good governance, and citizenship. Sherif (2016, p. 318) showed that SEP combined the spirit of religion and culture with the principles of freedom, justice and equality. In addition, the most notable democratic characteristic of SEP is its devotion to participatory democracy claiming that citizen participation has a significant impact on Egyptians' lives. Moreover, SEP defends pluralism and believes in public liberties; it argues that these principles should not be restricted by any legal or constitutional laws (Sherif 2016, p. 319). Concerning legal framework in the country, SEP believes in *the Maqasidi* approach that *Shari'a* is the best way to interpret liberties. Social justice is another aspect of SEP based on which this party differentiates itself from other Islamic parties. The author concluded that SEP is one of the progressive Islamist parties adopting the combined principles of centre-leftist ideology which aims to establish long-term political institutionalisation (Sherif 2016, p. 329).

Ciftci, Wuthrich and Shamaileh (2019, p. 438) mentioned four categories of religious individuals based on two attitudinal dimensions, which are plurality and conformity, and public and private phenomenon. The plurality and conformity dimension indicates the level of tolerance of respondents to the plurality of beliefs, and the public-private phenomenon indicates whether the respondents support the religious influence in the public sphere or not. The four categories (Religious Individualist, Status Quoist, Religious Communitarian and Post-Islamist) are different from each other based on the concept of two attitudinal dimensions, as shown in Figure 5.

Image removed due to copyright restriction.
Original available from the publisher (Figure 1):
<https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1065912918793233>

Figure 5: Dimension of religious outlook (Ciftci, Wuthrich & Shamaileh 2019, p. 439)

- Religious Individualist - More supportive of religious pluralism- but less supportive of the influence of religion in public sphere.
- Status Quoist- Less supportive of religious pluralism and less supportive of the influence of religion in public sphere.
- Religious Communitarian- Less supportive of religious pluralism in society- but more supportive of religious influence in public sphere.
- Post-Islamist- More supportive of religious pluralism in public sphere- and more supportive of religious influence in public sphere.

Using this two-dimensional framework, Ciftci, Wuthrich and Shamaileh (2019, p. 440) developed three hypotheses. Firstly, the support toward democracy by the individuals from religious communitarians is neither more nor less when compared to the individuals from status quoist. Secondly, the individuals from post-Islamists support democracy more than the individuals from status quoists. Finally, the individuals from religious individualists support democracy more than the individuals from status quoist. To test these hypotheses, Ciftci, Wuthrich and Shamaileh (2019, p. 440) used the survey data of the third wave of Arab Democracy Barometer (ADB) in which the sample includes only the Muslim respondents from

different Muslim-majority countries. The authors measured the view of individuals on pluralism and using religion in public or political life based on twelve questions, as shown in Figure 6. Analysing the data, Ciftci, Wuthrich and Shamaileh (2019, p. 441) argued that Post-Islamist and Religious Individualist are more favourable toward religious pluralism. But the support of Post-Islamists swings between religious communitarians and religious individualists when it comes to the institutional role of Sharia principles and the preference of religious pluralism.

Image removed due to copyright restriction.
Original available from the publisher (Figure 2):
<https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1065912918793233>

Figure 6: Distribution of posterior probabilities by religious outlooks (Ciftci, Wuthrich & Shamaileh 2019, p. 442)

Status quoist, however, is in the middle position with their less support of religious pluralism and religious influence in the public sphere. The findings, however, indicate that the significant differences among the beliefs of the Muslim that religion should play an important role in the social realm can be regarded as the democratic orientation of the Muslim. Ciftci, Wuthrich and Shamaileh (2019, p. 444) argued that religious individualists and post-Islamists support democracy more than religious communitarians and status quoist. Islam does not create any

gap that initiates the incompatibility with democracy. It is the difference between the level pluralist orientation and its access to power that create flourish or deteriorate democracy (Ciftci, Wuthrich & Shamaileh 2019, p. 447).

Entelis (2004) and Razavi (2006) have discussed the idea of compatibility and incompatibility of democracy with Islam very briefly, emphasising mainly the contextual discussion. Entelis (2004, pp. 202-4) stated Islam is incompatible with democracy when it indicates the absolute commitments to the religious text. On the other hand, Islam and democracy are compatible if considered from certain concepts, for example, *shura* (consultation), *ijma* (consensus), and *ijtihad* (independent analysis). Generally, Islamists aggregate group interest by articulating who will get what and in which process. Mentioning the example of Algeria, the author argues Islamists object when they face oppressive political issues that threaten their organisational existence and capacity (Entelis 2004, pp. 202-4). Razavi (2006) elaborated the discussion of Islamic politics of Iran and showed how the reformist orientation of the Islamic state and society of Iran claimed gender equality and human rights. Although the discussion is not directly on the idea of compatibility or incompatibility of democracy with Islam, the idea on the three categories of tendencies in Islamist politics is relevant here (Razavi 2006, p. 1224). Firstly, conservative Islam is mainly associated with an authoritarian state. Secondly, radical and militant variants are usually followed by militant youth and students. Thirdly, the reformist and modernist orientation believes in the Islamic state and society but significantly seeks economic development, democracy, and social reformation. Razavi's (2006) study was founded on the diverse current situation based on the reformist and modernist orientation of Iran, considering the limits and contradictions of the reformation because of the 'prophetic' role of the authority that is opposite of the secularist position of the country. The author concluded that reformists are largely incapable of substantiating women rights in the present context of Iran (Razavi 2006, p. 1235).

4.1.3 Participation of Islamist parties and its impact on democracy in South Asian Muslim majority countries

Five studies have discussed Islam and democracy from South Asian perspective (Ali 2009; Awan 2018; Condra et al. 2009; Fleschenberg 2007; Nitza-Makowska 2020). Nitza-Makowska (2020) and Ali (2009) discuss the declination of democracy in the Islamist regime of Pakistan. Awan (2018) and Fleschenberg (2007) have made a connection of democracy and women's empowerment in different regimes in South Asian countries, but Awan 2018 specifically focused on Pakistan. Condra et al. (2009) has concentrated on the discussion of the logic of insurgent electoral violence in Afghanistan. No study has been found on Maldives which is another Muslim majority country of South Asia. The central argument of these studies is that the participation of Islamist political parties in South Asian countries is incompatible with democracy because of the absence of secularism either in theory or practice.

4.1.3.1 The declination of democracy in Pakistan. Nitza-Makowska (2020) mentioned the comparative analysis on the decline of democracy in India and Pakistan (see Figure 7). Most of the time, Pakistan is considered an authoritarian country or having a hybrid regime. Although the perception of democracy in Pakistan varies based on the regimes and research over time, the period of 1989-1998 and 2013-2016 is recognised for electoral democracy in Pakistan. The constitution of Pakistan significantly recognises the provision that legitimises Islam's presence in politics. Pew Research Centre's survey in 2012, for example, showed that 78 per cent of the total population of Pakistan signifies that the law of Pakistan should strictly follow the *Quran* (Nitza-Makowska 2020, p. 374). Moreover, it has also been said that only a person who is Muslim can be the president of Pakistan. Although the political parties use the legacy of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, they erode his principle of secularism and pluralism. The murder of minority Minister Shahbaz Bhatti and Panjab Governor Salman Taseer for opposing blasphemy laws are the mentionable consequences of the Islamic profile of Pakistan (Nitza-Makowska 2020, p. 374).

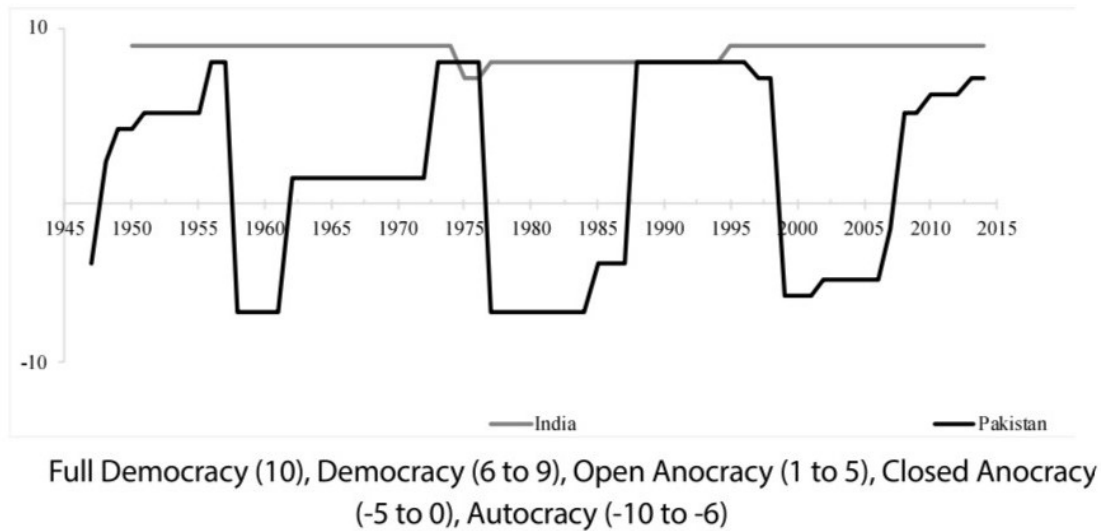


Figure 7: Democracy in different regime of India and Pakistan (Nitza-Makowska 2020, p. 366)

In Pakistan, the Islamist political movement, including the Tehreek-e-Labbaik Party (TLP), arose with the assistance of Mumtaz Qadri whose hidden agenda was to denounce the Justice Party-led government. Although the electoral performance was not very strong, the TLP successfully entered the Islamic agenda in mainstream politics (Nitza-Makowska 2020, p. 374). It was about this time that the leading political parties started to adopt the ideas and language of radical Islam. Mentioning the agenda of the Pakistan Justice Party (PTI), Shaikh's study in 2018 mentioned that PTI argued their programs were far more associated with Lashkar-i-Tayyaba that is a *Salafi* organisation, aimed to introduce an Islamic welfare state. Although some regimes witnessed the transition towards democracy, the public presence of Islam provided the reason to use religion against democracy. The regime of Zia ul-Haq (1977-1988), as an example, is noteworthy for the decline of democracy and strengthening of the religious alliance (Nitza-Makowska 2020, p. 375).

In addition, Ali (2009, p. 4) discussed the undemocratic practices in Pakistan during the regime of General Pervez Musharraf who took over power of the Pakistani Government by a military coup in 1999. General Pervez promised to curtail the impact of radical Islam in politics. Yet it was during his regime when Muttahida Majlis-e Amal (MMA), the newly created alliance of Islamist political parties (which was created by the participation of six Islamist parties: Ahl-e

Hadith, Jamaat-e Islami, Jamaat Ulama-e Islam, JUI (Sami ul Haq), and Jamaat Ulama Pakistan-one of which, that is Ahl-e Hadith, left the alliance) won the majority of votes (Ali 2009, p. 4). This alliance won 45 seats of the National assembly, 49 seats in the Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP) out of a total of 99 seats and 13 seats of Baluchistan out of a total of 51 seats. MMAs independently won 2.9 million votes that were around 11 per cent of the total votes (29.5 million), which is the first such majority in the history of Pakistan. It has been argued that this electoral achievement is proof that Musharraf did not actually favour reducing the impact of radical Islam from Pakistan politics despite his claims. The major undemocratic practices of Gen. Musharraf, for example, were, firstly, he compelled seven of the Supreme Court's 13 justices to sign oaths of allegiance to the government, paving the way for the court to give its official blessing to his coup in May 2000. Secondly, the 98 per cent "yes" vote in the May 2002 referendum that made Musharraf president and army chief of staff was tragically reminiscent of undemocratic elections of the past. Thirdly, he released the Legal Framework Order (LFO) after the referendum, giving himself the authority to nominate the Supreme Court and the Prime Minister. Fourthly, he had power to dissolve the legislature unilaterally at any time. Finally, he disqualified Nawaz Sharif of the Pakistan Muslim League (N) (PML [N]) and Benazir Bhutto of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), as well as banned opposition politicians from campaigning extensively. The intelligence agencies of the government supported the Islamist coalition to weaken two major opposition parties (Ali 2009, p. 5). Moreover, MMA also opposed to abolishment of Hudood Ordinance and resisted the law of reserving 25% of the total seats for women in national and provincial assemblies (Ali 2009, p. 5).

4.1.3.2 Gender-related democracy deficit. Awan (2018) points out that Benazir Bhutto, who was the first female Prime Minister of Pakistan, was expected would bring some notable changes in dishonourable laws for women initiated in General Zia's regime. However, she was unable to resolve the issues related to women's rights, but with the minimum level of health and educational development through the program of Primary Health Care and Family Planning (Awan 2018, p. 371).

Name of Legislation	Salient Features	Supporters	Opposition
Protection Against Harassment of Women at Workplace Act, 2010	-Provided a detailed definition of harassment. -Ensured working women a safe environment. - Specified punishments, maximum of three years of imprisonment and a fine of up to Rs500, 000.	-Civil society, including women rights groups, like Alliance against Sexual Harassment (AASHA). -A women right activist Fouzia Saeed lobbied for the bill in parliament.	-JUI's Senators criticized the bill, citing the bill being contradictory to Islamic norms. -They demanded an amendment regarding 'Islamic dress code' for women at workplaces, perceiving the dress code as the only reason of women harassment.
Prevention of Anti-Women Practices, 2011	- Targeted gender biased sociocultural practices like Wannu, Swara, marriage with Quran, forced marriage and inheritance deprivation. -Specified strong punishments for the offenders.	-Pakistan Muslim League (Q) MNA Dr. Donya Aziz, proposed the bill -bill was strongly supported by civil society and women groups. The prominent was Aurat Foundation.	-Most of the PPPP members from rural Sindh opposed this bill as these practices are widespread in their constituencies. The intention was to get votes from their electorate.
Acid Control and Acid Crime Prevention Bill, 2011.	-Specified punishment of 14 years life sentence and a fine of up to Rs.one million.	-PML (N) MNA, Marvi Memon (who was formerly a member of PML-Q), proposed the bill. -Apart from the support of various civil society groups, this bill was supported by mainly Acid Survivors Foundation, Depilex Smile Again Foundation and the Bakhtawar Amin Memorial Trust Hospital.	No reaction from Orthodoxy.

Women in Distress and Detention Funds (amendment) Act, 2011	-provided financial and legal assistance to the underprivileged prisoner women to defend themselves.	PPPP's Syed Nayyar Hussain Bokhari Proposed this bill.	No reaction from Orthodoxy.
Domestic Violence (Prevention and Protection) Act 2012	-aim to protect women against any kind of abuse by Family member (including husband and in-laws) in domestic environment. First time economic and psychological abuse were also included as a type of violence in legislation.	-The bill was proposed by Yasmeen Rehman of the Pakistan People's Party in 2009. -The bill received overwhelming support by different NGOs in Pakistan, like Aurat foundation, Bedari (funded by United Nations Development Programme), White Ribbon Campaign Pakistan, War Against Rape Pakistan, Acid Survivors Foundation Pakistan.	-JUI-F, PML(N) and Council of Islamic Ideology (CCI) opposed the bill on following grounds: *legislation will increase divorce rate. *The prescribed punishments in ill are already enacted by other laws. *Bill is "antiIslamic", which will promote "Western cultural values" in country.

Table 1: Mentionable Legislation for Women Rights (Awan 2018, pp. 373- 4)

Moreover, she further ignored the setback of Hudood Laws even in her second term. Although Benazir Bhutto was assassinated in 2007, the Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians (PPPP) won the election with a significant number of elected women (76 in National Assembly and 74 in Punjab Assembly) and constituted the federal government for the third time in 2008 (Awan 2018, p. 372). Consequently, a significant number of legislative bills for the safeguarding of the rights of women were passed from 2008 to 2013 as shown in Table 1. After that, when Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N) held the office of Prime Minister in 2013 with an overall women's representation of 19.5 per cent, it was expected that some meaningful legislation would be enacted for women (Awan 2018, p. 378). However, if the activities of PPPP towards women's rights are compared with PML-N, the PPPP legislation during its third regime was more proactive, whereas the activities of PML-N were more reactive. Awan (2018, p. 380) concluded that, although legislation has been created to improve women's rights in Pakistan,

the new laws have been unable to make significant differences without implementation, which is lacking and demonstrates that Pakistan is not democratic in regard to gender equality.

The case study of Fleschenberg (2007) on Pakistan gender-related democracy is relevant here. Fleschenberg (2007) said since the early 1990s quotas have been placed in almost half of the world's countries to deal with gender-related democracy deficits. Even after introducing the quota system, Pakistan's ranking of 41st in terms of women's political participation show that little has changed (see Table 2). In Pakistan, it is not easy for women to lead the men as male MPs of Pakistan do not usually take women seriously. In addition, gender-specific expectations in Pakistan society, such as domestic duties, parenting, marriage, and religious belief are the major obstacles to carry out their mandate (Fleschenberg 2007, p. 17).

Rank (out of 138)	Country	Lower or Single House (% of women)	Upper House or Senate (% of women)
23	Afghanistan	27.3	22.5
41	Pakistan	21.3	18.0
69	Bangladesh	14.8	-----

Table 2: Political participation of women in South Asian countries

In Pakistan, the role women politicians and their agenda for influencing women's rights are considered important subjects of debate for both the government and Islamic parties. Pakistan politics is dominated by men, and therefore women are forced to confront gender inequality and traditional beliefs about women's place in society, especially in health, education, and discrimination against women, including honour killings (Fleschenberg 2007, p. 18). The case study on Afghanistan on gender-related democracy deficit is also relevant here where Fleschenberg (2007, pp. 13-16) argued that the quota, when combined with the Single Non Transferable Vote system, operates mostly in favour of female candidates. For example, 19 women candidates (approximately 28%) won seats on their own. Unfortunately, numerous power-brokers, most of whom are anti-women in politics, used the quota system for their gain, manipulating the candidacy pool with the aim of increasing their share of votes. Due to cultural

barriers to communication and travel, female candidates found themselves at a strategic disadvantage. Many of the female candidates were NGO staff, government employees, teachers, and others who had a comparably lower salary and had to campaign equally with rich and influential local commanders or other male competitors. Moreover the Islamic extremist groups, local powerbrokers, and ordinary citizens have threatened female candidates. In different country-wide incidents, almost 328 female candidates were threatened with death by attackers, attacked, shot at, or had their property set on fire (Fleschenberg 2007, p. 15). Malalai Joya, a progressive female MP, may become the first *shaheeda* (martyr) of post-Taliban women's empowerment because of her challenging and straightforward policy approach (Fleschenberg 2007, p. 16). Even today, many female MPs prefer to wear a veil in the assembly because they fear being accused of being un-Islamic by Taliban (Fleschenberg 2007, p. 16).

4.1.3.3 Insurgent electoral violence in Afghanistan. Condra et al. (2009) discussed the electoral violence of insurgents in Afghanistan. The background of the insurgent violence relates to when the US overthrew the Taliban regime in 2001 and a newly constituted Afghan government started holding the national elections. The removal of the Taliban resulted in their exclusion from politics which pushed them to continue insurgency against the government, threaten government officials, electoral candidates, and voters during the election (Condra et al. 2009, p. 3200). From 2009 onwards, the Taliban has participated in violence on election days. Candidates, polling stations, security forces, and voters have all been targeted in the run-up to and on the day of election. They have distributed leaflets at mosques especially in Pashtun-dominated eastern and southern regions, to threaten anyone who votes. A commander of a series of deadly attacks in Kabul said the timing of this attack was very successful and sent a message to the Trump administration and his followers of the Afghan government that the Taliban can carry attack anytime and anywhere (Condra et al. 2009, p. 3205). During the first round of elections in 2014, several media reported violence on election day. Some analysts have said that the Taliban used election violence to threaten and dissuade voters rather than to directly hurt civilians. The primary target of violence is not to inflict a large number of casualties, but to create broader effects on the larger community (Condra et al. 2009, p. 3207). For example, the Taliban specifically focuses on roads that are used by the voters to travel to a

polling station, which significantly influences voters' concern about personal security (Condra et al. 2009, p. 3207). However, the insurgent tactics harmed the state and weakened the legitimacy of democratic institutions and democratic processes by lowering voter turnout (Condra et al. 2009, p. 3227).

4.2 Section Two: Synthesis of Information of the Studies

In this section, the main arguments of section one have been synthesised in three different subsections. Firstly, the information related to religious hegemony on voting behaviour, changing voting behaviour, and therefore the electoral strategies of Islamist parties to influence voting behaviour has been synthesised. Secondly, the discussion on the compatibility and incompatibility of Islam and democracy has been put together. Finally, the arguments related to the influence of participation of Islamist parties on democracy in south Asian Muslim majority countries have been synthesised.

4.2.1 Voting behaviour and electoral strategy of Islamist parties

Across the studies considered by this systematic literature review, evidence consistently indicates that religious ideology plays an important role in shaping political attitude and behaviour of political parties, voters, and candidates for election (Daadaoui 2010; Fossati 2019; Grewal et al. 2019; Pellicer & Wegner 2014). For example, *Aliran* ideology shapes Indonesian political attitudes (Fossati 2019) and the religious and traditional political culture shapes Moroccan politics (Daadaoui 2010). The literature clearly shows that in Muslim-majority countries, Islamist political parties have a noteworthy influence on voting behaviour. Voters consider the religious ideology of the Islamist parties to determine their choice of preferred party and candidates. For example, the voters of most of the Muslim-majority countries, especially the poor and under-educated, consider that if they vote for Islamist political parties it will be their way to please God (Grewal et al. 2019). Marx's concept of religion as 'the opium of the people' is also relevant here, since that analogy illustrates how religion is a divine practice which is unique in being able to alleviate the psychological sufferings of individuals (Grewal et al. 2019). Although many Muslim voters consider primarily the strong Islamic religious identity

of the candidate, the trustworthiness of the Islamist political parties to meet the expectations of the voters is also necessary for the survival of Islamist parties. Voters in Muslim-majority countries consider the religious credentials of their preferred political party; however, voter behaviour can change in favour of the more credible of the parties for ensuring better policies according to the aspirations of the voters (Pellicer & Wegner 2014). Therefore, these findings indicate the prominent influence of religious ideology in determining voting behaviour, yet Islamist political parties may not win elections without having satisfied electors of their capability to govern well.

To survive in power or share power, Islamist political parties adopt different strategies (Akdağ 2015; Gurses 2014; Rane 2011). For example, the positive attitude towards democracy of Turkey's AKP is not because they are committed to democracy but because they want to increase their chance of winning the election (Gurses 2014). Therefore, the Islamist parties' positive ideology towards democracy cannot be referred to as originating from genuine intentions to modernise, but as provisional and fragmented. Besides, AKP's consideration of the Kurdish issue can be mentioned as the strategy of the party to increase voters (Akdağ 2015). However, the electoral strategy of Islamist parties includes different strategies, such as adopting aspects of democracy, good governance, and pluralism, since Islamist parties aim to attract Muslims as well as secularist voters (Rane 2011). The failure of first-generation Islamist parties' rigid approach and the success of second-generation approach (*Maqasid*) which holds democratic values as Islamic objectives demonstrate the main reasons why Islamist parties adopt different electoral strategies to achieve electoral success.

4.2.2 Islam and democracy: the question of compatibility and incompatibility

The question of compatibility or incompatibility of Islam with democracy is at the centre of the discourse in the body of literature on this area of research. The studies of Khatab (2009) and Shehu (2014) argued that Islam is compatible with democracy and democracy can be better implemented under an Islamic system. According to Khatab (2009, p. 318), democracy and justice are embodied in Islam. Islam comes with the *Quran* and *Hadith* which are full of laws and can be considered as the foundation of human legislation (Khatab 2009, p. 321). The

foundations of democracy are to be found in constitutionalism and pluralism (Shehu 2014). However, according to Khatab (2009) and Shehu (2014), Islam also provides for these democratic tools and does not lack the concept of government, state, election, and women's dignity and respect. The argument against the compatibility of Islam and democracy is therefore not religiously-based, but politically motivated, since it is the result of different interpretations of *Sharia* by Muslim scholars, cultural hatred, and intolerance (Khatab 2009; Shehu 2014).

On the other hand, the arguments against the compatibility of Islam with democracy are also significant. Ellien (2008) said Islam is incompatible with democracy because Islam means worship of one god and thus denies plurality, duality, and trinity which have become the source of conflict between Muslims and other religions. Islam refers to the *Quran* as the source of the laws of society and thereby opposes a liberal state because the constitution is the source of laws in the liberal state. Ellien (2008) therefore contends that Islam is opposed to other religious ideology and rejects freedom of religion while, at the same time prohibiting any criticism of Islam. Many women in the Islamic world are struggling for their equal rights on daily basis (Ellien 2008), which demonstrates that Islam is incompatible with basic human rights and egalitarian principles due to absolute commitment to religious text (Entelis 2004, pp. 202-4).

However, a significant number of studies (e.g., Ciftci, Wuthrich & Shamaileh 2019; Haynes 2010; Jawad 2013; Sherif 2016) discussed the differences in traditional and modern Islamic thought on democracy. They have presented consistent evidence that suggests the compatibility or incompatibility of Islam with democracy depends on whether Islamist parties agree to the principles of democracy, such as equality, justice, freedom and responsibility, legitimacy, and tolerance. This claim argues that Islam and democracy are compatible since some concepts in Islamic faith, such as *shura* which means consultation, *ijma* which means consensus and *ijtihad* which means independent analysis, are in alignment with democratic principles (Entelis 2004, p. 202-204). The modern Islamic approach to democracy believes in *Sharia* (Islamic law) and *shura* (consultation) (Jawad 2013). It significantly includes the fundamental principles of democracy, such as human rights, freedom of belief, freedom of

expression, liberties, right of ownership, equal distribution of resources, right to work, right to health care, and rights of non-Muslims in civil society (Jawad 2013, p. 328-37).

The example of democratic practice by the Islamist party has been given by Sherif (2016). Sherif (2016) identified SEP as the progressive democratic Islamists that combines democracy, pluralism, good governance and citizenship. SEP believes in the *Maqasidi* approach that *Shari'a* is the best way to interpret liberties. This modernist orientation of Islam believes in Islamic state and society and significantly seeks economic development, democracy, and social reformation (Rajavi 2006, p. 1224). Turkey, one of the Muslim-majority countries, can be mentioned here as an example (Haynes 2010). Voters support AKP for their performance, not for their ideological appeal. However, Islamic impediments to democracy depend on two main ideas: secularism and modernity (Jawad 2013, p. 338). According to Ciftci, Wuthrich and Shamaileh (2019, p. 447), it is the difference between the level of pluralist orientation and its access to power that create flourishing or deteriorating levels of democracy. Research has shown that religious individuals (religious individualist and pro-Islamist) who are more supportive of religious pluralism are also more supportive of democracy (Ciftci, Wuthrich & Shamaileh 2019, p. 447). However, these studies significantly show that the question of compatibility or incompatibility of Islam with democracy depends on whether Islamist political parties practice the values of democracy, secularism, modernism, liberty, and nationalism.

4.2.3 Islamist parties and democracy in South Asian Muslim-majority countries

A significant number of studies (e.g., Awan 2018; Ali 2009; Condra et al. 2009; Fleschenberg 2007; Nitza-Makowska 2020) have researched the decline of democracy in Pakistan and Afghanistan. The erosion of the principle of secularism and the overwhelming influence of conservative Islamic approaches in all aspects of government and society have led to instability and human rights abuses as well as lack of development and economic hardship for many (Nitza-Makowska 2020, p. 375). Research has shown religious individuals (religious communitarian and status quoist) in Muslim-majority countries who are less supportive of religious pluralism are less supportive of democracy (Ciftci, Wuthrich & Shamaileh 2019, p. 447). Thus, studies of developments in Pakistan and Afghanistan have shown convincingly that

human rights and gender equality cannot be sustained in the absence of more democratic principles in government (Awan 2018; Fleschenberg 2007).

4.3 Findings of systematic review

4.3.1 Finding 1: Religious ideology plays an important role to shape political attitude and behaviour (Daadaoui 2010; Fossati 2019; Grewal et al. 2019; Pellicer & Wegner 2014). Voters consider the religious ideology of the Islamist parties to determine their voting behaviour. The voters of most of the Muslim majority countries, especially the poor and uneducated consider that if they vote for Islamist political parties it will be the way to please God (Grewal et al. 2019). Although voters consider religion in a specific condition, it is not constant (Pellicer & Wegner 2014). Voting behaviour does not consistently depend on ideology but changes with the credibility of the parties for ensuring better policies according to the aspiration of the voters.

4.3.2 Finding 2: As voting behaviour changes with the credibility of the parties for ensuring better policies according to the aspiration of the voters, Islamist political parties adopt different strategies (Akdağ 2015; Gurses 2014; Rane 2011). The electoral strategy of Islamist parties includes introducing practices of democracy, good governance, and pluralism as Islamic objectives to attract Muslims and secularists (Rane 2011). Their positive attitude towards democracy is not because they are committed to democracy but are only a means to gain more electoral support from more progressive voters and non-Muslims (Gurses 2014). Therefore, the Islamist parties' positive acceptance of democratic principles is not originating from genuine motives but is provisional and fragmented.

4.3.3 Finding 3: Islam is compatible with democracy as it believes in equality, justice, freedom and responsibility, legitimacy, and tolerance. It also includes the fundamental principles of democracy like justice, freedom and responsibility, and legitimacy, human rights like freedom of belief, liberties, right of ownership, equal distribution of sources, right to work, right to health care, right of non-Muslim by recognising equality irrespective of ethnicity, colour, social order or faith, *ulama* as civil society (Jawad 2013;

Sherif 2016), nationalism (Haynes 2010) constitutionalism and pluralism (Khatab 2009; Shehu 2014).

4.3.4 Finding 4: According to Bahlul study in 2005, secularism is the base of democracy (Shehu 2014, p. 249). Therefore, Islam is incompatible with democracy when it opposes secularism and modernity (Jawad 2013); pluralism (Ciftci, Wuthrich & Shamaileh 2019; Ellien 2008, Sherif 2016), refers only to the *Quran* as the source of laws and thereby opposes the constitution as the source of laws (Ellien 2008; Entelis 2004), rejects freedom of religion, refuses laws of tolerance, and opposes equal rights of women (Ellien 2008; Rajavi 2006).

4.3.5 Finding 5: The presence of Islam in politics in South Asian Muslim-majority countries is incompatible with democracy, but it is still acceptable because religious ideology plays an important role in politics (Nitza-Makowska 2020, p. 374). Following Quran strictly as the source of law, and exclusion of the principle of secularism are the evidence of declination of democracy in Pakistan (Nitza-Makowska 2020). Gender inequality is also an example of democracy deficiency in Pakistan (Ali 2009; Awan 2018). Moreover, the exclusion of the Islamist parties from politics, as in the example from Afghanistan, can present a threat to the holding of democratic elections (Condra et al. 2009) and can prevent women's equal rights (Fleschenberg 2007).

In this systematic literature review, most of the studies on the South Asian perspective of democracy in Muslim-majority nations had a significant focus on problems with achieving women's rights under the regime of Islamist parties and therefore the perceived incompatibility of Islam with democracy in these countries. Therefore, further research is needed in this area to examine how the participation of Islamist parties affects the other values of democracy, such as tolerance of other religions or freedom of expression. The next chapter examines the context of Bangladesh to identify how the participation of Islamist parties can be compatible or incompatible with democratic values.

CHAPTER 5: THE IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS OF THE SYSTEMATIC REVIEW IN BANGLADESH PERSPECTIVE

This chapter presents the discussion on the Bangladesh perspective in two sections. The first section presents the implications of the findings of the Chapter 4 systematic review of the existing literature, while the second section presents the findings on the Bangladesh perspective to answer the research questions posed in Chapter 1.

5.1 The Implications of Findings of the Systematic Review in Bangladesh

This section discusses the implications of the findings of the systematic review from Chapter 4. These implications of findings are covered in four subsections. The first four findings of the systematic review have been considered while discussing the public presence of Islam and democracy in Bangladesh because this chapter entirely keeps contribution to finding-5 of the systematic review. The second section of this chapter summarises the discussion on the Bangladesh perspective which are presented as findings of this chapter.

5.1.1 Implication of systematic review findings 1: Religious ideology of voters and changing voting behaviour

Religious ideology plays an important role to shape voting behaviour (Smith & Walker 2013, p. 400). The voters of Bangladesh consider their religious ideology too which shapes their voting behaviour. Devine and White (2013, p. 134) said the people of Bangladesh synchronise their political and social life which form their daily choices based on their faith; they usually fear religion and consequently struggle to be devout followers. When it comes to the concepts of dharma and faith, Devine and White (2013) explain that religion entails praying and rituals, as well as the understanding of non-religious concepts such as right and wrong. For Bangladeshis, however, dharma is more than a religious term. When Bangladeshis ask, '*Apnar dharma ki (what is your religion)?*' they are expressing an interest in learning about the person's lifestyles, behaviours, emotions, and ways of interacting with others or conducting their normal daily routines (Devine & White 2013, p. 134).

The data collected by World Values Survey (WVS) Wave 7 (2017- 2020), which is an international research project that examines people's social, political, economic, religious, and cultural values around the world, is significant and relevant to show the extent to which religion matters to Bangladeshi people (see appendix D). The sample size of this survey in Bangladesh perspective was 1200 which ensured equal representation from each of the eight divisions of the country. Of the total respondents of this survey, 90.1% belong to the Islamic religion (see Figure 8), 94.2% of them agreed that religion is very important to them (see Figure 9), and 95% considered that they are strongly religious (see Figure 10). If science and religion conflict, the majority (74.9%) of the respondents strongly agreed that religion is always correct (see Figure 11). In addition, most of the respondents (44.9%) do not trust the people from other religions (see Figure 12). These data show how much the people of Bangladesh are devoted to their religion of Islam and are guided by its belief systems.

According to Hasan (2020, p. 108), religion, specifically Islam, is a major factor that influences voters' choice in Bangladesh. For example, Kabir, Siddiqui and Uddin (2014, p. 84) conducted a survey in 2002, just after the huge victory of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP)-led four party's coalition in 2001, and presented the reasons why the voters of that regime vote for this party. The high percentage (39%) of respondents of this survey, for example, supported Islamist parties because they were believed to be able to establish the rule of Allah and they try to spread Islam (Kabir, Siddiqui, & Uddin 2014, pp. 94-5). For example, the major political party- BNP with its alliance, which believes in Islamism, won the general election in 2001 by securing 216 of the total of 300 seats of the national parliament (Rashiduzzaman 2002, p. 183).

World Values Survey Wave 7 (2017-2020) Bangladesh

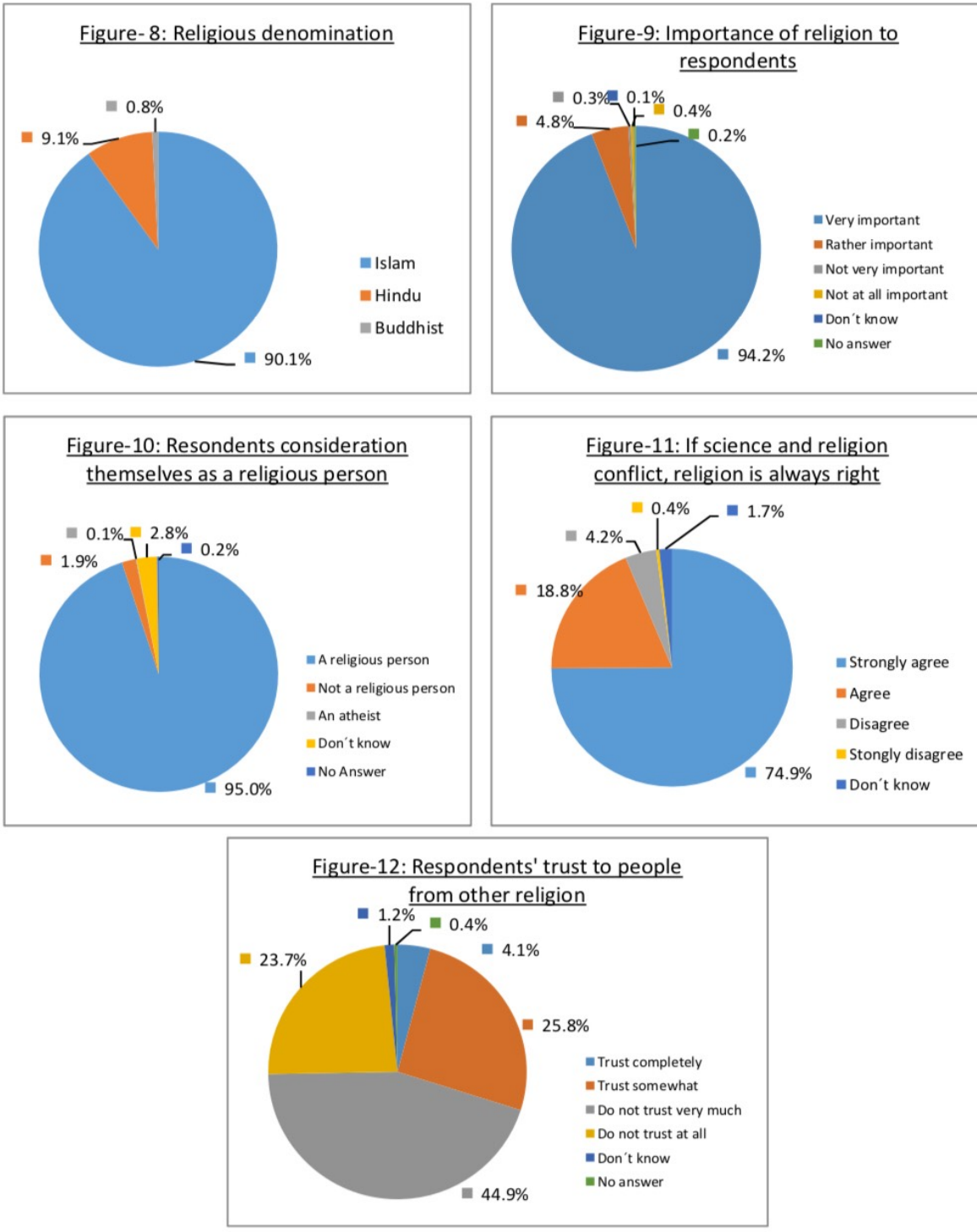


Figure 8- 12 Source: Author's elaboration presenting the data from World Value Survey Wave 7 (2017- 2010) Bangladesh

However, the reason, Bangladeshi people are devoted to the religious ideology, and therefore consider a candidate's religion, has yet to be discovered. Finding 1 indicates that the voters of most of the Muslim countries, especially the poor, believe that if they vote for Islamist political parties it will be the way to please God (Grewal et al. 2019). According to International Monetary Fund, Asia Pacific Dept, (2013, p.13), poverty is Bangladesh's most serious socio-economic policy problem. It has been working for a long time to alleviate poverty and improve the living conditions of its millions of poor people. Bangladesh has made a significant achievement in decreasing the poverty rate, with the percentage of the poor people falling from over 82.9% in the financial year (FY) 1974 to 31.5% in financial year 2010 (see Table 3).

Year	Rural	Urban	National
FY74	82.9	81.4	
FY82	73.8	66.0	
FY92	61.2	44.9	58.8
FY96	55.2	29.4	51.0
FY00	52.3	35.2	48.9
FY05	43.8	28.4	40.0
FY10	35.2	21.3	31.5

Table 3: Per capita poverty rate in Bangladesh (Source: International Monetary Fund. Asia Pacific Dept 2013, p.13)

According to Bangladesh Poverty Assessment by World Bank Group (2019), despite an improving trend, approximately one-fourth of Bangladeshis are still poor, with nearly half of the people suffering from extreme poverty and unable to obtain enough basic food. The poverty rate in Bangladesh is comparatively high in regional measurement (see Figure 13).

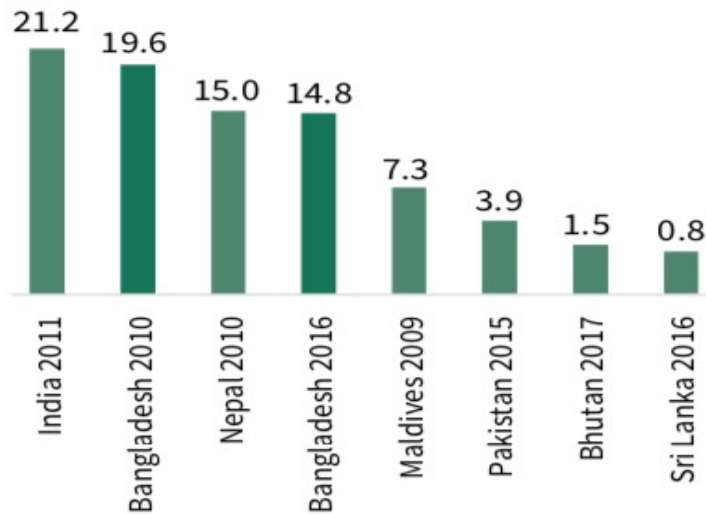


Figure 13: Regionally comparative poverty rates (Source: Bangladesh Poverty Assessment by World Bank Group 2019, p. 12)

The evidence from world authorities shows that poverty in Bangladesh is a matter of concern as there is a considerable proportion of people who are suffering from poverty. If the poor voters consider that their support for Islamist political parties is the way to please God (Grewal et al. 2019), then it is likely that a considerable number of people will vote for Islamist parties. Most of the time, poverty comes with illiteracy. Bhola (2009, p. 373) said poor people are usually also illiterate. According to the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 42 million people, which is 26% of the total population of Bangladesh are illiterate (Anik 2019). Pellicer and Wegner (2014) examined the level of education of the supporters of Islamist political parties. They identified that if the voters are poor and illiterate, they are considered as clientelistic voters whose support could be swayed by belief that a political party will help to increase the level of the economy and education in the country. In that sense, these significant numbers of the voter in Bangladesh who are poor and illiterate are the clientelistic voters (Pellicer & Wegner 2014). But the tendency for clientelistic voters to turn to grievances or horizontal network profile is also considerable.

With the changing economic and educational profile, the political attitude of the people of Bangladesh is changing. For example, BNP-led alliance, which secured 216 seats out of 300

seats of national parliament in 2001, secured only 32 seats in the general election of 2008 (Ahmed 2011, p. 145). Moreover, the poverty rate of FY10 is 31.3%, which has reduced from 48.9% in FY00 (see Table 3). Therefore, it could be suggested that there might be a correlation between the decreasing poverty and illiteracy rate and the decreasing level of voting for the BNP-led alliance. Ullah (2013, p. 272), for example, added that the people (age 18-35), who are more educated, are active in politics. They engage directly in party activities or participate in politics by responding as conscious citizens of the society and the nation using social media (Ullah 2013, p. 275). The appeal of the Awami League (AL) to this group of voters for establishing Bangladesh as a digitally advanced country was a significant reason for the voter turnout in the election of 2008 (Ahmed 2011, p. 145).

5.1.2 Implication of systematic review findings 2: Electoral strategy of Bangladesh political parties

As voting behaviour changes with the credibility of the parties for ensuring better policies according to the aspiration of the voters, Islamist political parties adopt different strategies (Akdag 2015; Gurses 2014; Rane 2011). The concerning facts here are, firstly, if the major political parties of Bangladesh are Islamic; and secondly, if the changing voting behaviour has led political parties to use alternative electoral strategies other than religion to survive or share power.

5.1.2.1 Religious affiliation of the major political parties of Bangladesh. According to Jahan (2014, p. 2), Bangladesh has a multi-party system and a history of electoral politics. The four major political parties of Bangladesh are Awami League (AL), Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), Jatiya Party (JP) and Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) (Jahan 2014, p. 3). Table 4 shows the ideologies of these four major parties which indicate that all these parties significantly consider Islamic ideology except for the AL, which is sometimes referred to as the People's Party but also has Muslim foundations. Although Bangladesh's constitution contained the concept of 'secularism' in 1972, Hasan (2020, p. 6) claims that no secular political party has existed since the country's founding; all of the parties of Bangladesh are more or less Islamic. Each political party uniquely employs religion in politics. Secularism as the principle of the constitution was inserted only to

prohibit the inclusion of the JI, which was affiliated with Pakistan in 1971 when Bangladesh was fighting for its independence.

Political Party	Ideologies
Awami League	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bengali Nationalism - Democracy - Secularism - freedom of all religions and non-communal politics - Socialism - establishment of exploitation-free society and social justice
BNP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bangladeshi nationalism - Democracy - Free market economy - Preserve the teachings of Islam, religion of the majority and other religions
Jatiya Party	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Independence and sovereignty - Islamic ideology and freedom of all religions - Bangladeshi nationalism - Democracy - Social progress and economic emancipation
Jamaat-e-Islami	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establish Islamic way of life - Establish just, exploitation-free society and state - Faith and trust in Allah, democracy, economic and social justice - Ensure basic needs of all citizen irrespective of religions and ethnicity - Fraternity with World Muslims and friendship with all states

Table 4: Ideologies of four main political parties of Bangladesh (Source: Jahan 2014, p. 11)

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the father of the nation and the founder of AL, sent four representatives to the Afro-Asian unity conference in Cairo in 1972 after Bangladesh's independence was declared. As a result of Mujib's continued support, major Islamic countries, such as Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Iran, have recognised Bangladesh as an independent country. As a result, Hasan (2020) rejected the argument that Mujibur was a secular leader. On the other hand, Islam (2018, p. 23) said Mujibur included secularism to reject the use of religion as a political tool; however, his indication was not necessarily to the absence of religion from the personal life. Therefore, it becomes a matter of argument if the Mujibur's government was founded on secularism or Islamism. However, following Mujibur's assassination in 1975, President Ziaur Rahman who was the leader of BNP, removed the constitutional principle of

secularism and the laws restricting the inclusion of Islamist parties in the politics of Bangladesh (Ahmed 2018, p. 244). This was continued by the next government when JP came into power under the leadership of President Ershad. Since Muslims make up the majority of the country's population, the military regime led by Major General Ershad announced Islam to be the state religion in 1988. Despite the fundamental Islamic philosophy and the affiliation with Pakistan during Bangladesh's liberation war, JI was allowed to participate in the election of 1991 in an alliance with BNP, headed by Begum Khaleda Zia (Hussain 2010, p. 327).

Mentioning the election manifesto of 2001 election of these four parties, Riaz (2010, p. 59) said BNP promised they would not promulgate any legislation that is anti-Islam. Moreover, the AL told the country's people that no law would be passed that contradicted the *Quran* and Hadith by their government. Furthermore, JI declared that Bangladesh will be considered an Islamic republic, not a people's republic. JP, which already proclaimed Islam as the state religion of the country in 1988, announced that current laws should be based on the *Quran* and Sunnah, therefore *Shariah* should be enacted, that any law if contradicts Islam should be repealed, and also that religious education should be made compulsory at all levels of education.

However, there is a debate whether AL, headed by Sheikh Hasina, is also an Islamist party. There are three strong arguments in favour of considering AL as a secular political party (Hasan, 2020, p. 85). Firstly, AL set the principle of secularism as one of the principles of the constitution in 1972. After abolition of the principle of secularism by President Zia, secularism was again restored in 2011 by Sheikh Hasina. Secondly, the AL party vows to create a secular and democratic society and aligns itself with the country's secular voting bank. Finally, the party has formed a special court, the International Crimes Tribunal (ICT), to prosecute alleged war criminals who supported the Pakistani military during Bangladesh's 1971 independence war (Hasan, 2020, p. 85). Lorce (2014, pp. 4-5), for example, mentioned the sentencing to death of Quader Mollah, the leader of JI, for war crimes in 2013 as an effort by the government of AL to raise its support from secularist voters before the 2014 elections. However, Hasan (2020, p. 84) argued that Sheikh Hasina continues the Islamic philosophy begun by her father Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. These Islamic foundations were demonstrated when Hasina openly stated that AL

would not tolerate any kind of harm to Islam because her religion is Islam (Hasan 2020, p. 84). For example, as Hasan (2020, p. 108) showed, many policies have been taken by AL to shape Bangladesh as a state with political Islam because Islam is the major determinant to shape the voting behaviour of the people. If the opposition claimed that AL is a secularist party and against Islam, one of the members of AL argued that AL supports secularism because religious freedom is an important part of Islam; and showed the party's devotion to Islam by claiming that this party is led by a Muslim woman who prays 5 times in a day (Hasan 2020, p. 103). Therefore, it can be said that the ideologies of the four major electoral parties are more or less founded on Islamic religious values, which affect people's voting behaviour in Bangladesh (Jahan & Shahan, 2014, p. 428).

5.1.2.2 Democracy as electoral strategy of the Islamist parties. It is clear from the discussion on the political parties of Bangladesh that they use religion as one of their tools to attract Muslims and to win elections. Using the feature of Islamism in their election manifesto, for example, all of the major parties focus effort to attract Muslim voters. But religious ideology is not sufficient to draw voters to the polls to support Islamist parties as voting behaviour changes with education level and economic progress. According to WVS Wave 7 Bangladesh data, when the respondents were asked that whether it is acceptable to have a governing system following religious laws but with no parties or election, the significant percentage of the respondents (28.8%) regarded that form of government as fairly good (see Figure 14). On the other hand, 20.1% of the respondents, which is not negligible percentage, regarded it as bad. Moreover many of them (33.3%) consider that religious interpretation of law is necessary for democracy (see Figure 15). To deal with this oscillating attitude of people, AL has blended both nationalistic values and religious identity in the party profile and campaigning (Jahan & Shahan 2014, pp. 434-7). The electoral strategy of AL is well-planned in comparison to the major opposition party, BNP. From recent election results, it can be seen that the ruling AL party is more effective in its efforts to attract Islamist, and secularist as well as youth voters by their blended ideology of Islamism, secularism, and social progressiveness (Jahan & Shahan 2014, pp. 433-5). Based on the deep-rooted religious culture of the country, AL declared before the 1996 election they would not enact any legislation that violates the law of the *Quran*. Moreover,

Sheikh Hasina, the party's leader, began to cover her head with a scarf, in obedience of Muslim tradition, and displayed public reverence for religious values (Jahan & Shahan 2014, p. 430). As a result of combined strategies, AL won the election with a majority of the vote and with the support of JP. However, after coming to power, AL returned to its secularist ideology and enacted a number of progressive social policies to promote equal rights for women, and was confronted by opposition against those policies from Islamist parties.

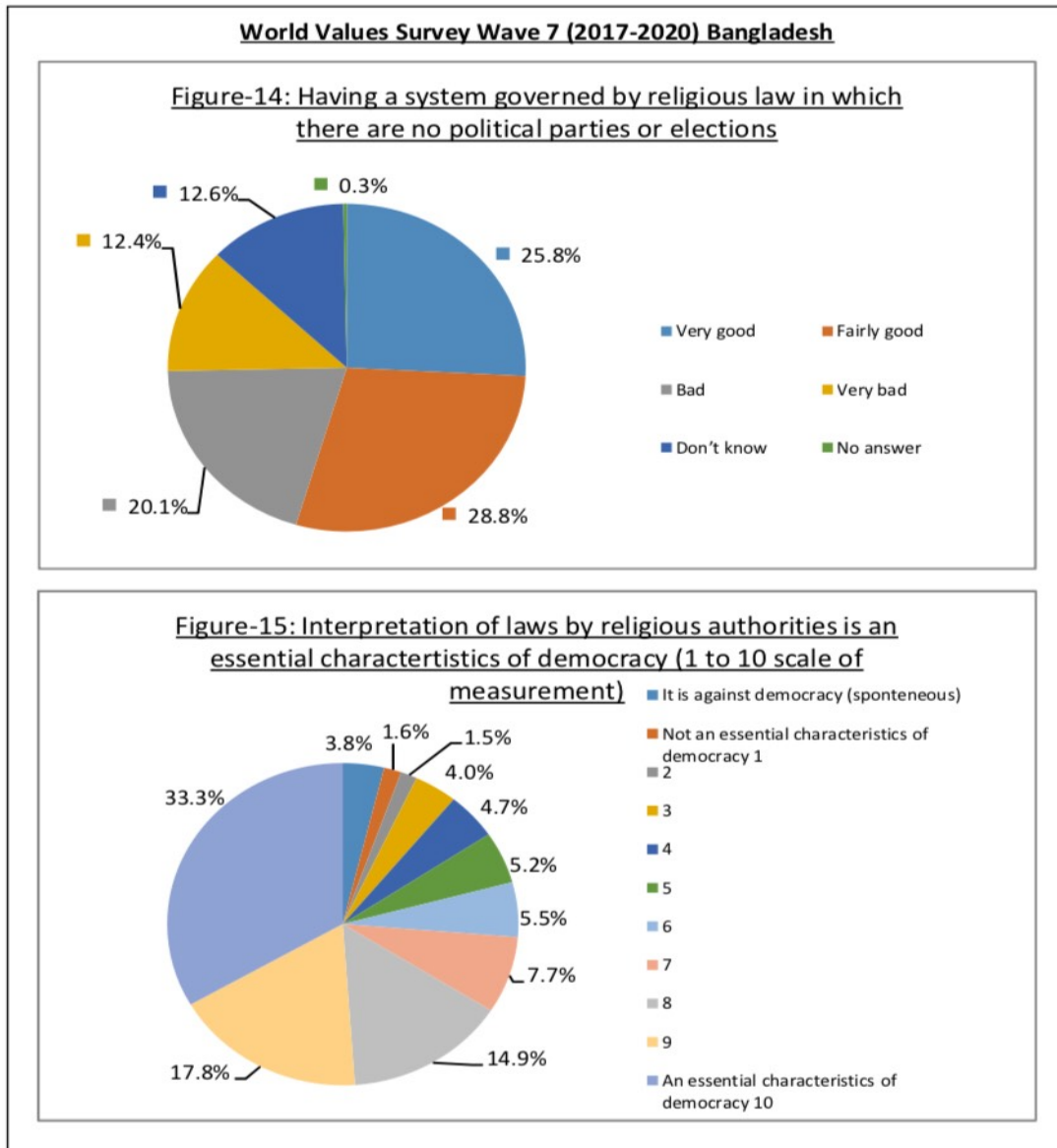


Figure 14- 15: Source: Author’s elaboration presenting the data from World Value Survey Wave 7 (2017- 2010) Bangladesh

In 2008, before the election, AL formed a 14-party alliance (grand alliance) which promised in their election manifesto to give the country a digital feature (Islam & Grönlund 2011, pp. 107-8). This strategy increased its appeal to the youth voters because youth amounted to 30% of the total vote of the election (Jahan & Shahan 2014, p. 434). In campaigning, AL coined this policy as 'digital Bangladesh'. The electoral strategy of BNP, on the other hand, was based only on Islamic religion as their principal strategy. Consequently, AL won 263 seats out of 300 as a grand alliance by blending nationalistic and religious identity, whereas a four-party alliance led by BNP using Islam as its principal strategy secured only 33 seats (Jahan & Shahan 2014, pp. 434-7).

This discussion of recent election events in Bangladesh shows that the religious affiliation of parties plays an important role in politics; but this is not only factor that draws voters to the polls to support Islamist parties. This is the reason that parties, AL in particular, adopt different practices to meet the changing aspirations of the people and therefore to win power. The different electoral strategies of AL, for example focusing on women's equality, Islamism, youth, or its aim to establish a secular democratic society (Hasan, 2020, p. 89) are the result of the changing voting behaviour which changes according to the demand of the context. Therefore, it can be said that the inclusion of democratic ideology, even if this aspect of the party is superficial, can help political parties electorally. The electoral appeal of AL throughout its history has been its ability to adapt to changing times and to captivate the voters support by presenting the party as capable and genuinely interested in the aspirations of each section of the electorate, including the Muslim voters, the secularists and other religious groups, the social progressives and women, and the digitally progressive youth of the country.

5.1.3 Implication of systematic review findings 3: The participation of Islamist parties in politics and its compatibility with democracy in Bangladesh

The preamble of the constitution of Bangladesh promotes rule of law, fundamental human rights and freedoms, equality and justice for all people through the democratic process (Bangladesh Constitution 1972). It promotes the fundamental rights of the citizen which includes equality (article 27), freedom of religion (article 41), and freedom of thought (article

39). Article 27 of Bangladesh constitution provides 'equality before the law' which means all the citizen of the country are equal irrespective of their social position or economic status. Bangladesh constitution declares that there will be no discrimination based on sex, race, religion, or culture, as decreed by article 28 (1) (Alim 2015, p. 112). These constitutional provisions are significant to promote democracy and to ensure that the country is not ruled by religious law. Therefore, although Islam as a form of government may not be compatible with democracy, according to the argument of Ellian (2008, p. 96-97), it is clear that democracy is present in Bangladesh despite it being a Muslim majority country. Bangladesh does not hold the *Quran* as the source of law; rather it is the constitution that is the source of legal laws and of the rights of its citizens. Article 23 (a) preserves the rights of religious and ethnic minority (Bangladesh Constitution 1972). In this sense, the system of Bangladesh could be referred to as pluralistic (Alim 2015, p. 119).

Differentiating the democratic Islamism and militant Islamism, Islam and Islam (2020, pp. 256-7) argue it is not democratic Islamist but the militant Islamist who condemn democracy and pluralism. The political parties in Bangladesh, whether they are secularist or Islamist, are favourable to democracy and pluralism and against terrorism and militancy (Islam & Islam 2020, pp. 256-7). One of the Islamist parties, that is JI, for example, sets its goal of establishing Bangladesh as an Islamic state rather than transforming society through a social revolution (Islam, 2021, p. 18). However, the Muslims and non-Muslims in an Islamic state, according to Ellian (2008, p. 98), are not equal, therefore the concept of an Islamic state is incompatible with democracy.

Moreover, if secularism is important for democracy (Jawad 2013), as shown in chapter 4, it is AL that can be seen to more strongly support the constitutional principle of secularism. The arguments of Hasan (2020, p. 85-86) in favour of the position of AL as secularist also include the cancellation of JI's registration by the election commission which is considered as the commitment of AL towards secularism. In addition, if tolerance is an element of democracy, then AL, as protector of secularism, has traditionally advocated for religious tolerance, in contrast to other religious or Muslim ideology oriented parties of the country (Rozario 2006, p.

369). In addition, the AL also ensures stable foreign relationship for its secular attitude. The geographical location of Bangladesh demands a stable foreign relationship with India because Bangladesh is surrounded by India from three sides (Hassan 1988). In that perspective, the AL with its secular and religious tolerance to 'Bengali' identity has stronger ties to India, which has a sizable Bengali Hindu community in the neighbouring Indian state of West Bengal (Rozario 2006, p. 369). On the other hand, BNP with its more Islamic ideology-based identity has weakened its connection with India.

Furthermore, if equal rights of women is a measurement of democracy (Ellien 2008), then it is AL which, after coming in power in 1996, was first to attempt to formulate a policy for women's development which went through different criticisms and revisions in the next BNP-led regime. In 2008, after coming into power again, AL finally enacted the first women's development policy to ensure equal rights for women (National Women Development Policy 2011, p. 3). If equality of all people is a key element of democracy (Sherif 2016, p. 318), then it was the regime of AL that signed the 'Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Accord' in 1997 that recognised the identity of the indigenous minority community (Sajib & Sadad 2018, p. 263). Although the democratic ideology of AL may not be comprehensive in all areas of governance, this party has demonstrated devotion to secularism and to the principles of democracy, including the constitutionalism, religious tolerance, women's rights, and equality for all citizens.

5.1.4 Implication of systematic review findings 4: The aspects of participation of Islamist parties which are incompatible with democracy in Bangladesh

In contrast to the evidence already discussed that demonstrates elements of democracy in the governance of Bangladesh, there is also evidence that the country's political parties and electoral practices are lacking in some democratic principles. The strong presence of Islamism in the political system is problematic and in some aspects at least partially incompatible or in conflict with democracy. For example, one of the main determinants of democracy is practice of free and fair elections, which has been continuously violated by the political parties of Bangladesh (Mollah & Jahan 2018, p. 747). Electoral violence that broke out in the election of 2014 was an example (see Figure 16) of how parties have not practised an ideology of

democracy when it comes to free and fair elections. Mentioning the election of 2018, Riaz (2019, p. 96) argued that Bangladesh had become a hybrid regime where there was not only a deficit of democracy but also the absence of politics and the principle of free and fair elections.

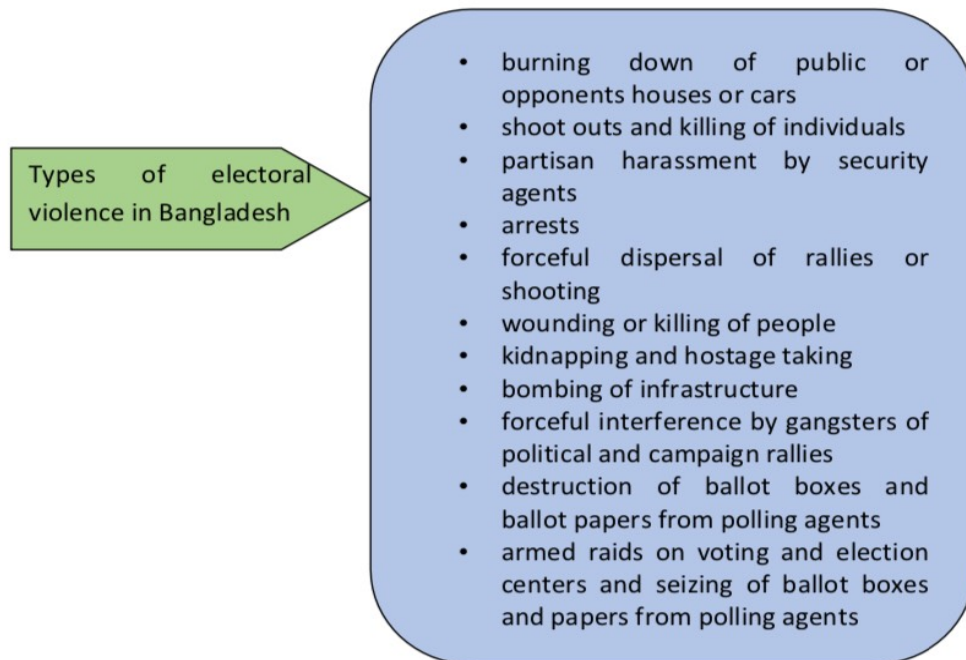


Figure 16: Electoral violence of Political parties of Bangladesh (Mollah & Jahan 2018, p. 744-745)

Moreover, one among the four major political parties of Bangladesh holds secularism as its ideology (see Table 4). Secularism in the Bangladesh Constitution simply indicates tolerance (O'Connell 1976, p.66). Although secularism promotes the freedom of religion as one of the fundamental rights of the citizens of the country, it cannot be said that secularism is comprehensively established in Bangladesh due to the opposite position of other major parties which promote religious intolerance. An example was recently given by Hasan (2020, p. 128-130) which pointed to the deficit of freedom of speech during the regime of BNP (1991- 1996). Taslima Nasrin is a Bangladeshi feminist writer who is currently residing in exile in India. She has been criticised for blaspheming Islam in her writings and interviews with the media. In India, the Babri Mosque was demolished in 1992 following many conflicts between Hindus and

Muslims after BJP members said Babri Mosque should be replaced with a Hindu temple. Bangladesh was affected by the tension. Taslima's novel, *Lajja* (shame), was based on the Ayodhya riot in India, and portrayed the condition of a Hindu family in Bangladesh. She told the story of a Hindu woman who was raped and had her property seized by a group of Muslims as a response to the riot. Taslima portrayed the Bangladeshi Muslims as uncivilised, primitive, intolerant, and abusive, assaulting and violating the rights of a minority, powerless woman. As a result of her claim, the BNP-led government ordered her to leave the country on the demands of many orthodox Muslims in 1994 (Hasan 2020, pp. 128-30).

Moreover, there were a number of terrorist attacks during the strongly Islamic regime of BNP, including grenade attacks, the murder of Shah A. M. S. Kibria, who was the former finance minister and AL leader, and attacks at an AL political rally during which twenty-three people were killed (Hasan 2011, p. 103). Another incident in 2002 led to approximately twenty thousand Hindus fleeing across the border into India because of the harassment, attacks, and murders by the Muslim extremists in BNP regime (Hasan 2011, p. 110). Moreover, the moral support of the BNP prompted and enabled the rise of many Islamist groups in Bangladesh. Hasan (2020, p. 115) mentioned the leader of BNP, Khaleda Zia, was incensed by atheist bloggers on the Internet who through their writing were defaming Islam, *Quran* and the Prophet, which she said would not be tolerated. BNP gave moral support to Hefazat-e-Islam (HI), an Islamist group, while HI loggerheaded at AL, the ruling government of that regime, in 2013 on this issue (Hasan 2020, p. 115).

Another example of a deficit of freedom of religious thought is the murder of Ahmed Rajib Haider in 2013 who was a prominent activist of the Shahbag Movement and an atheist blogger (Islam, 2018, p. 29). According to the investigation of the police, religious extremists killed him. Rahmani gave fatwas in two mosques in Muhammadpur during Juma prayer speeches to justify the killing of people who write anything to defame the Islamic religion. Subsequently, several secular bloggers, most notably Avijit Roy, as well as his publishers, have been brutally murdered or seriously wounded (Islam, 2018, p. 29). There is evidence that the public presence of Islam in politics and governance also results in religious intolerance of the

people of the country. Studies have shown that most of the people believe that the Muslim religion is the only acceptable religion (see Figure 17).

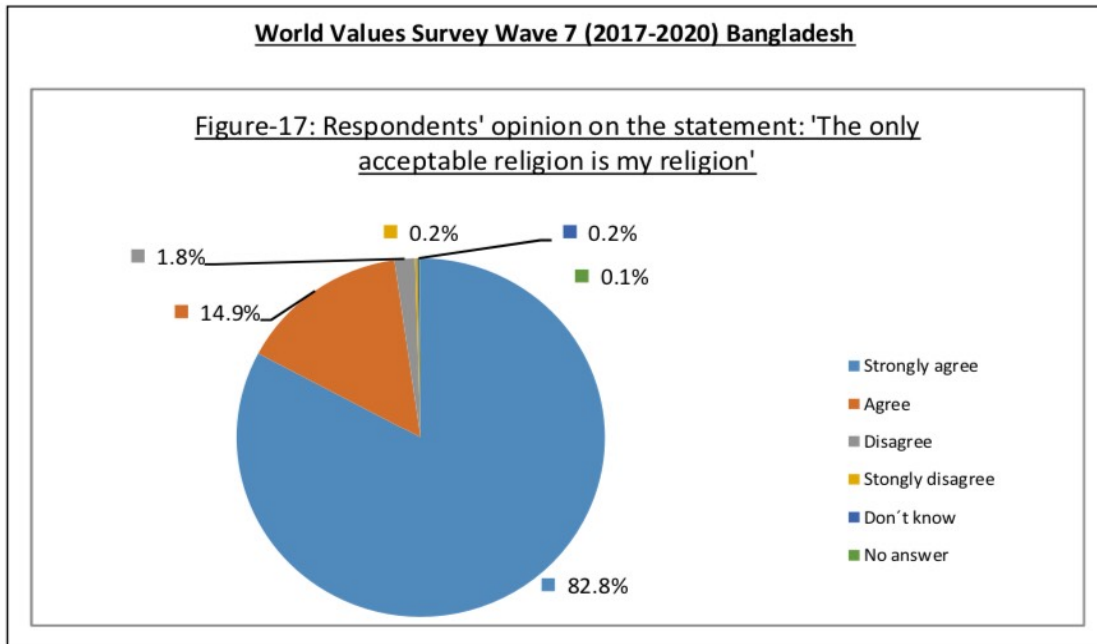


Figure 17: Source: Author’s elaboration presenting the data from World Value Survey Wave 7 (2017- 2010) Bangladesh

In Bangladesh, speculation and myths often cause violent events (Aljazeera, 30 October 2020). For example, a man, who was suffering from a psychological disorder, was brutally beaten and murdered by local people for disrespecting the *Quran*. This incident is noteworthy to clarify the extent to which there is religious intolerance in Bangladesh. In that perspective, it is true that while Islam tolerates other religions, it does not tolerate those who criticize Islam (Ellian 2008). Finally, Hasan (2020, p. 6) has argued convincingly that the people’s ideological consideration of Islam leads political parties to develop intolerance of other religions and to neglect the rule of constitutional law, leading to extremism as well as radicalisation, which are inconsistent with the principles of democracy.

5.2 Findings to Answer Research Question

5.2.1. Religious ideology plays an important role in voting behaviour patterns of the people of Bangladesh (Hasan 2020; Kabir, Siddique & Uddin 2014; WVS Wave 7 2017- 2020). The Muslim population of Bangladesh, in particular, consider voting for Islamist parties as the way to please God. Poverty and illiteracy are the main reason for this voting behaviour (Anik 2019; International Monetary Fund, Asia Pacific Dept 2013). As people consider religious ideology of the parties, the political parties of Bangladesh use Islam in politics to influence the voting behaviour of maximum of the population who are Muslim (Kabir, Siddique & Uddin 2014). This voting behaviour of the people, however, is not constant. Voting patterns change with economic development and educational level of voters (Ahmed 2011; Ullah 2013).

5.2.2. This changing voting behaviour prompts Islamist parties to adopt other electoral strategies, such as practicing democracy and secularism, to win elections or share the power of elected office (Jahan & Shahan 2014). As the purpose of adopting democratic ideology in Bangladesh Islamist parties is mainly for influencing voting behaviour, their motives and practices sometimes cause compatibility and sometimes incompatibility with democracy. None of the parties in Bangladesh are truly democratic in terms of free and fair elections. There has been considerable intimidation and violence associated with the electoral system since the country's independence, and the behaviour of the Islamist parties in office has at times breached human rights of free speech and equality under the constitution. However, voting in free elections is not the only measurement of democracy; rather, democracy is a broader concept related to justice, peace, intercultural relations, freedoms, equality, and welfare (Khatab 2009).

5.2.3 Islamism in Bangladesh is compatible with democracy when the constitution is the determinant of democracy. In Bangladesh, the constitution is the source of law and the constitution provides for equality, justice, secularism, freedom of religion, and freedom of expression (Alim 2015; Islam & Islam 2020). The constitution also provides Islam as the state religion which is meant to protect the rights of the citizen of the country (Riaz, 2010). Although democratic ideology is one of the electoral strategies of the parties to win election, the Awami

League, that mixes the essence of Islam with democracy and secularism (Alim 2015; Hasan 2020; and Islam & Islam 2020), is comparatively more democratic than the other Islamist parties of Bangladesh.

5.2.4 The public presence of Islam in the Bangladesh political system could be considered incompatible with democracy if the level of tolerance and the practice of freedoms are considered essential to a democratic state. For example, the Islamist parties, particularly those that do not consider secularism as part of their ideology, are intolerant of other religions and of any criticism of Islam. These attitudes and practices are not in accordance with the rights of free speech and freedom of religion and could also result in the rise of extremism in Bangladesh (Hasan 2011; Islam 2018). Therefore, the participation of Islamist parties that exclude secularism is incompatible with democracy in Bangladesh.

5.2.5 In conclusion, and to summarise the findings, it is not the participation of Islamist parties in Bangladesh politics that is incompatible with democracy; rather, it is the exclusion of secularism by some of the Islamist parties which is incompatible with democracy.

CHAPTER 6: ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS

This chapter presents the alignment of the findings of the systematic review with the findings on the Bangladesh perspective. The findings on the systematic review, firstly, show that religious ideology plays an important role to shape political attitude and behaviour (Daadaoui 2010; Fossati 2019; Grewal et al. 2019; Pellicer & Wegner 2014). The voters of most of the Muslim majority countries, especially those who are poor and illiterate, support Islamist political parties as the way to please God (Grewal et al. 2019). This creates an advantage for Islamist political parties which they exploit to help them win elections (Grewal et al. 2019). Although voters consider religion in a specific condition, their voting behaviour patterns are not constant, and may change with their socio-economic profile of the voters (Pellicer & Wegner 2014).

The findings of the systematic review show that, as voting behaviour changes according to economic progress and educational development, therefore, Islamist political parties adopt different strategies according to their understandings of the aspirations of the voters (Akdag 2015; Gurses 2014; Rane 2011). Their strategies include adopting and promoting democracy, good governance, pluralism, women's rights, and youth interests, while at the same time advocating Islamic objectives to attract both Muslims and secularists in the electorate (Rane 2011). Their pretence towards democracy is not because they are committed to democratic ideology but primarily for the central motive of winning the election or sharing the power in the case of coalition parties (Gurses 2014). Figure 18 based on the findings of Bangladesh shows that religious ideology plays an important role in voting behaviour (1a). The people consider Islamist parties as trustworthy and pure because of their religious ideology (Hasan 2020; Kabir, Siddique & Uddin 2014; WVS wave 7 2017- 2020). Therefore, political parties use religion to influence voting behaviour (2a). However, this voting behaviour is not constant, and changes according to the economic growth and educational development (1b) (Ahmed 2011; Ullah 2013). However, the changing political attitude of voters leads Islamist parties to use democracy as their electoral strategy which helps political parties electorally (2b) (Jahan & Shahan 2014).

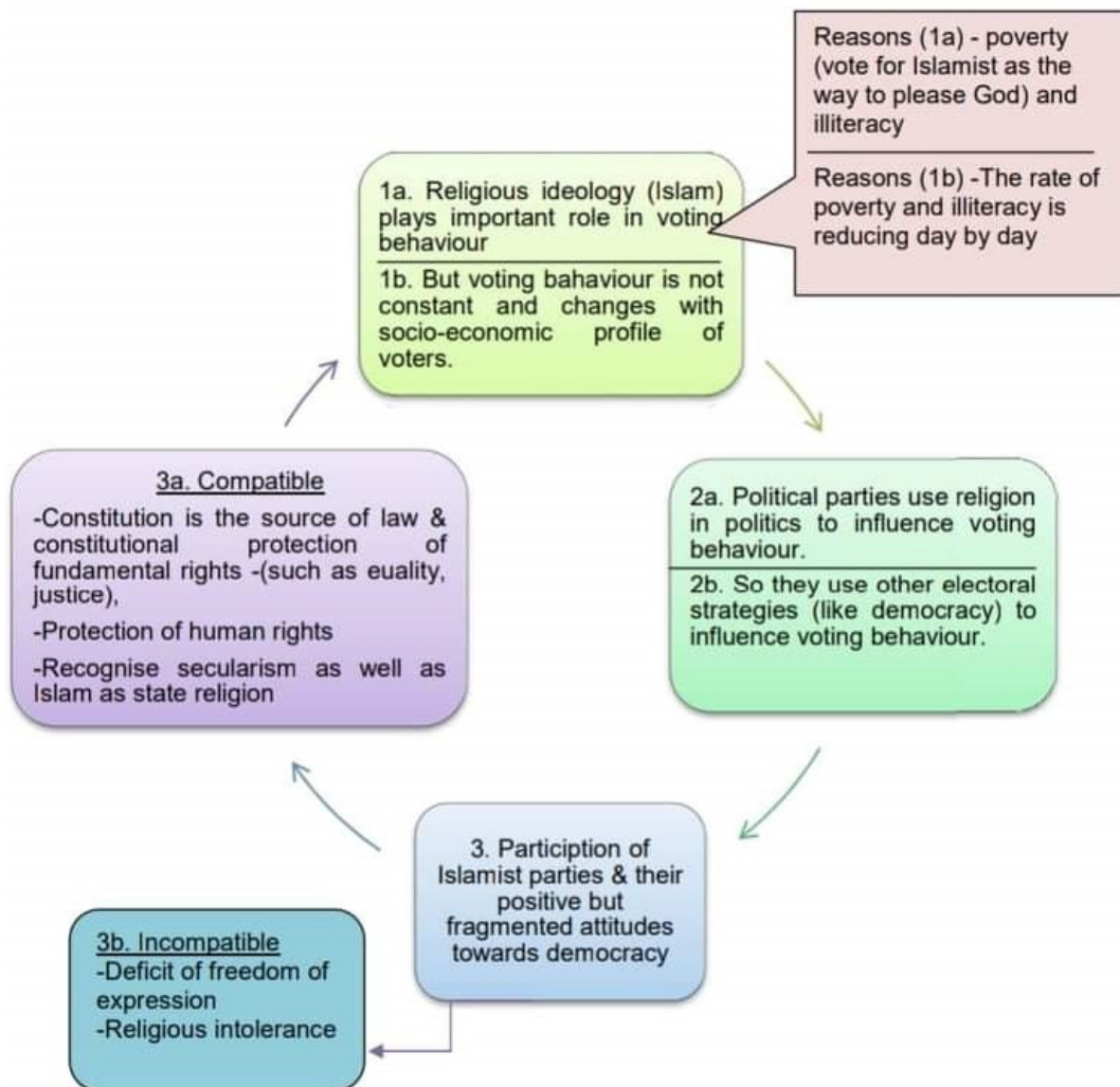


Figure 18: The findings on Bangladesh perspective (Author’s elaboration)

Furthermore, the findings of the systematic review include that the positive attitude of parties towards democracy, which is not genuine but fragmented and superficial, results sometimes in democratic and sometimes in undemocratic political behaviour. Islam is compatible with democracy when it follows practices of equality, justice, freedom and responsibility, legitimacy and tolerance (Jawad, 2013; Sherif 2016), nationalism (Haynes 2010), constitutionalism, and pluralism (Khatab 2009; Shehu 2014). According to Bahlul’s study in 2005, secularism is the base of democracy (Shahu, 2014, p. 249). Therefore, Islam is

incompatible with democracy when it opposes secularism and modernity (Jawad 2013), pluralism (Ciftci, Wuthrich, & Shamaileh 2019; Ellien 2008; Sherif 2016), and regards the *Quran* and Sharia Law as the source of society's laws which thereby oppose the constitution as the source of laws (Ellien 2008; Entelis 2004). Moreover, Islam cannot be considered democratic when it refuses laws of tolerance and religious freedom, and opposes equal rights of women, indigenous minorities, and followers of other religions (Ellien 2008). The example of Pakistan, with which Bangladesh was formerly joined as one nation, illustrates the undemocratic governance of an Islamic, religious state where the principles of secularism and pluralism have been eroded (Nitza-Makowska, 2020, p. 374). Figure 18, which is based on the findings of the Bangladesh perspective, also shows that the fragmented but positive attitude of parties towards democracy (3) results sometimes in democratic (3a) and sometimes in undemocratic (3b) political behaviour of the parties. The participation of Islamist parties is compatible with democracy when a balance of Islamism and secularism is achieved, and when there is recognition of the constitutional protection of fundamental citizens' rights. The discussion on Bangladesh perspective shows that the political party that is devoted to secularism is more tolerant than others. The Awami League (AL), even after having Islamist attributes, has attempted to ensure fundamental rights, such as freedom of belief, equality, and justice, from the beginning of their journey (Alim 2015; Hasan 2020; Islam & Islam 2020). During that political journey, AL faced opposition from fundamental Islamic movements to protect the constitutional attributes of secularism. On the other hand, the other political parties that opposed secularism are intolerant of other religions and the criticism of Islam (Hasan 2011; Islam 2018). Therefore, their participation is incompatible with democracy (see Figure 18).

However, when it comes to the free and fair election, none of the parties of Bangladesh are democratic because of the electoral violence and corruption within the system (Mollah & Jahan 2018). But the free and fair election is not the only determinant to refer the parties of Bangladesh as undemocratic as shown in Figure 2. From the point of view of inclusion and exclusion of secularism as an ideology of the parties, which has been discussed in chapter 2, AL can be considered as the moderate secularist which includes secularism as one of their ideologies and therefore connects with democracy. On the other hand, the other Islamist

parties in Bangladesh, as they exclude secularism and therefore oppose freedom of expression and tolerance, are not democratic (see Figure 2).

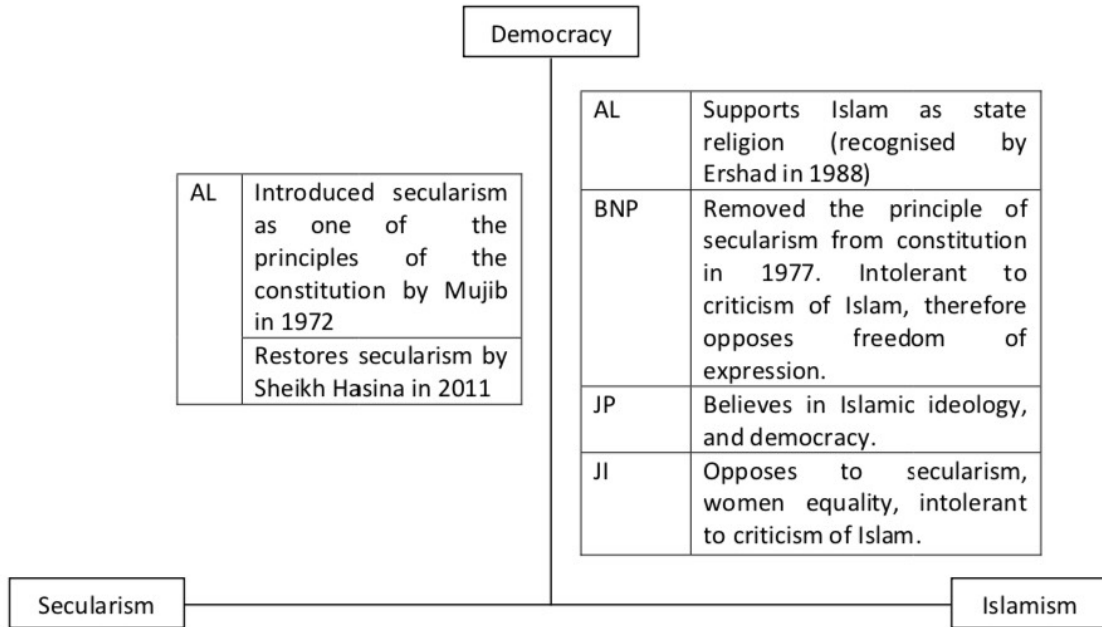


Figure 19: Position of Bangladesh parties regarding democracy, secularism and Islamism
(Source: Author’s elaboration)

Figure 19 shows how AL balances between secularism and Islamism and therefore becomes more democratic by accommodating secularism in its policies. On the other hand, the parties that do not consider secularism are intolerant and oppose freedom of expression. However, after the above discussion, it can be claimed that, although the public presence of Islam is sometimes incompatible with democracy because of the intolerant behaviour of the parties, it does not necessarily mean that the participation of the Islamist parties in democratic governance is entirely incompatible with democracy. The Islamist party that can balance between Islamism and secularism is more democratic than other Islamist parties of Bangladesh. The finding of the systematic review also shows Pakistan as the example of the deficit of democracy which erodes the idea of secularism and pluralism, and removes the human rights and freedoms of citizens (Nitza-Makowska 2020, p. 374). Therefore, it can be said that Islamism without secularism is incompatible with democracy.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

The main aim of this study was to analyse the effect of the participation of Islamist parties on democracy in Bangladesh. To achieve this aim, this project began with a systematic review of the empirical literature focusing on the participation of Islamist parties in Muslim majority countries and their impact on democracy. The use of a systematic review provides an opportunity to assess the research question using an explicit, accountable and rigorous research method that surveys the relevant literature in a more systematic and structured way. The findings of the systematic review have answered the research sub-questions: Why do Islamist parties consider democracy as one of their ideologies, and how does the participation of the Islamist parties compatible or incompatible with the democracy of Muslim countries. Secondly, a case study is conducted to assess the reviews' findings and to answer the main research question by comparing other Muslim nations with Bangladesh, which is the world's third-largest Muslim majority country (Hasan 2011, p. 97).

The findings of the systematic review of existing literature, firstly, show that voters consider religious ideology to vote. However, this trend is not constant, and changes with the level of education and economic development of voters. This changing voting behaviour leads Islamist parties to adopt democracy and secularism as their electoral strategies to survive or share power. The implication of this finding of systematic review of literature on Bangladesh perspective shows that voters of Bangladesh initially consider religious ideology to vote but it changes according to the credibility of political parties to provide services. The changing voting behaviour leads Islamist parties to consider democracy as one of their ideologies to survive in power. But this study has not revealed whether the reasons for this changing voting behaviour in Bangladesh are only relating to economic progress or educational development. Moreover, future studies could be conducted to identify the perception of voters to determine more accurately what actually leads voters to vote for Islamist parties in the Bangladesh context.

Secondly, the findings of the systematic review of literature also present that the adoption of democratic ideology of Islamist parties is primarily done for the purpose of

influencing voting behaviour. Therefore, the participation of Islamist parties and their religious ideology sometimes causes compatibility and sometimes incompatibility with democracy. It indicates that the participation of Islamist parties if they accommodate secularism as one of their ideologies is compatible with democracy. In this point, the finding of the case study on Bangladesh is similar to the findings of the systematic review. It also shows the party that has considered secularism as one of their ideology is more democratic than the other Islamist parties of Bangladesh which oppose secularism. The Islamist parties especially who do not consider secularism as their ideology are not tolerant of any criticism of Islam which could result in the rise of extremism in Bangladesh (Hasan 2011; Islam 2018). Therefore, the participation of Islamist parties that exclude secularism is incompatible with democracy in Bangladesh. On the other hand, the participation of the Islamist party that strongly supports the constitutional principle of secularism as one of their ideologies is compatible with democracy because of their devotion for women's equal rights, religious tolerance, progressiveness, and protection of indigenous rights, among others. In this point, the main research question of this study 'how does the participation of Islamist parties be compatible with democracy in Bangladesh?' is answered. This research therefore concludes that it is not the participation of Islamist parties in Bangladesh politics that is incompatible with democracy; rather it is the exclusion of secularism by the Islamist parties which is incompatible with democracy. In other words, it can be said that Islamism without secularism is incompatible with democracy.

Thus, this study has contributed to the existing literature on the question of compatibility or incompatibility of Islam and democracy by focusing on the case study of Bangladesh and revealing practices and perceptions of political and voting behaviour there. Finally, by the way of recommendation, the study suggests that Muslim and non-Muslim voters of a Muslim majority country, such as Bangladesh, would benefit from a greater understanding of the electoral strategies of Islamist parties which would assist citizens in making informed decision about their support for political parties and their right under the constitution.

REFERENCES

Ahmed, SI 2018, 'Can Islamists be secularized? Religion and politics in urban Bangladesh', *Asian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 238- 56, viewed 18 April 2020, (Taylor & Francis Online 2020).

Ahmed, N 2011, 'Critical elections and democratic consolidation: the 2008 parliamentary elections in Bangladesh', *Contemporary South Asia*, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 137–52, viewed 19 April 2021, (Taylor & Francis Social Science & Humanities with Science & Technology).

Akdağ, GA 2016 (2016), 'Rational political parties and electoral games: the AKP's strategic move for the Kurdish vote in Turkey', *Turkish Studies*, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 126-54, viewed 20 March 2021, <<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/10.1080/14683849.2015.1103188>>.

Ali, KA 2009, 'Contextualizing sectarian militancy in Pakistan: A case study of Jhang', *Journal of Islamic Studies*, vol. 20, no. 1, pp. 55-85, viewed 23 March 2021, <http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/10.1093/jis/etn057>

Alim, MA 2015, 'Equality before law and hidden wounds in the constitution: An analysis on pluralist cultural fabric of Bangladesh', *Sri Lanka Journal of International Law*, vol 24, pp. 111-24, https://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/sljnl24&div=12&g_sent=1&casa_token=vMWnJD5M0qkAAAAA:uG_pGKO4WZtPNQHIUCIlljurb6DTRmsuAKv7K1F8mis-b-klikTUGNx8dxn6bUUqP3tjNXD5&collection=journals.

Aljazeera, 30 October 2020, viewed 22 April 2021, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/10/30/man-lynched-in-bangladesh-for-alleged-quran-desecration-police>.

Altman, D & Pérez-Liñán, A 2002, 'Assessing the quality of democracy: Freedom, competitiveness and participation in eighteen Latin American countries', *Democratization*, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 85–100, viewed 22 April 2020, (Taylor & Francis Social Science & Humanities with Science & Technology).

Al-Amin, AR 2014, 'Demokrasi perspektif Hizbut Tahrir versus religious Mardomsalari ala Muslim Iran', *Islamica : Jurnal studi keislaman*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 28–58, viewed 21 April 2021, (DOAJ Directory Open Access Journals).

Anik, SSB 2019, '1 in 4 illiterate in Bangladesh', *Dhaka Tribune*, 8 September, viewed 10 April 2021, <<https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/2019/09/08/1-in-4-illiterate-in-bangladesh>>.

Awan, SZ 2018, 'Placement of Pakistani women during democratic regimes: 1988-2018', *South Asian Studies*, vol. 33, no. 2, pp. 365- 82, viewed 23 March 2021 <<https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/docview/2307976311/fulltextPDF/2B827FA527B247B9PQ/125?ac-countid=10910>>.

Aziz, S & Razzaque, F 2018, 'Role of electoral competition in explaining political violence in Bangladesh: A district-level analysis', *South Asian Survey*, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 38-53, viewed 21 May 2021, (SAGE Journals Premier 2021).

Bahlul, R 2004, 'Democracy without secularism?' *Islam, Judaism, and the Political Role of Religions in the Middle East*, pp. 99- 117, viewed 4 May 2021, <<https://philpapers.org/archive/BAHDWS.pdf>>.

Bangladesh constitution, 1972, viewed 16 April 2021, <<http://bdlaws.minlaw.gov.bd/act-details-367.html>>.

Bangladesh Poverty Assessment by World Bank Group 2019, viewed 14 April 2021, <<http://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/793121572582830383/pdf/Bangladesh-Poverty-Assessment-Facing-Old-and-New-Frontiers-in-Poverty-Reduction.pdf>>.

Beetham, D 2012, 'Introduction: what is democracy', *Democracy: A Beginner's Guide*, Oneworld Publications, New York, pp. 1- 11, viewed 24 April 2021, (EBSCOhost Ebooks).

Besson, S 2011, 'Human rights and democracy in a global context: decoupling and recoupling', *Ethics & Global Politics*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 19–50, viewed 19 April 2021, (Social Science Premium Collection).

Benstead, LJ 2015, 'Why do some Arab citizens see democracy as unsuitable for their country?' *Democratization*, vol. 22, no. 7, pp. 1183–1208, viewed 18 April 2021, (Taylor & Francis Journal).

Bhola, HS 2009, 'Reconstructing literacy as an innovation for sustainable development: A policy advocacy for Bangladesh', *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, vol. 28, no. 3, pp. 371–82, viewed 12 April 2020, (Taylor & Francis Journals).

Bhuiyan, JH 2017, 'Secularism in the constitution of Bangladesh', *Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law*, vol. 49, no. 2, pp. 204–27, viewed 19 April 2021, (Taylor & Francis Social Science & Humanities with Science & Technology).

Bradford, LP 1952, 'A fundamental of democracy', *Adult education (Chapel Hill)*, vol. 2, no. 4, pp. 146–9, viewed 24 April 2021, (Sage Journals Deep Backfile).

Cammett, M & Luong, PJ 2014, 'Is there an Islamist political advantage?' *Annual review of political science*, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 187–206, viewed 12 February 2021, (Annual Reviews).

Carlsson, U 2016, 'Freedom of expression in the digital transition', *Journal of Media Business Studies*, vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 187-97, viewed 27 April 2021, (Taylor & Francis Social Science & Humanities with Science & Technology).

Carolan, E 2014, 'Constitutionalising discourse: Democracy, freedom of expression and the future of press regulation', *Irish Jurist*, vol. 51, pp.1–27, viewed 26 April 2021, (HeinOnline Law Journal Library).

Carter, EL 2014, 'Much dispute and wonderful contentions: Free-speech values in the book of Mormon', *Journal of Media and Religion*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp.5–18, viewed 21 April 2021, (Taylor & Francis Social Science & Humanities with Science & Technology).

Ciftci, S, Wuthrich, FM & Shamaileh, A 2019, 'Islam, religious outlooks, and support for democracy', *Political Research Quarterly*, vol. 72, no. 2, pp. 435-49, viewed 24 March 2021, <<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/10.1177/1065912918793233>>.

Condra, LN, Long, JD, Shaver, AC & Wright, AL 2018, 'The logic of insurgent electoral violence', *The American Economic Review*, vol. 108, no. 11, pp. 3199-231, viewed 20 March 2021, <<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/10.1257/aer.20170416>>.

Critical Appraisal Skills Programme 2018, CASP Qualitative Studies Checklist, viewed 29 March 2021, <https://casp-uk.b-cdn.net/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/CASP-Qualitative-Checklist-2018_fillable_form.pdf>.

Cushman, T 2016, 'The fate of freedom of expression in liberal democracies', *Society (New Brunswick)*, vol. 53, no. 4, pp.348–51, viewed 15 April 2021, (SpringerLink Journals).

Daadaoui, M (2010), 'Rituals of power and political parties in Morocco: limited elections as positional strategies', *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 46, no. 2, pp. 195-219, viewed 20 March 2021, <<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/10.1080/00263201003612872>>.

Dacombe, R 2018, 'Systematic reviews in political science: What can the approach contribute to political research?' *Political Studies Review*, vol. 16, no. 2, pp.148–57, viewed 10 April 2021, <<https://doi-org.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/10.1177%2F1478929916680641>>.

Dahl, RA 1998, 'What is democracy', *On Democracy*, Yale University Press, p. 35-43, viewed 17 March 2021, <<https://doi-org.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/10.2307/j.ctv18zhcs4.9>>.

Devine, J & White, SC 2013, 'Religion, politics and the everyday moral order in Bangladesh', *Journal of contemporary Asia*, vol. 43, no. 1, pp. 127- 47, viewed 30 March 2021, (Taylor and Francis Journals).

Driessen, MD 2018, 'Sources of Muslim democracy: the supply and demand of religious policies in the Muslim world', *Democratization*, vol. 25, no. 1, pp.115–35, viewed 30 April 2021, (Taylor & Francis Social Science & Humanities with Science & Technology).

Dworak, E 2012, 'ProQuest central and new Proquest interface', *The Charleston Advisor*, pp. 45-8, <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/262827746_ProQuest_Central_and_New_Proquest>

_Interface_This_particular_review_has_been_kindly_sponsored_for_free_open_access_and_availability_by_ProQuest.

Elsayyad, M & Hanafy, S 2014, 'Voting Islamist or voting secular? An empirical analysis of voting outcomes in Egypt's "Arab Spring', *Public Choice*, vol. 160, no. 1/2, pp.109–30, viewed 19 April 2021, (SpringerLink Journal).

El-Said, H & Rauch, JE 2015, 'Education, political participation, and Islamist parties: The case of Jordan's Islamic action front', *The Middle East Journal*, vol. 69, no. 1, pp.51–73, viewed 17 April 2021, (JATOR Arts and Sciences VI).

Ellian, A 2008, 'Monotheism as a political problem: Political Islam and the attack on religious equality and freedom', *Telos*, vol. 145, pp. 87-102, viewed 23 March 2021, <<http://journal.telospress.com/content/2008/145/87.abstract>>.

Entelis, J 2004, 'Islamist politics and the democratic imperative: Comparative lessons from the Algerian experience', *The Journal of North African Studies*, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 202-15, viewed 24 March 2021, <<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/10.1080/1362938042000323446>>.

Erle, J, Wichmann, JM. & Kjærøum, A 2011, 'Egypt Electoral Constituencies: Socio-economic classification of Egypt's party electoral constituencies', viewed 28 April 2021, <<https://www.yumpu.com/en/document/read/12224876/egypt-electoral-constituencies-the-danish-egyptian-dialogue->>>.

Fan, Wei-Shang & Lu, Cheng-Chung 2009, 'An exploratory study of the impact of campaign marketing strategy on voting behavior - a contingency approach', *Journal of Information & Optimization Sciences*, vol. 30, no. 3, pp.397–415, viewed 20 March 2021, (Taylor and Francis Online, 2020).

Fleschenberg, A 2007, 'The path to political empowerment?- electoral gender quotas in South Asia', *Pakistan Journal of Women's Studies*, vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 1-25, viewed 22 March 2021, <https://search-proquest->

com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/docview/237259966/fulltextPDF/2B827FA527B247B9PQ/1?accountid=10910.

Fossati, D 2019, 'The resurgence of ideology in Indonesia: political Islam, Aliran and political behaviour', *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, vol. 38, no. 2, pp. 119- 48, viewed 20 March 2021, <<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/10.1177/1868103419868400>>.

Gidengil, E & Karakoç, E 2016, 'Which matters more in the electoral success of Islamist (successor) parties – religion or performance? The Turkish case', *Party Politics*, vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 325–38, viewed 17 April 2021, (SAGE Journal Premier 2021 PREM2021).

Gisselquist, RM, Niño-Zarazúa, M and Samarin, M 2021, 'Does aid support democracy? A systematic review of the literature', United Nations University (UNU), *World Institute for Development Economics Research (WIDER), WIDER Working Paper*, no. 2021/14, viewed 10 April, <<http://dx.doi.org/10.35188/UNU-WIDER/2021/948-8>>.

Grewal, S 2020, 'From Islamists to Muslim democrats: The case of Tunisia's Ennahda', *American Political Science Review*, vol. 114, no.2, pp. 519-35, viewed 15 April 2021, doi:10.1017/S0003055419000819 (Cambridge Journal 2021 Full Package).

Grewal, S, Jamal, AA, Masoud, T & Nugent, ER (2019), 'Poverty and divine rewards: the electoral advantage of Islamist political parties', *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 63, no. 4, pp. 859-74, viewed 20 March 2021, <<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/10.1111/ajps.12447>>.

Gurses, M (2014), 'Islamists, democracy and Turkey: A test of the inclusion-moderation hypothesis', *Party Politics*, vol. 20, no. 4, pp. 646-53, viewed 20 March 2021, <<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/10.1177/1354068812448688>>.

Hasan, M 2020, 'Awami League, ummah and political Islam', *Islam and Politics in Bangladesh*, pp. 83- 108, Palgrave Macmillan, Singapore, viewed 20 April 2021, (SpringerLINK eBooks Religion and Philosophy 2020).

Hasan, M 2011, 'Democracy and political Islam in Bangladesh', *South Asia Research*, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 97–117, viewed 12 April 2021, (SAGE Journals Premier 2021 PREM2021). DOI: 10.1177/026272801103100201

Hassan, S 1988, 'India-Bangladesh political relations during the Awami League Government, 1972-75', *ProQuest Dissertation Publishing*, p. 1, viewed 16 June 2021, (ProQuest).

Haynes, J 2010, 'Politics, identity and religious nationalism in Turkey: from Ataturk to the AKP', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 64, no. 3, pp. 312-27, viewed 23 March 2021, <http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/10.1080/10357711003736477>

Hussain, NA 2010, 'Religion and modernity: gender and identity politics in Bangladesh', *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 33, no. 4, pp. 325–33, viewed 15 April 2021, (Elsevier ScienceDirect Journals Complete).

Hämäläinen, H & Tomaszewska, A 2017, 'Editor's Introduction: Religion in the secular state', *The Sources of Secularism: Enlightenment and Beyond*, Springer Nature, Switzerland, pp. 1- 17, viewed 23 April 2021, (SpringerLink Books).

International Monetary Fund, Asia Pacific Dept, 2013, 'Development context, sixth plan targets and strategy', *Bangladesh: Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper*, International Monetary Fund, Washington, p. 13, viewed 10 April 2021 (Ebook Central Academic Complete).

Islam, MM 2018, 'Secularism in Bangladesh: an unfinished revolution', *South Asia Research*, vol. 38, no. 1, pp. 20-39, viewed 02 April 2021, (SAGE Premier 2020).

Islam, MN 2021, 'Political Islam in South Asia: A critical appraisal of the Bangladesh Jamaat-e-Islami', *International Area Studies Review*, pp. 1- 21, viewed 5 June 2021, <<https://doi.org/10.1177%2F22338659211018320>>.

Islam, MN & Islam MS 2017, 'Islam and democracy: Conflicts and congruence', *Religions (Basel, Switzerland)*, vol. 8, no. 6, p.104, viewed 23 April 2021, (ProQuest Central).

Islam, MN & Islam, MS 2020, 'Islam, Islamism, and Democracy in Bangladesh', *Islam and Democracy in South Asia: The Case of Bangladesh*, 1st edn, Palgrave Macmillan, Switzerland, pp. 215- 60, (SpringerLink Books).

Islam, MS & Grönlund, Å 2011, 'Digital Bangladesh – A Change We Can Believe in?' *Electronic Government and the Information Systems Perspective*, Springer Berlin Heidelberg, Berlin, pp. 107–21, viewed 13 April 2021, (SpringerLink Books).

Jahan, F & Shahan, AM 2014, 'Power and influence of Islam- based political parties in Bangladesh: perception versus reality', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, vol. 49, no. 4, pp. 426- 41, viewed 15 June 2020, (SAGE Premier 2021 PREM2021).

Jahan, R 2014, 'Political Parties in Bangladesh', *CPD-CMI Working Paper Series 8*, Centre For Policy Dialogue (CPD), Bangladesh, pp. 1- 73, viewed 14 April 2021, <<https://open.cmi.no/cmi-xmlui/bitstream/handle/11250/2474963/Political%20Parties%20in%20Bangladesh?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>>.

Jahan, R 2003, 'Bangladesh in 2002: Imperiled Democracy', *Asian Survey*, vol. 43, no. 1, pp.222- 229.

Jawad, N 2013, 'Democracy in modern Islamic thought', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 40, no. 3, pp. 324, viewed 23 March 2021, <https://www-tandfonline-com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/doi/full/10.1080/13530194.2013.791138>

Kabir, BM, Siddiqui MR & Uddin, MB 2014, 'What do the Bangladeshis think about Islamist parties and politics', *What Do The Bangladeshi Muslims Think?* A H Development Publishing House, Dhaka, Bangladesh, p. 83-136.

Karakaya, S & Yildirim, AK 2013, 'Islamist moderation in perspective: comparative analysis of the moderation of Islamist and Western communist parties', *Democratization*, vol. 20, no. 7, pp.1322–49, viewed 10 April 2021, (Taylor & Francis Journal).

Keton, J 2014, 'Pluralism, secularism, and neutrality: A comment on Bilgrami', *Journal of Social Philosophy*, vol. 45, no. 1, pp.49- 64, viewed 30 April 2021, (Wiley Online Library).

Khatab, S 2009, 'The voice of democratism in Sayyid Qutb's response to violence and terrorism', *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, vol. 20, no. 3, pp. 315-32, viewed 22 March 2021, <http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/10.1080/09596410902983008>

Lewis, D 2013, Bangladesh: Democracy in Turmoil, viewed 28 March 2021, <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/75252/1/blogs.lse.ac.uk,Bangladesh%20Democracy%20in%20turmoil.pdf>.

Lorch, J 2014, 'Elections in Bangladesh: Political conflict and the problem of credibility', viewed 12 April 2021, pp. 1-7, <https://www.ssoar.info/ssoar/bitstream/handle/document/55284/ssoar-2014-lorch-Elections_in_Bangladesh_Political_Conflict.pdf?sequence=1>.

Maksum, A 2017, 'Discourses on Islam and democracy in Indonesia: A study on the intellectual debate between liberal Islam network (JIL) and Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI)', *Journal of Indonesian Islam (Surabaya)*, vol. 11, no. 2, pp.405–22, viewed 20 April 2021, (DOAJ Directory Open Access Journals).

McMurry, N 2019, 'Applying human rights to enable participation', *The International Journal of Human Rights*, vol. 23, no. 7, pp.1049–73, viewed 19 April 2021, (Taylor & Francis Social Science & Humanities with Science & Technology).

Milligan S, Andersen R & Brym R 2014, 'Assessing variation in tolerance in 23 Muslim-majority and Western countries', *The Canadian Review Sociology*, vol. 51, no. 3, pp. 239-61, viewed 23 March 2021, doi: 10.1111/cars.12046. PMID: 25296435.

Mollah, MAH & Jahan, R 2018, 'Parliamentary election and electoral violence in Bangladesh: the way forward', *International Journal of Law and Management*, vol. 60, no. 2, pp.741–56, viewed 14 April 2021, (ProQuest Central).

Mueller, DC 2009, 'Democracy and religion', *Reason, Religion, and Democracy*, Cambridge University Press, New York, pp- 355- 99.

.....'Building and protecting liberal democracy', *Reason, Religion, and Democracy*, Cambridge University Press, New York, pp- 400-17.

Nasr, V 2005, 'The rise of "Muslim Democracy', *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 16, no. 2, pp.13–27, viewed 24 April 2021, (ProQuest Central).

National Women Development Policy 2011, Ministry of Women and Children Affairs, Government of the Peoples' Republic of Bangladesh, viewed 19 April 2021, <https://mowca.portal.gov.bd/sites/default/files/files/mowca.portal.gov.bd/policies/64238d39_0ecd_4a56_b00c_b834cc54f88d/National-Women%20Development%20Policy-2011English.pdf>.

Newman, M & Gough, D, 2019, Systematic reviews in educational research: methodology, perspectives and application, *Systematic Reviews in Educational Research: Methodology, Perspectives and Application*, Germany, Springer VS, pp. 03- 22, viewed 9 March 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-27602-7_1>.

Nitza-Makowska, A 2020, 'Indian and Pakistani regime trajectories: Social hierarchy and majority religion's public presence versus democracy', *Politics and Religion*, vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 363-82, viewed 22 March 2021, <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/docview/2474421926/fulltextPDF/410D04FD5DA04AFEPQ/1?accountid=10910>

O'Connell, JT 1976, 'Dilemmas of secularism in Bangladesh', *Journal of Asian and African studies (Leiden)*, vol. 11, no. 1-2, pp.64–81, viewed 4 May 2021, (ProQuest PAO Periodicals Archive Online Foundation).

Odhikar 2020, *Total Extra-judicial killings from 2001 – 2019*, viewed 21 May 2021, <http://odhikar.org/wpcontent/uploads/2020/02/Statistics_EJK_2001-2019.pdf>.

Okoli, C 2015, 'A Guide to Conducting a Standalone Systematic Literature Review', *Communications of the Association for Information Systems*, Vol. 37 , Article 43, DOI: 10.17705/1CAIS.03743, <<https://aisel.aisnet.org/cais/vol37/iss1/43>>.

Pellicer, M& Wegner, E 2014, 'Socio-economic voter profile and motives for Islamist support in Morocco', *Party Politics*, vol. 20, no. 1, pp. 116-33, viewed 20 March 2021, <<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/10.1177/1354068811436043>>.

Peonidis, F 2019, 'Freedom of expression, secularism and defamation of religion: The case of Charlie Hebdo', *Social sciences (Basel)*, vol. 8, no. 10, p. 1- 8, viewed 19 April 2021, (Social Science Premium Collection).

Rane, H 2011, 'The impact of Maqasid Al-Shari'ah on Islamist political thought: implication for Islam-West relation', *Islam and Civilisational Renewal*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 337-57, viewed 20 March 2020, <<https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/scholarly-journals/impact-maqasid-al-shariah-on-islamist-political/docview/1314480578/se-2?accountid=10910>>.

Rashiduzzaman, M 2002, 'Bangladesh in 2001: The Election and a New Political Reality?' *Asian Survey*, vol. 42, no. 1, pp.183–91, viewed 19 April 2021, (JSTOR Arts and Sciences II).

Rawat, SS 2017, 'Role of Dr BR Ambedkar in women empowerment', *Deliberative Research*, vol. 33, no. 1, p. 20, viewed 29 April 2021, (ProQuest Central).

Razavi, S 2006, 'Islamic politics, human rights and women's claims for equality in Iran', *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 27, no.7, pp. 1223-37, viewed 23 March 2021, <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01436590600933362>>.

Riaz, A 2019, 'Mutation of Hybrid Regime and Quo Vadis Bangladesh', *Voting in a Hybrid Regime Explaining the 2018 Bangladeshi Election: Explaining the 2018 Bangladeshi Election*, Palgrave Macmillan, Singapore, pp. 93-7, viewed 10 April 2021, (SpringerLink Books).

Riaz, A 2010, 'The politics of islamisation in Bangladesh', *Religion and politics in South Asia*, Routledge, New York, pp. 45- 70, viewed 17 April 2020, (Ebook Central Academic Complete).

Ribberink, EC, Achterberg, PHJ & Houtman, D 2017, 'Secular tolerance?: Anti-Muslim sentiment in Western Europe', *Journal for The Scientific Study of Religion*, vol. 56, no. 2, pp.259–76, viewed 19 April 2021, (Wiley Online Library).

Rostbøll, CF 2011, 'Freedom of expression, deliberation, autonomy and respect', *European Journal of Political Theory*, vol. 10, no. 1, pp.5–21, viewed 12 April 2021, (SAGE Journal Premier 2021 PREM2021).

Rowley, CK & Smith, N 2009, 'Islam's democracy paradox: Muslims claim to like democracy so why do they have so little?' *Public Choice*, vol. 139, no. 3/4, pp.273–99, viewed 26 April 2021, (SpringerLink Journal).

Rozario, S 2006, 'The new burqa in Bangladesh: Empowerment or violation of women's rights?', *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 29, no. 4, pp. 368-80, viewed 4 May 2021, <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0277539506000379>.

Sajib, SMS & Sadad, MKN 2018, 'Contested peace: the Chittagong Hill Tracts peace accord', *Social Change (New Delhi)*, vol. 48, no. 2, pp.260–74, viewed 19 April 2021, (SAGE Journals Premier 2021 PREM2021).

Shehu, AT 2014, 'Democracy, Constitutionalism and Shariah: The Compatibility Question', *European Journal of Law Reform*, vol. 16, no. 2, https://heinonline-org.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/HOL/Page?collection=journals&handle=hein.journals/ejlr16&id=246&men_tab=srchresults

Shepard, WE 1987, 'Islam and ideology: Towards a typology', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 19, no. 3, pp. 307- 35, viewed 25 April 2021, <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/163657.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A5bee35840f8412fb3f6a0258e12fe8f4>>.

Sherif, AE 2016, 'The Strong Egypt Party: representing a progressive/democratic Islamist party?' *Contemporary Islam*, vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 311-31, viewed 24 March 2021, <<http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/10.1007/s11562-016-0369-z>>.

Smith, LE & Walker, LD 2013, 'Belonging, believing, and group behavior: religiosity and voting in American Presidential elections', *Political Research Quarterly*, vol. 66, no. 2, pp. 399–413. Viewed 15 April 2021, (JSTOR Arts and Sciences II).

Somer-Topcu, Z 2015, 'Everything to everyone: The electoral consequences of the broad-appeal strategy in Europe', *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 59, no. 4, pp. 841–54, viewed 28 April 2021, (Wiley Online Library).

Taylor, C 2010, 'The meaning of secularism', *The Hedgehog Review*, vol. 12, no. 3, p. 23- 34, viewed 18 April 2021, (Academic OneFile).

Ullah, MS 2013, 'ICTs changing youths' political attitudes and behaviors in Bangladesh', *The International Communication Gazette*, vol. 75, no. 3, pp. 271–83, viewed 11 April 2021, (SAGE Journals Premier 2021 PREM2021).

Werner, A 2019, 'Voters' preferences for party representation: Promise-keeping, responsiveness to public opinion or enacting the common good', *International Political Science Review*, vol. 40, no. 4, pp.486–501, viewed 28 April 2021, (SAGE Journal Premier 2021 PREM2021).

World Values Survey Wave 7 (2017-2020) Bangladesh, viewed 28 March 2021, <<https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSDocumentationWV7.jsp>>.

Worldometers 2021, Bangladesh population 1950-2020 <<https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/bangladesh-population/>>.

APPENDIX A- SEARCH STRATEGY

Set No.	Searched for	Databases	Results
S14	ab(voter) AND ab(Islamist Parties) AND stype.exact("Scholarly Journals") AND at.exact("Article") AND la.exact("English") AND PEER(yes)	East & South Asia Database, International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS), Political Science Database, Politics Collection, Religion Database, Social Science Database, Social Science Database, Sociology Collection, Sociology Database	52
S15	(ab(electoral) AND ab(Islamist Parties)) AND stype.exact("Scholarly Journals") AND at.exact("Article") AND la.exact("English") AND PEER(yes)	East & South Asia Database, International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS), Political Science Database, Politics Collection, Religion Database, Social Science Database, Social Science Database, Sociology Collection, Sociology Database	137
S18	(ab(Islam) AND ab(Democracy) AND ab(incompatibility)) AND stype.exact("Scholarly Journals") AND at.exact("Article") AND la.exact("English") AND PEER(yes)	East & South Asia Database, International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS), Political Science Database, Politics Collection, Religion Database, Social Science Database, Social Science Database, Sociology Collection, Sociology Database	13
S19	(ab(Islam) AND ab(Democracy) AND ab(compatibility)) AND stype.exact("Scholarly Journals") AND at.exact("Article") AND la.exact("English") AND PEER(yes)	East & South Asia Database, International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS), Political Science Database, Politics Collection, Religion Database, Social Science Database, Social Science Database, Sociology Collection, Sociology Database	80
S45	(Islamist political parties) AND voters AND (South Asia) AND stype.exact("Scholarly Journals") AND at.exact("Article") AND la.exact("English") AND PEER(yes)	East & South Asia Database, International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS), Political Science Database, Politics Collection, Religion Database, Social Science Database, Social Science Database, Sociology Collection, Sociology Database	297

APPENDIX B- CODING STUDIES

SL.	Author and Year of publication	Details of the study	Findings of the study	Relevance to Present Studies (appeal to voters/ Islam- demo/ south Asia)	Quality According to Critical Appraisal
1	Akdag, 2015	-This study indicates the electoral strategy of AKP to increase the number of the voters to the party. -Data are collected from the exiting literature	AKP's consideration to Kurdish issue should be considered as the rational strategy to increase the voters of the party.	Parties take rational electoral Strategy to gain popular support The present study intends to find the electoral strategy of the Islamist parties to gain popular support	8
2	Ali 2009	-This article is on Pakistan's Islamist parties that have emerged as national play- ers when the ruling elite engages in undemocratic practices, resulting in the absence of representative institutions or national parties with cohesive programs. -Data collection method is not reported	Not reported	Islamist parties participation in South Asian politics and decline of democracy	3
3	Awan 2018	-This paper comprehend the women related stance of various PPPP governments	This paper comprehend the women related stance of various PPPP governments (1988-1990: 1993-1996:	Islamist parties' consideration towards gender equality	5

		(1988-1990: 1993-1996: 2008-2013) and incorporate the response of PML-N (1990-1993:1996-1999:2013-2018) towards women problems. -Secondary data collection	2008-2013) and incorporate the response of PML-N (1990-1993:1996-1999:2013-2018) towards women problems.		
4	Ciftci, Wuthrich, & Shamaileh 2019	This paper focuses on the literature on religious worldviews with novel conceptualizations and measurement of distinct religious outlooks among the religious faithful to explain patterns in attitudes toward democracy. -Data collected from original survey data- Arab Democratic Barometer-third wave	The findings, however, indicates that the significant differences among the believe of the Muslim that religion should play a important role in social realm can be regarded as the democratic orientation of the Muslim. Ciftci, Wuthrich and Shamaileh (2019, p. 444) argued that religious individualists and post-Islamists support democracy more than religious communitarians and status quoist. Islam does not create any gap that initiates the incompatibility with democracy. It is the different between the level pluralist orientation and its access to power that flourishes or deteriorates democracy.	Argument that democracy and Islam in not incompatible rather it is the level of accepting pluralism that flourishes or deteriorates democracy	9
5	Condra et al. 2009	-This paper mainly argues that insurgents undermine the	To avoid harming civilians, insurgents carefully calculate their	The exclusion of Islamist parties from politics can be threat of	5

		<p>state's mandate through electoral violence.</p> <p>-The paper combines the conflict micro data with unpublished survey data, information regarding population and settlement locations, voting behavior and a detail map of the connected road of Afghanistan.</p>	<p>violence during elections.</p>	<p>democracy of the country.</p>	
6	Daadaoui, 2010	<p>-This study focuses on the consequence of using rituals of power in Morocco's political system, especially on political parties.</p> <p>-Survey was conducted on 287 respondents (considering the country's demographic and socio-economic profile) in the region of Marrakech, the city of Morocco, in 2007. Interviews of some 50 political officials and members of the party have also been conducted.</p>	<p>This study argues that the use of rituals of power Morocco's monarchy is religious and traditional</p>	<p>This study discusses the consideration of respondents of this study emphasize the commander should be faithful and religious.</p> <p>The Present study connects voting behavior in this extent.</p>	6
7	Ellien 2008	<p>-This article is on how the freedom and equality of</p>	<p>Modern democracy rejects the concept of religious state</p>	<p>Islam is incompatible with democracy</p>	5

		<p>religions be combined with the freedom, equality and safety of others? Author discussed about one specific religion, that Islam</p> <p>-No specific method has been found</p>			
8	Entelis, 2004	<p>-This study mainly focused on the rise of Islamic militancy with reference to Algeria in the context of deficit of democracy</p> <p>-Methodology is not reported</p>	Not reported	The very brief discussion on the compatibility and incompatibility of democracy with Islam	3
9	Fleschenberg (2007)	<p>-The effect of quota provisions developed in various South Asian countries on women's political representation and participation is examined in this article in a systematic and comparative manner.</p>	Quota arrangements are a relatively new phenomenon in global legislatures, and they are not without controversy. Nonetheless, they are a viable and often necessary tool for opening a (previously) male-dominated/-exclusive area of decision- and policymaking to the other half of society: women - in all of their diversity.	The discussion o South Asia (Pakistan, Afghanistan)	4
10	Fossati, 2019	<p>-Data are collected from face-to-face interviews on randomly selected 1620 Indonesian citizens in 2017.</p>	<p>Aliran identities influence party choice.</p> <p>Political Islam notably influences political behavior.</p>	This study categorizes the ideology of the Indonesian Muslim in three categories; and identifies that the ideology of belonging in different groups	7

				influences the party choices. The present study intends to identify the voting behavior of the Muslim and how their ideology influences their voting behavior.	
11	Grewal et. Al., 2019	<p>-This study focus on the appeal of the Islamist parties and voter's economic hardship are connected.</p> <p>-Data are collected from survey data of Arab Barometer. Surveys 2011 from Egypt (n = 1,219) and Tunisia (n = 1,196), Wave 2 (2010–11)9 and Wave 3 (2013–14) of the Arab Barometer, including Egypt and Tunisia, Algeria, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Morocco, Palestine, and Sudan (total N = 10,330) are considered.</p>	<p>-Voters with economic hardship depend on divine rewards and thereby support Islamist parties.</p> <p>- Voters consider the supporting to Islamist parties is the way to please God.</p>	<p>This study discusses the appeal of Islamist parties to poor voters and makes a connection of the appeal of the Islamist parties with the economic hardship of the voters.</p> <p>This information supports present study by arguing that Islamist political parties have their appeal to the Muslim voters on the basis of their like-minded religious ideology.</p>	6
12	Gurses. 2014	-This article presents the attitudes of Turkey's Islamist parties towards electoral democracy as fragmented, provisional and driven to share	The findings significantly includes that Islamist political parties' positive attitudes toward democratic consolidation can be identified as their electoral strategy to share	<p>This study considers democratic consolidation as electoral strategy to influence voting behavior</p> <p>The present study intends to</p>	8

		<p>the power.</p> <p>-Data are collected from World Values Survey (WVS) and Face to face interview.</p>	power and legitimize their regime.	find the electoral strategy of Islamist parties that influence voting behaviour	
13	Haynes, 2010	<p>-This study is on Turkey's AKP party, its political background of success, Islamic and democratic ideology.</p> <p>-Data are collected from Pew Global Attitudes Project (Pew Research Center, 2007)</p>	After analysing the survey data from Paw Research Center (2006), Haynes (2010, p. 322) concluded that it is difficult to identify Turkey as a country based on religious value as because it is the part of EU. Turkey constitutes an indispensable part of European heritage as well as follows democratic culture even in its hardest time. If someone argued on Turk's sticking to gender discrimination, an example of Greece can be given which is significantly Christian majority country	Practicing democracy in a Islamic country like Turkey	4
14	Jawad 2013	<p>-This study is on the argument of compatibility of democracy by Rachid Ghannouchi.</p> <p>-No particular method is reported</p>	Mentioning the argument on the compatibility of Islam with democracy, author said it is difficult to understand how modern Islamist school of thought adopt democracy without secularism and modernity	Compatibility and Incompatibility of democracy	6
15	Khatab (2009)	-Khatab (2009) represents the arguments of Sayyid Qutb on the compatibility of Islam with	Islam is not incompatible with democracy. Democratic values can be better implemented under Islamic	Compatibility of Islam and democracy	5

		<p>democracy. He mentioned the understanding of Muslim militants on Qutb's idea on hakimiyya and presented Qutb's response to the argument of Muslim militants</p> <p>-No specific method has been discussed</p>	<p>system. He said the argument against compatibility of Islam with democracy is not religious but political motivated</p>		
16	Nitza-Makowska 2020	<p>-This paper discussed the comparative analysis on the decline of the democracy in India and Pakistan emphasizing on demand of identity, ethnic or religious, in these countries.</p> <p>-Not reported</p>	<p>the impact of majority religion in public sphere affected the country's overall trajectories</p>	<p>Islamist parties participation in South Asian politics and decline of democracy</p>	5
17	Pellicer and Wegner, 2014	<p>- This study is about socio-economic voter profile and its connection to the support towards Islamist in Morocco.</p> <p>- Data are collected from original dataset compiling with Morocco's election result of 2002 and 2007; and the 2004 census.</p>	<p>-The support towards Islamist parties is not stable on the basis of ideology. It depends on the party's ability of mobilizing decision including other factors related to policies and the credibility of the Islamist parties.</p> <p>- Voters consider the ability of the Islamist parties on the measurement of education facilities and wealth along with different demands and expectations.</p>	<p>In this study, the authors categorize the voters on the basis of the compatibility of the Islamist parties.</p> <p>As the present study is finding the appeal of the Islamist parties in Muslim countries, this study provides additional information that support that Islamist parties have their</p>	7

				appeal to the voters which depends on the ability of Islamist parties to mobilizing decision.	
18	Rane, 2011	<p>-Documents on US foreign policy and political Islam; and relations with the Muslim world have been evaluated.</p> <p>-Interviews with the key representatives of Turkey's Justice and Development Party (AKP), Malaysia's People's Justice Party (PKR), and Indonesia's Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) were also conducted.</p>	Islamist Political Parties have adopted the principle of democracy, good governance, and socio-economic prosperity, justice, pluralism as Islamic objectives; and thereby attract the Muslims and Non- Muslims votes.	<p>This study includes the discussion on electoral strategy of second-generation Muslim leaders.</p> <p>The presents study intends to identify the strategy of the Islamist parties to attract voters.</p>	6
19	Rajavi, 2006	<p>-This paper analyses the diverse currents of thinking that feed into the reformist orientation in Iran</p> <p>-Methodology-Not reported</p>	Reformists are largely incapable of substantiating women rights in the present context Iran. In addition, according to author, democratization depends on how the issues related to Iran's nuclear capabilities are treated (Razavi, 2006, p. 1235)	The categories of tendencies in Islamist politics	4
20	Shehu, 2014	-This article is a contribution and a response to the debate on the compatibility, or rather the incompatibility, of Islam	Islam and democracy is compatible. Controversy might be arose because of the lack of uniformity of the Muslim scholar when they interpret	Compatibility of democracy with Islam	5

		<p>and Shariah with democracy and constitutionalism. The debate has been both inter and intra; Muslims as well as non-Muslims are divided among themselves on the issue.</p> <p>-No specific method has been identified</p>	<p>sharia law. In addition to that, cultural hatred and intolerance are also the reason of the comparison of Islam and democracy</p>		
21	Sherif (2016)	<p>-Sherif (2016) presented the case of Strong Egypt Party (SEP) and argued that the ideology of this party is the combination of economic progress, political democracy as well as cultural conservatism.</p> <p>-Semi-structured interviews with members, activists and the power-base of the Strong Egypt party and participant-observer research during one year of extensive fieldwork in Egypt (2013), focus group discussion have been conducted</p>	<p>SEP is the progressive Islamist parties adopting the combined principles of center-leftist ideology aims to long-term political institutionalisation (Sherif, 2016, p. 329).</p>	<p>Compatibility of democracy with Islam- establishing democratic culture in Islamist culture.</p>	5

APPENDIX C: CASP 2018 SCORE OF INCLUDED STUDIES

Included studies	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Total
Akdağ 2016	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	8
Ali 2009	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4
Awan 2018	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	5
Ciftci, Wuthrich, & Shamaileh 2019	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	9
Condra et al. 2018	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	5
Daadaoui 2010	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	6
Ellian 2008	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	5
Entelis 2004	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3
Fleschenberg 2007	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	4
Fossati 2019	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	7
Grewal et al. 2019	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	6
Gurses 2014	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	8
Haynes 2010	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	4
Jawad 2013	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	6
Khatab 2010	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	5
Nitza-Makowska 2020	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	5
Pellicer & Wegner 2014	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	7
Rane 2011	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	6
Razavi 2006	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	4
Shehu 2014	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	5
Sherif 2016	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	5

N. B. The assessment has been conducted following the 10 questions on the following pages which are planned to think about these issues systematically. According to the CASP qualitative checklist 2018, Q1 and Q2 are screening questions which should be result as “yes”. If a study answers of these two questions as “no”, it is not worth to proceed with the next questions (see following table C1). Therefore, the studies those scored 2 or below 2 have been excluded in this project.

SL	Questions (Yes= 1, No= 0, Can't tell= 0)
1	Was there a clear statement of the aims of the research?
2	Is a qualitative methodology appropriate?
3	Was the research design appropriate to address the aims of the research?
4	Was the recruitment strategy appropriate to the aims of the research?
5	Was the data collected in a way that addressed the research issue?
6	Has the relationship between researcher and participants been adequately considered?
7	Have ethical issues been taken into consideration?
8	Was the data analysis sufficiently rigorous?
9	Is there a clear statement of findings?
10	How valuable is the research?

Table C1: The Questions based on which the included studies have been assessed (Source: Critical Appraisal Skills Programme 2018).

**APPENDIX D: RELEVANT DATA SELECTED FROM WORLD VALUE SURVEY WAVE 7 BANGLADESH
(2017- 2020)**

(Used in Chapter 5 as pie-charts)

Q289- Religious denominations - major groups

	TOTAL	Sex		Age		
		Male	Female	Up to 29	30-49	50 and more
Do not belong to a denomination	-	-	-	-	-	-
Roman Catholic	-	-	-	-	-	-
Protestant	-	-	-	-	-	-
Orthodox (Russian/Greek/etc.)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jew	-	-	-	-	-	-
Muslim	90.1	89.9	90.3	91.4	92.5	82.1
Hindu	9.1	9.3	8.9	8.1	7.0	15.8
Buddhist	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.5	0.5	2.1
Other Christian (Pentecostal/Free church/Jehova...)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other	-	-	-	-	-	-
(N)	(1,200)	(592)	(608)	(407)	(559)	(234)

Q6- For each of the following aspects, indicate how important it is in your life. Would you say it is very important, rather important, not very important or not important at all Religion

	TOTAL	Sex		Age		
		Male	Female	Up to 29	30-49	50 and more
Very important	94.2	94.3	94.1	93.6	94.3	94.9
Rather important	4.8	4.9	4.8	5.9	4.8	3.0
Not very important	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.9
Not at all important	0.4	0.3	0.5	-	0.4	1.3
Don't know	0.1	0.2	-	-	0.2	-
No answer	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	-
(N)	(1,200)	(592)	(608)	(407)	(559)	(234)

Q173- Independently of whether you go to church or not, would you say you are...

	TOTAL	Sex		Age		
		Male	Female	Up to 29	30-49	50 and more
A religious person	95.1	95.6	94.6	94.1	94.6	97.9
Not a religious person	1.9	1.9	2.0	2.7	2.1	-
An atheist	0.1	0.2	-	-	0.2	-
Don't know	2.8	2.4	3.1	2.7	3.0	2.1
No answer	0.2	-	0.3	0.5	-	-
(N)	(1,200)	(592)	(608)	(407)	(559)	(234)

Q169- Please tell us if you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements: Whenever science and religion conflict, religion is always right

	TOTAL	Sex		Age		
		Male	Female	Up to 29	30-49	50 and more
Strongly agree	75.0	76.4	73.7	76.2	73.3	76.9
Agree	18.8	18.9	18.6	18.2	18.8	19.7
Disagree	4.2	3.0	5.3	4.2	5.2	1.7
Strongly disagree	0.4	0.2	0.7	1.0	-	0.4
Don't know	1.7	1.5	1.8	0.5	2.7	1.3
(N)	(1,200)	(592)	(608)	(407)	(559)	(234)

Q62- I'd like to ask you how much you trust people from various groups. Could you tell me for each whether you trust people from this group completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all? People of another religion

	TOTAL	Sex		Age		
		Male	Female	Up to 29	30-49	50 and more
Trust completely	4.1	2.7	5.4	5.9	3.2	3.0
Trust somewhat	25.8	29.1	22.5	24.8	27.5	23.1
Do not trust very much	44.9	44.9	44.9	46.4	42.4	48.3
Do not trust at all	23.7	21.8	25.5	20.4	25.4	25.2
Don't know	1.2	1.0	1.3	1.7	1.1	0.4
No answer	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.7	0.4	-
(N)	(1,200)	(592)	(608)	(407)	(559)	(234)

Q239- I'm going to describe various types of political systems and ask what you think about each as a way of governing this country. For each one, would you say it is a very good, fairly good, fairly bad or very bad way of governing this country? Having a system governed by religious law in which there are no political parties or elections

	TOTAL	Sex		Age		
		Male	Female	Up to 29	30-49	50 and more
Very good	25.8	27.9	23.7	25.8	24.9	27.8
Fairly good	28.8	28.7	28.9	30.0	27.5	29.9
Bad	20.1	20.4	19.7	20.1	20.9	17.9
Very bad	12.4	12.8	12.0	11.5	11.6	15.8
Don't know	12.6	10.0	15.1	12.0	14.7	8.5
No answer	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.5	0.4	-
(N)	(1,200)	(592)	(608)	(407)	(559)	(234)

Q242- Please tell me for each of the following things how essential you think it is as a characteristic of democracy. Use this scale where 1 means "not at all an essential characteristic of democracy" and 10 means it definitely is "an essential characteristic of democracy Religious authorities interpret the laws

	TOTAL	Sex		Age		
		Male	Female	Up to 29	30-49	50 and more
It is against democracy (spontaneous)	3.8	3.5	4.1	3.4	3.4	5.6
Not an essential characteristic of democracy	1.6	1.7	1.5	1.7	1.8	0.9
2	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.0	1.6	2.1
3	4.0	3.9	4.1	5.4	3.2	3.4
4	4.7	4.7	4.6	4.2	5.2	4.3
5	5.2	5.1	5.3	6.6	3.9	5.6
6	5.5	4.6	6.4	5.2	5.4	6.4
7	7.7	7.3	8.1	6.1	8.6	8.1
8	14.9	14.0	15.8	17.0	13.1	15.8
9	17.8	18.6	17.1	17.0	18.6	17.5
An essential characteristic of democracy	33.3	35.1	31.6	32.4	35.2	30.3
(N)	(1,200)	(592)	(608)	(407)	(559)	(234)
Mean	7.61	7.70	7.52	7.56	7.72	7.43
Std Dev.	2.76	2.76	2.77	2.75	2.73	2.87
Base mean	(1,200)	(592)	(608)	(407)	(559)	(234)

Q170- Please tell us if you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements: The only acceptable religion is my religion

	TOTAL	Sex		Age		
		Male	Female	Up to 29	30-49	50 and more
Strongly agree	82.7	82.4	82.9	82.8	82.5	82.9
Agree	14.9	15.0	14.8	14.7	14.7	15.8
Disagree	1.8	1.9	1.8	1.7	2.1	1.3
Strongly disagree	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.4	-
Don't know	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.2	-
No answer	0.1	-	0.2	-	0.2	-
(N)	(1,200)	(592)	(608)	(407)	(559)	(234)