

Quellen- und Literaturverzeichnis

Primärquellen

- Al-Shater, Khairat (2012): Translation. Khairat al-Shater on the Brotherhood's Rise. In: Current Trends in Islamist Ideology 13: 127-155. URL: https://www.hudson.org/content/researchattachments/attachment/1144/201207271_currenttrendsvol13.pdf. Zugriff: 17.3.2020.
- Dustur-Partei (2012): Parteiprogramm. URL: https://web.archive.org/web/20140226091139/http://www.aldoustourparty.org/%D8%A8%D8%B1%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%85%D8%AC_%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AD%D8%B2%D8%A8. Zugriff: 5.3.2019.
- Egyptian Federation of Independent Trade Unions (2011a): Egypt: Hundreds of Thousands Set to Strike. URL: <https://menasolidaritynetwork.com/2011/09/06/egypt-hundreds-of-thousands-set-to-strike/>. Zugriff: 13.3.2019.
- (2011b): Egypt: Independent Unions Call for Immediate End to Military Rule. Leaflet by EFITU being distributed in Tahrir Square today, 2 December [2011]. URL: <https://menasolidaritynetwork.com/2011/12/02/egypt-independent-unions-call-for-immediate-end-to-military-rule/>. Zugriff: 13.3.2019.
- (2012a): Egypt: Independent Union Federation Statement on Port Said Massacre. The Bloody Events in Port Sa'id. Statement 1- 2012. URL: <https://menasolidaritynetwork.com/2012/02/06/egypt-independent-union-federation-statement-on-port-said-massacre/>. Zugriff: 13.3.2019.
- (2012b): An-Naqabat al-Mustaqilla – Limadha Narfud al-Ilan ad-Dusturiy. URL: <https://menasolidaritynetwork.com/2012/11/26/%D9%85%D8%B5%D8%B1-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%86%D9%82%D8%A7%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%AA%D9%82%D9%84%D8%A9-%D9%84%D9%85%D8%A7%D8%B0%D8%A7-%D9%86%D8%B1%D9%81%D8%B6-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A5%D8%B9/>. Zugriff: 13.3.2019.
- Freiheits- und Gerechtigkeitspartei (2011): Programm der Freiheits- und Gerechtigkeitspartei. [arab. Barnamij Hizb al-Hurriya wa-l Adalah]. URL: https://web.archive.org/web/20130522104547/www.hurryh.com/Party_Program.aspx. Zugriff: 22.7.2019.

- Gerechtigkeitspartei (2011): Vision der Gerechtigkeitspartei. Parteiprogramm. URL: <https://web.archive.org/web/20120316172025/http://www.eladl.org/Page/s/Default.aspx?id=c17d0b08-79d5-41d1-b643-9cbaodd24179>. Zugriff: 5.3.2019.
- (2016): Interview – Bewegung 6. April. Kairo, 15.7.2016.
- (2017): Interview – Dustur-Partei/Nationale Rettungsfront. Kairo, 28.5.2017.
- (2016): Interview – Gerechtigkeitspartei. Kairo, 11.7.2016.
- (2016): Interview – Monumentspartei. Kairo, 12.7.2016.
- (2017): Interview – NGO. Kairo, 8.5.2017.
- (2016): Interview – Partei der Freien Ägypter. Kairo, 2.8.2016.
- (2016): Interview – Partei Sozialistische Volksallianz. Kairo, 11.7.2016.
- (2017): Interview – Sozialdemokratische Partei Ägyptens. Kairo, 23.5.2017.
- (2017): Interview – Tahrir Aktivist. Kairo, 13.5.2017.
- (2016): Interview – Think Tank Dustur. Kairo, 21.8.2016.
- (2017): Interview – Uni Cairo Aktivist. Kairo, 8.5.2017.
- MENA Solidarity Network (2012a): Egypt: »May is the Month of Workers and Their Demands«. URL: <https://menasolidaritynetwork.com/2012/05/01/egypt-may-is-the-month-of-workers-and-their-demands/>. Zugriff: 13.3.2019.
- (2012b): Egypt: »New Constitution Favours the Powerful Say Union Activists. URL: <https://menasolidaritynetwork.com/2012/12/15/egypt-new-constitution-favours-the-powerful-say-union-activists/>. Zugriff: 13.3.2019.
- (2013a): Egypt: »We Want to Work ... We Want Decent Wages ...We Want Free Unions«. URL: <https://menasolidaritynetwork.com/2013/04/29/egypt-we-want-to-work-we-want-decent-wages-we-want-free-unions/>. Zugriff: 13.3.2019.
- (2013b): Egypt: Joint Statement – »Together We Will Bring Down the Regime«. URL: <https://menasolidaritynetwork.com/2013/06/26/egypt-joint-statement-together-we-will-bring-down-the-regime/>. Zugriff: 13.3.2019.
- (2013c): Egypt: Army's Call to Crush Terrorism Divides Revolutionaries. URL: <https://menasolidaritynetwork.com/2013/07/25/egypt-armys-call-to-crush-terrorism-divides-revolutionaries/>. Zugriff: 13.3.2019.
- Partei »Morgen« (2011): Parteiprogramm. URL: <https://web.archive.org/web/20110606021431/http://aymannour.net/ShowGhadInfo.aspx>.
- Partei der Freien Ägypter (2011a): Finanz-Satzung. URL: <https://web.archive.org/web/20111018085856/http://fep.org.eg/files/InternalRegulations.pdf>. Zugriff: 5.3.2019.
- (2011b): Parteiprogramm. URL: <https://web.archive.org/web/20111110145321/http://fep.org.eg:80/PartyProgram.aspx>. Zugriff: 5.3.2019.
- (2012): Satzung. URL: <https://web.archive.org/web/20111210135202/http://fep.org.eg/Rules/Statute.aspx>. Zugriff: 26.3.2019.
- Sozialdemokratische Partei Ägyptens (o.J.a): Parteiprinzipien. URL: <http://www.egydp.com/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A8%D8%B1%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%85%D8%AC>. Zugriff: 5.3.2019.

- (o.J.b): Parteiprogramm. URL: <http://www.egysdp.com/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A8%D8%B1%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%85%D8%AC>. Zugriff: 10.3.2020.
- Sozialistische Volksallianz (o.J.): Vision der Sozialistischen Volksallianz.
- (2011): Parteiprogramm. URL: https://web.archive.org/web/20120417234617/http://egyleftparty.org/?page_id=184. Zugriff: 5.3.2019.

Wissenschaftliche Aufsätze, Monographien, Sammelbände

- Abdalla, Nadine (2013): Egypt's Revolutionary Youth. From Street Politics to Party Politics. URL: https://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/comments/2013C11_abn.pdf. Zugriff: 25.2.2019.
- (2016a): The Labor Movement in the Face of Transition. In: Rougier, Bernard/Lacroix, Stephane (Hg.): Egypt's Revolutions. Politics, Religion, Social Movements. New York: 197-211.
 - (2016b): Youth Movements in the Egyptian Transformation. Strategies and Repertoires of Political Participation. In: Mediterranean Politics 21(1): 44-63. URL: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13629395.2015.1081445>. Zugriff: 9.3.2020.
- Abdallah, Iman (2012): Ash-Shabab wa-l harakat al-idschtimaiya wa-l siyasiya [arab. orig. Die Jugend, und die sozialen und politischen Bewegungen]. Kairo.
- Abdel Wahab, Mohamed S. E. (2012): UPDATE: An Overview of the Egyptian Legal System and Legal Research. URL: <http://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/Egypt11.html>. Zugriff: 4.7.2018.
- Abed Rabbo, Ahmad (2011): Egyptian Political Parties and Parliamentary Elections 2011/2012. URL: https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/lists/ACRPS-PDFDocumentLibrary/Egyptian_Political_Parties_and_Parliamentary_Elections.pdf. Zugriff: 1.3.2019.
- Aboubakr, Randa (2013): The Role of New Media in the Egyptian Revolution of 2011. Visuality as an Agent of Change. In: El Hamamsy, Walid/Soliman, Mounira (Hg.): Popular Culture in the Middle East and North Africa. A Postcolonial Outlook. Routledge Research in Postcolonial Literature. New York/London: 231-245.
- Aboulenein, Ahmed (2013): NSF Reaffirms Boycott, Parties to Merge. URL: <http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2013/03/05/nsf-reaffirms-boycott-parties-to-merge/>. Zugriff: 6.8.2019.
- Abu Dayf, Mohamad (2011): Askar Kazibun – Al-Harakat As-Siyasiya tasna Dschihazaz li-Kashf al-Kizb. [arab. original: Askar Kazibun – die politischen Bewegungen erschaffen einen (Medien)apparat, um Lügen zu entlar-

- ven]. URL: <https://web.archive.org/web/20120111032855/www.masrawy.com/news/egypt/politics/2011/december/22/4689734.aspx>. Zugriff: 6.3.2019.
- Abul-Magd, Zeinab (2014): Egypt's Adaptable Officers. Power, Business, and Discontent. URL: https://www.ispionline.it/sites/default/files/publicazioni/analysis_265_2014.pdf. Zugriff: 1.5.2020.
- (2016): Egypt's Adaptable Officers. Business, Nationalism, and Discontent. In: Grawert, Elke/Abul-Magd, Zeinab (Hg.): *Businessmen in Arms. How the Military and Other Armed Groups Profit in the MENA Region*. London/New York/Boulder/Lanham: 23-41.
- Achcar, Gilbert (2013): *The People Want. A Radical Exploration of the Arab Spring*. Berkeley.
- Adly, Amr (2016): Between Social Populism and Pragmatic Conservatism. In: Rougier, Bernard/Lacroix, Stephane (Hg.): *Egypt's Revolutions. Politics, Religion, Social Movements*. New York: 61-78.
- Afify, Heba (2013): The Acquiescing Opposition. URL: <https://madamasr.com/en/2013/08/08/feature/politics/the-acquiescing-opposition/>. Zugriff: 4.3.2020.
- Agrama, Hussein Ali (2012): Reflections on Secularism, Democracy, and Politics in Egypt. In: *American Ethnologist* 39(1): 26-31.
- Ahram Online (2011a): Hamzawy Resigns From Party Over Statement on Military. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/9844.aspx>. Zugriff: 5.3.2019.
- (2011b): Liberal Egyptian Bloc Launches its 2011 Election Campaign. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/25800.aspx>. Zugriff: 8.7.2019.
- (2011c): Democratic Alliance (Freedom and Justice). URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/26895.aspx>. Zugriff: 26.8.2011.
- (2011d): Egyptian Social Democratic Party. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/26700.aspx>. Zugriff: 5.3.2019.
- (2011e): Socialist Popular Alliance. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/26692.aspx>. Zugriff: 5.3.2019.
- (2011f): The Egyptian Bloc. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/26718.aspx>. Zugriff: 6.3.2019.
- (2011g): The Free Egyptians. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/33/104/24944/Elections/Political-Parties/The-Free-Egyptians.aspx>. Zugriff: 5.3.2019.
- (2011h): Will Second Round of Egypt's Elections Be Blighted by More Violations? URL: <https://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/24836>. Zugriff: 4.7.2019.
- (2012a): English Text of SCAF Amended Egypt Constitutional Declaration. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/45350.aspx>. Zugriff: 30.7.2017.
- (2012b): English Text of President Morsi's New Egypt Constitutional Declaration. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/50248.aspx>. Zugriff: 30.7.2019.
- (2012c): Liberal, Leftist Forces Unite to Defeat 'Unrepresentative' Constitution. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/53983.aspx>. Zugriff: 1.3.2019.

- (2012d): Political Forces Sign on ElBaradei Call for Constituent Assembly Boycott. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/54250.aspx>. Zugriff: 1.3.2019.
- (2012e): English Text of Morsi's Constitutional Declaration. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/58947.aspx>. Zugriff: 13.3.2019.
- (2012f): Youth of anti-Morsi Parties Reject Coalition with ›Mubarak Remnants‹. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/59355.aspx>. Zugriff: 30.7.2019.
- (2013a): Egypt's National Salvation Front Sets Five Demands for President Morsi. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/63343.aspx>. Zugriff: 12.8.2019.
- (2013b): ElBaradei Calls for Boycott of Parliamentary Elections. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/65398.aspx>. Zugriff: 6.8.2019.
- (2013c): Morsi Addresses Nation, Accuses Former Regime Figures of Destabilizing Egypt. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/75064.aspx>. Zugriff: 19.8.2019.
- (2013d): Egypt Army Ultimatum Hailed by Opposition, Sparks Islamist Protests. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/75447.aspx>. Zugriff: 19.8.2019.
- (2013e): Egypt's Salafist Call, Nour Party Calls for Early Presidential Polls. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/75456.aspx>. Zugriff: 19.8.2019.
- (2013f): Mass Membership Resignations Rejected by Egypt's Socialist Popular Alliance Party. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/85993.aspx>. Zugriff: 12.3.2019.
- (2014): Egyptian Social Democratic Party Members Join Sawiris' Party. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/101647.aspx>. Zugriff: 12.3.2019.
- Al Jazeera (2014): As-Sanduq al-Aswad – Laylat al-Ittihadiya. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=02-UVLXA7rE>. Zugriff: 6.8.2019.
- Al Jazeera English (09.2011): Egypt: Seeds of Change. People&Power, 09.02.2011. URL: <https://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/peopleandpower/2011/02/201128145549829916.html>. Zugriff: 14.11.2018.
- (2013): Egypt Opposition Bloc to Boycott Election. URL: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2013/02/2013226144249873236.html>. Zugriff: 6.8.2019.
- Al-Agati, Mohammad (o.J.): Analysis of a Study on the Orientation of Egyptians Regarding Political Participation and Political Parties. In: Arab Forum for Alternatives (Hg.): Political Parties and Public Opinion in Egypt. Kairo: 11-19.
- Al-Anani, Khalil (2015): Upended Path: The Rise and Fall of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood. In: Middle East Journal 69(4): 527-543.
- (2016): Inside the Muslim Brotherhood. Religion, Identity, and Politics. Religion and global politics. New York, NY.
- Al-Arian, Abdullah (2014): The Terror Metanarrative and the Rabaa Massacre. URL: <http://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/31103/The-Terror-Metanarrative-and-the-Rabaa-Massacre>. Zugriff: 27.2.2019.
- Albrecht, Holger (2008): Political Opposition and Authoritarian Rule in Egypt. URL: <https://publikationen.uni-tuebingen.de/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10900/>

- 47671/pdf/PhD_Dissertation_Albrecht.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y. Zugriff: 18.4.2020.
- (2013): Wegbereiter oder treibende Kraft? Die Rolle der Arbeiter in der ägyptischen Revolution. In: Albrecht, Holger/Demmelhuber, Thomas (Hg.): *Revolution und Regimewandel in Ägypten*. Baden-Baden: 209-232.
- Albrecht, Holger/Bishara, Dina (2011): Back on Horseback. The Military and Political Transformation in Egypt. In: *Middle East Law and Governance* 3(3): 13-23.
- Albrecht, Holger/Demmelhuber, Thomas (Hg.) (2013): *Revolution und Regimewandel in Ägypten*. Baden-Baden.
- Albrecht, Holger/Frankenberger, Rolf (2010a): Autoritarismus reloaded: Konzeptionelle Anmerkungen zur vergleichenden Analyse politischer Systeme. In: Albrecht, Holger/Frankenberger, Rolf (Hg.): *Autoritarismus Reloaded: Neuere Ansätze und Erkenntnisse der Autokratieforschung*. Schwalbach/Ts.: 37-60.
- (Hg.) (2010b): *Autoritarismus Reloaded: Neuere Ansätze und Erkenntnisse der Autokratieforschung*. Schwalbach/Ts.
- Albrecht, Holger/Frankenberger, Rolf/Frech, Siegfried (Hg.) (2011): *Autoritäre Regime: Herrschaftsmechanismen; Legitimationsstrategien; Persistenz und Wandel*. Schwalbach/Ts.
- Albrecht, Holger/Schlumberger, Oliver (2004): Waiting for Godot. Regime Change without Democratization in the Middle East. In: *International Political Science Review* 25(04): 371-392.
- Alemann, Ulrich von (2010): *Das Parteiensystem der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*. Grundwissen Politik, Bd. 26. Wiesbaden.
- Alexander, Anne/Aouragh, Miriyan (2014): Egypt's Unfinished Revolution: The Role of the Media Revisited. In: *International Journal of Communication* 8: 890-915.
- Ali, Arafat (2011a): Istiqalat hayiat al-misriy ad-dimuqrati itiradan ala dam adah al-munhal. [arab. Original: Austritt von Mitgliedern der sozialdemokratischen Partei aus Protest über Eintritt ehemaliger Abgeordneter der NDP in Partei]. URL: <https://web.archive.org/web/20121119072816/http://digital.ahram.org.eg/articles.aspx?Serial=678927&eid=8031>. Zugriff: 5.3.2019.
- Ali, Mostafa (2011b): Revolution Continues Alliance Launches Its Electoral Bid. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/25792.aspx>. Zugriff: 26.8.2019.
- Ali, Randa/Maher, Hatem (2012): Morsi's Decree Cancelled, Constitution Referendum To Take Place On Time. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/60092.aspx>. Zugriff: 6.8.2019.
- Al-Masry al-Youm (2019): Uduw al-Madschlis ar-Riasi lil- masriyiin al-Ahrar: Hadafna 25 % min Maqaid al-Barlaman. [arab. original: Vorstandsmitglied der Partei der Freien Ägypter bestätigt: Wir wollen 25 % der Parlamentssitze erobern]. URL: <https://www.almasryalyoum.com/news/details/114470>. Zugriff: 5.3.2019.

- Almond, Gabriel A./Verba, Sidney (1963): *The Civic Culture. Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Princeton, N.J.
- (1980): *The Civic Culture Revisited. An Analytic Study*. The Little, Brown series in comparative politics. Boston.
- Alnasseri, Sabah (Hg.) (2016a): *Arab Revolutions and Beyond. The Middle East and Reverberations in the Americas*. New York/s.l.
- (2016b): *Class, State, and the Egyptian Revolution*. In: Alnasseri, Sabah (Hg.): *Arab Revolutions and Beyond. The Middle East and Reverberations in the Americas*. New York/s.l.: 119-161.
- Amar, Paul (2011): *Why Mubarak is Out*. URL: [www. jadaliyya.com/pages/index/516/why-mubarak-is-out](http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/516/why-mubarak-is-out).
- (2012): *Egypt as Globalist Power. Mapping Military Participation in Decolonizing Internationalism, Repressive Entrepreneurialism, and Humanitarian Globalization Between the Revolutions of 1952 and 2011*. In: *Globalization* 9: 179-194.
- Angelis, Enrico de (2015): *Introduction: The Hybrid System of Egypt and »Cultural Chaos«*. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/ema/3398>. Zugriff: 6.3.2019.
- Arab Forum for Alternatives (Hg.) (o.J.): *Political Parties and Public Opinion in Egypt*. Kairo.
- (Hg.) (2015): *Cross Party Relations and Political Transitions: Negotiation and Compromise*. o.O.
- Asseburg, Muriel (2011): *Zur Anatomie der arabischen Proteste und Aufstände*. In: *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 39: 3-9.
- Associated Press in Cairo (2012): *Morsi Supporters Clash With Protesters Outside Presidential Palace in Cairo*. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/dec/05/morsi-supporters-protest-presidential-palace-cairo>. Zugriff: 6.8.2019.
- At-Tahrir (2011): *Feloul ad-Dimuqratiy yakhtariqun al-Ahزاب wa yandamuna bil muhafadhaat lil taharrubi min qanun al-azl*. [arab. original: Feloul dringen in Parteien ein und umgehen das Gesetz]. In: *At-Tahrir*, 17.11.2011. URL: <https://web.archive.org/web/20111223051718/https://www.tahrirnews.com/%D8%A3%D8%AD%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%AB-%D9%88%D9%88%D9%82%D8%A7%D8%A6%D8%B9/%D9%81%D9%84%D9%88%D9%84-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%88%D8%B7%D9%86%D9%8A-%D9%8A%D8%AE%D8%AA%D8%B1%D9%82%D9%88%D9%86-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D8%AD%D8%B2%D8%A7%D8%A8-%D9%88%D9%8A%D9%86%D8%B6%D9%85%D9%88%D9%86-%D9%84/>. Zugriff: 5.3.2019.
- Averbeck-Lietz, Stefanie/Meyen, Michael (2016): *Nicht standardisierte Methoden in der Kommunikationswissenschaft: Eine Entwicklungsgeschichte zur Einführung*. In: Averbeck-Lietz, Stefanie/Meyen, Michael (Hg.): *Handbuch Nicht Standardisierte Methoden in Der Kommunikationswissenschaft*. Wiesbaden: 1-14.

- Awad, Marwa (2011): Egypt Presidential Poll Must Come First: ElBaradei. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-elbaradei/egypt-presidential-poll-must-come-first-elbaradei-idUSTRE72258620110303>. Zugriff: 25.7.2019.
- Badran, Margot (2016): Creative Disobedience: Feminism, Islam, and Revolution in Egypt. In: Sadiqi, Fatima (Hg.): Women's Movements in Post-»Arab Spring« North Africa. New York: 45-60.
- Bamyeh, Mohammed (2011): The Egyptian Revolution: First Impressions from the Field [Updated]. URL: <https://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/23658>. Zugriff: 11.7.2019.
- Bartolini, Stefano/Mair, Peter (1990): Identity, Competition, and Electoral Availability. The Stabilization of European Electorates 1885-1985. Cambridge/New York.
- Bayat, Asef (2010): Life as Politics. How Ordinary People Change the Middle East. Stanford.
- (2017): Revolution Without Revolutionaries. Making Sense of the Arab Spring. Stanford studies in Middle Eastern and Islamic societies and cultures. Stanford.
- BBC News (2012a): Egypt: The Legacy of Mohammed Mahmoud Street. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-20395260>. Zugriff: 25.7.2019.
- (2012b): Profile: Egypt's National Salvation Front. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-20667661>. Zugriff: 1.3.2019.
- (2013): Profile: Mohamed ElBaradei. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/10420218>. Zugriff: 19.8.2019.
- Beblawi, Hazem/Luciani, Giacomo (Hg.) (1987): The Rentier State. London.
- Bedorf, Thomas (2010): Verkennende Anerkennung. Über Identität und Politik. Berlin.
- Beinin, Joel (2012): The Rise of Egypt's Workers. URL: http://carnegieendowment.org/files/egypt_labor.pdf.
- (2013): Egyptian Workers after June 30. URL: <https://merip.org/2013/08/egyptian-workers-after-june-30/>. Zugriff: 6.4.2020.
- (2015): Workers and Thieves. Labor Movements and Popular Uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt. Stanford.
- Beissinger, Mark R. (2013): The Semblance of Democratic Revolution. Coalitions in Ukraine's Orange Revolution. In: American political science review 107(3): 574-592.
- Beissinger, Mark R./Amaney, Jamal/Mazur, Kevin (2013): Who Participated in the Arab Spring. A Comparison of Egyptian and Tunisian Revolutions. URL: <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/bf96/ad6d9ceo44eeodd1865ded7dcaa75f198eb.pdf>. Zugriff: 6.8.2019.
- Bellin, Eva (2004): The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East. A Comparative Perspective. In: Comparative Politics 36(2): 139-157.

- Bendel, Petra/Croissant, Aurel/Rüb, Friedbert W. (Hg.) (2002): Zwischen Demokratie und Diktatur. Zur Konzeption und Empirie demokratischer Grauzonen. Wiesbaden. URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3-322-99845-3>.
- Berg-Schlosser, Dirk (2015): Vergleichende Methoden in der Transformationsforschung. Politische Kultur. In: Kollmorgen, Raj/Merkel, Wolfgang/Wagener, Hans-Jürgen (Hg.): Handbuch Transformationsforschung. Wiesbaden: 291-301.
- Bermeo, Nancy Gina/Yashar, Deborah J. (2016): Parties, Movements, and the Making of Democracy. In: Bermeo, Nancy Gina/Yashar, Deborah J. (Hg.): Parties, Movements and Democracy in the Developing World. Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics. New York, NY: 1-27.
- Bishara, Dina (2012): The Power of Workers in Egypt's 2011 Uprising. In: Korany, Bahgat/el-Mahdi, Rabab (Hg.): Arab Spring in Egypt. Revolution and Beyond. Cairo.
- (2018): Contesting Authoritarianism. Labor Challenges to the State in Egypt. Cambridge.
- Bogner, Alexander/Littig, Beate/Menz, Wolfgang (2014): Interviews mit Experten. Eine praxisorientierte Einführung. Qualitative Sozialforschung. Wiesbaden.
- Bogner, Alexander/Menz, Wolfgang (2002): Das theoriegenerierende Experteninterview. Erkenntnisinteresse, Wissensformen, Interaktion. In: Bogner, Alexander/Littig, Beate/Menz, Wolfgang (Hg.): Das Experteninterview. Theorie, Methode, Anwendung: 33-70.
- Boix, Carles (2009): The Emergence of Parties and Party Systems. In: Boix, Carles/Stokes, Susan Carol (Hg.): The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics. Oxford handbooks of political science. Oxford/New York: 499-521.
- Bornschiefer, Simon (2007): Social Structure, Collective Identities, and Patterns of Conflict in Party Systems: Conceptualizing the Formation and Perpetuation of Cleavages. Paper, University of Zurich. Zurich, Switzerland.
- (2009): Cleavage Politics in Old and New Democracies. Living Reviews in Democracy: 1-13.
- Bos, Ellen (1996): Die Rolle von Eliten und kollektiven Akteuren in Transformationsprozessen. In: Merkel (Hg.): Systemwechsel 1. Opladen: 81-109.
- Boudreau, Vincent (2002): State Repression and Democracy Protest in Three Southeast Asian Countries. In: Meyer, David S./Whittier, Nancy/Robnett, Belinda (Hg.): Social Movements. Identity, Culture, and the State. Oxford.
- Bratton, Michael/van de Walle, N. (1994): Neopatrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in Africa. In: World Politics 46(4): 453-489.
- Bratton, Michael/Van de Walle, Nicolas (1997): Democratic Experiments in Africa. Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective. Cambridge.
- Brown, Heather/Guskin, Emily (2012): The Role of Social Media in the Arab Uprisings. URL: <https://www.journalism.org/2012/11/28/role-social-media-arab-uprisings/>. Zugriff: 22.8.2019.

- Brown, Nathan J. (2016): Egypt's Judiciary in a Postrevolutionary Era. In: Rougier, Bernard/Lacroix, Stephane (Hg.): *Egypt's Revolutions. Politics, Religion, Social Movements*. New York: 101-121.
- Brownlee, Jason (2002): And Yet They Persist. Explaining Survival and Transition in Neo-Patrimonial Regimes. In: *Studies in Comparative International Development* 37(3): 35-63.
- Brückner, Julian (2015): Transitionsansätze. In: Kollmorgen, Raj/Merkel, Wolfgang/Wagener, Hans-Jürgen (Hg.): *Handbuch Transformationsforschung*. Wiesbaden: 89-97.
- Brumberg, Daniel (2002a): Democratization in the Arab World? The Trap of Liberalized Autocracy. In: *Journal of Democracy* 13(4): 56-68.
- (2002b): Islamists and the Politics of Consensus. In: *Journal of Democracy* 13: 109-115.
- Bühl, Walter (1987): Grenzen der Autopoiesis. In: *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 39: 225-254.
- Bukow, Sebastian (2013): Die professionalisierte Mitgliederpartei. Wiesbaden.
- Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung (o.J.): Innerparteiliche Demokratie. URL: <https://www.bpb.de/nachschlagen/lexika/politiklexikon/17640/innerparteiliche-demokratie>. Zugriff: 20.4.2020.
- Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies (2012): Al-Ittihadiyya »Presidential Palace« Clashes in Cairo 5-6 December 2012. URL: https://www.cihrs.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/Ittihadiyya.rep_CIHRs_Eng_Dec_.pdf. Zugriff: 6.8.2019.
- Campbell, John L. (2005): Where Do We Stand? Common Mechanisms in Organizations and Social Movements Research. In: Davis, Gerald F. et al. (Hg.): *Social Movements and Organization Theory*. Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics. Cambridge: 41-68.
- Carbonari, Jacopo (2011): Mapping Egypt's Political Parties. URL: <https://arabist.net/blog/2011/11/13/mapping-egypts-political-parties.html>. Zugriff: 27.2.2019.
- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (2011a): April 6 Youth Movement. A backgrounder on the April 6 Youth Movement. URL: <https://carnegieendowment.org/2010/09/22/april-6-youth-movement-pub-54918>. Zugriff: 25.3.2019.
- (2011b): Egyptian Social Democratic Party. A backgrounder on the Egyptian Social Democratic Party. URL: <https://carnegieendowment.org/2011/11/04/egyptian-social-democratic-party/h2n7>. Zugriff: 25.3.2019.
- (2011c): Socialist Popular Alliance Party. A backgrounder on the Socialist Popular Alliance Party. URL: <https://carnegieendowment.org/2011/10/19/socialist-popular-alliance-party-pub-54831>. Zugriff: 12.3.2019.
- (2012): Constitution Party. URL: <https://carnegieendowment.org/2012/10/31/constitution-party-pub-54825>. Zugriff: 25.7.2019.

- (2013a): Comparing Egypt's Constitutions. URL: <http://carnegieendowment.org/files/Comparing-Egypt-s-Constitutions.pdf>. Zugriff: 1.1.2017.
- (2013b): National Salvation Front. URL: <https://carnegieendowment.org/2013/09/03/national-salvation-front-pub-54921>. Zugriff: 30.7.2019.
- Carothers, Thomas (2002): The End of the Transition Paradigm. In: *Journal of Democracy* 13(1): 5-21.
- Carothers, Thomas/Ottaway, Marina (2004): *Middle East Democracy*.
- Carr, Sara (2012): April 6: Genealogy of a Movement. URL: <https://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/25558>. Zugriff: 9.3.2020.
- Cavuldak, Ahmet/Hidalgo, Oliver/Hildmann, Philipp W./Zapf, Holger (Hg.) (2014): *Demokratie und Islam. Theoretische und empirische Studien. Politik und Religion*. Berlin.
- Chams el-Dine, Cherine (2013): The Military and Egypt's Transformation Process. URL: http://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/comments/2013C06_ced.pdf. Zugriff: 1.1.2017.
- (2016): Egypt: From Military to Military Sanctuarization. In: Albrecht, Holger/Croissant, Aurel/Lawson, Fred H. (Hg.): *Armies and Insurgents in the Arab Spring*. Philadelphia: 182-202.
- Clark, Janine A. (2006): The Conditions of Islamist Moderation: Unpacking Cross-Ideological Cooperation in Jordan. In: *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 38: 539-560.
- Coleman, James Samuel (2010): *Grundlagen der Sozialtheorie. Handlungen und Handlungssysteme*. Bd. 1. München.
- Collier, David/Levitsky, Steven (1997): Democracy with Adjectives. Conceptual Innovations in Comparative Research. In: *World Politics* 49: 430-451.
- Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (2011): From Arab Spring to Coptic Winter. Sectarian Violence and the Struggle for Democratic Transition in Egypt. Hearing before the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. One Hundred Twelfth Congress. First Session. URL: https://www.csce.gov/sites/helsinkicommission.house.gov/files/Official%20Transcript_4.pdf. Zugriff: 25.2.2021.
- Cook, Steven A. (2007): *Ruling but not Governing. The Military and Political Development in Egypt, Algeria, and Turkey*. Baltimore.
- Crewe, Ivor (1974): *Elites in Western Democracy*. (British Political Sociology Yearbook, 1). London.
- Croissant, Aurel (2015): Erbschaften der Vergangenheit. In: Kollmorgen, Raj/Merkel, Wolfgang/Wagener, Hans-Jürgen (Hg.): *Handbuch Transformationsforschung*. Wiesbaden: 533-539.
- Croissant, Aurel/Kühn, David (2011): *Militär und zivile Politik*. München.
- Dabashi, Hamid (2012): *The Arab Spring. The End of Postcolonialism*. London/New York.

- Dahl, Robert A. (1971): *Polyarchy. Participation and opposition*. [S.l.].
- Dahl, Robert Alan (1975): *Und nach der Revolution? Herrschaft in einer Gesellschaft freier Menschen*. Frankfurt/New York.
- Dahrendorf, Ralph (1959): *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society*. Stanford.
- Daily News Egypt (2012): *Inauguration of the National Rescue Front*. Statement. URL: <https://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2012/11/24/inauguration-of-the-national-rescue-front-statement/>. Zugriff: 30.7.2019.
- Davis, Gerald F./McAdam, Doug/Scott, W. Richard/Zald, Mayer N. (Hg.) (2005): *Social Movements and Organization Theory*. Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics. Cambridge. Zugriff: 29.5.2017.
- Davis, John (Hg.) (2013): *The Arab Spring and Arab Thaw. Unfinished Revolutions and the Quest for Democracy*.
- De Larderel, Francesco Aloisi (2013): *Is Egypt Closer to a Comeback of the Military?* URL: <https://www.resetdoc.org/story/is-egypt-closer-to-a-comeback-of-the-military/>. Zugriff: 30.3.2020.
- Della Porta, Donatella/Diani, M. (2006 [1999]): *Social Movements: An Introduction*. Malden, MA.
- Demmelhuber, Thomas (2012): *Ägypten nach Mubarak – zum Militär und »Monopoly der Macht«*. In: *Der Bürger im Staat* 62(1/2): 26–34.
- (2014): *Drittmittelfinanzierte Militärputsche. Wer bezahlt die Rechnung in Ägypten?* In: *Informationsprojekt Naher und Mittlerer Osten e.V.* Nr. 78: 35–39.
- Dentgen, Lars Werner (2016): *Entscheidungslogische Gestaltung selbststeuernder Logistiksysteme. Am Beispiel der Luftfracht*. Köln.
- Deutsche Welle (2012a): *Revolutionaries Boycott Election in Egypt*. URL: <https://www.dw.com/en/revolutionaries-boycott-election-in-egypt/a-15977120>. Zugriff: 25.3.2020.
- (2012b): *Egypt Electoral Commission Confirms First Round Results*. URL: <https://www.dw.com/en/egypt-electoral-commission-confirms-first-round-results/a-15981858>. Zugriff: 25.3.2020.
- (2015): *Siemens macht Rekordgeschäft in Ägypten*. URL: <https://www.dw.com/de/siemens-macht-rekordgesch%C3%A4ft-in-%C3%A4gypten/a-18495242>. Zugriff: 20.4.2020.
- Dia, Rahma (2011): *Al-Masriyiin al-Ahrar yataqaddam bi-Ikhtarihi ath-Ihulathaa – Wa Sawires »Hanunafis ´ala kul Maqaaid al-Barlaman«*. [arab. original: Die Freien Ägypter stellen ihre Kandidaten am Dienstag vor und Sawires betont: Wir werden Kandidaten für alle Parlamentssitze aufstellen]. Zugriff: 5.3.2019.
- Diamond, Larry (2002): *Thinking About Hybrid Regimes*. In: *Journal of Democracy* 13(2): 21–35.
- Diamond, Larry/Plattner, Marc F./Brumberg, Daniel (Hg.) (2003): *Islam and Democracy in the Middle East*. Baltimore/London.

- Diani, Mario (1995): *Green Networks. A Structural Analysis of the Italian Environmental Movement*. Edinburgh.
- (2000): *Simmel to Rokkan and Beyond. Towards a Network Theory of (New) Social Movements*. In: *European Journal of Social Theory* 3(4): 387-406. Zugriff: 20.5.2017.
- Diani, Mario/McAdam, Doug (Hg.) (2003): *Social Movements and Networks. Relational Approaches to Collective Action*. Comparative politics. Oxford/New York.
- DiMaggio, Paul J. (1997): *Culture and Cognition*. In: *Annual Review of Sociology* 23: 263-287.
- DiMaggio, Paul J./Powell, Walter W. (1983): *The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields*. In: *American Sociological Review* 48: 147-160.
- Dorio, Jason Nunzio (2017): *Pedagogy of Transition. Understanding University Student Movements in Post-2011 Egypt*. In: El Mesky, Rowhea/Camp, Carol Yeakey/Marcucci, Olivia (Hg.): *The Power of Resistance. Culture, Ideology, and Social Reproduction in Global Contexts*. Bingley: 339-364.
- Dunger, Christine (2013): *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse. Eine kommentierte Literaturliste*. In: Schnell, Martin et al. (Hg.): *Der Patient am Lebensende. Eine qualitative Inhaltsanalyse*. Wiesbaden: 147-152.
- Dunne, Michele/Hamzawy, Amr (2017): *Egypt's Secular Political Parties. A Struggle for Identity and Independence*. URL: http://carnegieendowment.org/files/CP3_05_Dunne_and_Hamzawy_Parties_Final_Web.pdf. Zugriff: 23.4.2017.
- Dunne, Michele/Williamson, Scott (2014): *Egypt, Counterterrorism, and the Politics of Alienation*. URL: <https://carnegieendowment.org/2014/08/20/egypt-counterterrorism-and-politics-of-alienation/hlk4>. Zugriff: 27.2.2019.
- Easton, David (1965): *A Systems Analysis of Political Life*. New York, N.Y., [etc.].
- Edlinger, Fritz (Hg.) (2015): *Libyen*. Wien.
- Edlinger, Fritz/Kraitt, Tyma (Hg.) (2015): *Syrien*. Wien.
- Eisenstadt, Shmuel (1973): *Traditional Patrimonialism and Modern Neopatrimonialism*. Beverly Hills/London.
- El Ashwal, Nagwa (2013): *Islamic Movements in the Egyptian Revolution*. [orig. Arabisch: *al-Gamaat al-islamiya wa-th-Thawra al-Masriya*]. URL: https://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/fachpublikationen/El_Ashwal_Islamist_movements_and_the_revolution.pdf.
- El Gundy, Zeinab (2013): *Egypt Islamists Praise Morsi Address, Opposition Decries it as 'Unrealistic'*. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/75100.aspx>. Zugriff: 8.8.2013.
- El Tarouty, Safnaz (2015): *Businessmen, Clientelism, and Authoritarianism in Egypt*. New York.
- El-Amrani, Issandr (2012): *Sightings of the Deep State*. URL: <https://merip.org/2012/01/sightings-of-the-egyptian-deep-state/>. Zugriff: 19.04.2021.

- Elbenni, Ahmed (2017a): Militaristic Egyptian Nationalism, from Nasser to el-Sisi: Part 1. URL: <https://thepolitic.org/militaristic-egyptian-nationalism-from-nasser-to-el-sisi-part-1/>. Zugriff: 14.8.2019.
- (2017b): Militaristic Egyptian Nationalism, from Nasser to el-Sisi: Part 2. URL: <https://thepolitic.org/militaristic-egyptian-nationalism-from-nasser-to-el-sisi-part-2/>. Zugriff: 14.8.2019.
- Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA) (2012): EISA Election Witnessing Mission Report Egypt. The People's Assembly and Shura Council Elections November 2011 – February 2012. EISA Observer Mission Report. Johannesburg. URL: <https://www.eisa.org.za/pdf/egy2012eomr.pdf>. Zugriff: 5.3.2019.
- El-Nawawy, Mohammed/Elmasry, Mohamad Hamas (2018): Revolutionary Egypt in the Eyes of the Muslim Brotherhood. A Framing Analysis of Ikhwanweb. Lanham/Boulder.
- El-Sherif, Ashraf (2014a): The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood's Failures. URL: <https://carnegieendowment.org/2014/07/01/egyptian-muslim-brotherhood-s-failures-pub-56046>. Zugriff: 25.3.2020.
- (2014b): The Muslim Brotherhood and the Future of Political Islam in Egypt. URL: https://carnegieendowment.org/files/mb_future_egypt1.pdf. Zugriff: 22.7.2019.
- Eltantawy, Nahed/Wiest, Julie B. (2011): Social Media in the Egyptian Revolution: Reconsidering Resource Mobilization Theory. In: *International Journal of Communication* 5: 1207-1224. URL: <https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/viewFile/1242/597>. Zugriff: 22.8.2019.
- Emirbayer, Mustafa (1997): Manifesto for a Relational Sociology. In: *American Journal of Sociology* 103(2): 281-317.
- Emirbayer, Mustafa/Goodwin, Jeff (1994): Network Analysis, Culture, and the Problem of Agency. In: *American Journal of Sociology* 99: 1411-1454.
- Endruweit, Günter (2004): *Organisationssoziologie*. Stuttgart.
- Entman, Robert (1993): Framing. Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. In: *Journal of Communication* 43(4): 51-58.
- Erdmann, Gero (2002): Neopatrimoniale Herrschaft. Oder: Warum es in Afrika so viele Hybridregime gibt. In: Bendel, Petra/Croissant, Aurel/Rüb, Friedbert W. (Hg.): *Zwischen Demokratie und Diktatur. Zur Konzeption und Empirie demokratischer Grauzonen*. Wiesbaden: 323-342.
- Erdmann, Gero/Engel, Ulf (2006): *Neopatrimonialism Revisited – Beyond a Catch-All Concept*. Working Paper, GIGA – German Institute of Global and Area Studies. Hamburg.
- Eribon, Didier (2016): *Rückkehr nach Reims*. Berlin.
- Erle, Jakob/Wichmann, Jakob/Kjaerum, Alexander (o.J.): *The Future of Egypt's Democracy. The Voice of the Egyptian Voter*. Report. URL: <https://web.archive>

- .org/web/20171118151939/http://voluntasadvisory.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/The-Future-of-Egypt-Democracy-The-Voice-of-the-Egyptian-Voter-4.pdf. Zugriff: 19.04.2021.
- Esposito, John/Sonn, Tamara/Voll John O. (2016): *Islam and Democracy after the Arab Spring*. Oxford.
- Essam El-Din, Gamal (2011): *Parliamentary Mix and Match*. URL: <https://web.archive.org/web/20120301035909/http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2011/1070/fr1.htm/> Zugriff: 11.7.2019.
- Evers, Hans-Dieter/Schiel, Tilmann (1988): *Strategische Gruppen. Vergleichende Studien zu Staat, Bürokratie und Klassenbildung in der Dritten Welt*. Berlin.
- Fahmy, Heba (2012): *Civil Groups' Pounce into Political Space Seen as Pro-Democracy Triumph*. URL: <https://www.egyptindependent.com/civil-groups-pounce-political-space-seen-pro-democracy-triumph/>. Zugriff: 30.7.2019.
- Farouk, Yasemin (2014): *More than Money: Post-Mubarak Egypt, Saudi-Arabia, and the Gulf*. URL: https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/179860/Egypt_Money_new_29-4-14_2576.pdf. Zugriff: 19.04.2021.
- Flick, Uwe (2009): *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi.
- Forst, Rainer (Hg.) (2009): *Sozialphilosophie und Kritik*. Frankfurt.
- Fraser, Nancy (1997): *Justice Interruptus. Critical Reflections on the ›Postsocialist‹ Condition*. New York/London.
- Fraser, Nancy/Honneth, Axel (Hg.) (2003): *Umverteilung oder Anerkennung? Eine politisch-philosophische Kontroverse*. Frankfurt.
- Freeden, Michael (2017): *After the Brexit Referendum. Revisiting Populism as an Ideology*. In: *Journal of Political Ideologies* 22(1): 1-11. URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13569317.2016.1260813>.
- Fritz-Haug, Wolfgang (1994): *Charaktermaske*. In: Fritz-Haug, Wolfgang et al. (Hg.): *Historisch-kritisches Wörterbuch des Marxismus*. Berlin: Spalten 435-451. URL: http://www.inkrit.de/e_inkritpedia/e_maincode/doku.php?id=c:charaktermaske. Zugriff: 14.3.2019.
- Fuhse, Jan (2008a): *Gibt es eine Phänomenologische Netzwerktheorie? Geschichte, Netzwerk und Identität*. In: *Soziale Welt* Nr. 59: 31-52. Zugriff: 6.3.2017.
- (2008b): *Menschen in Netzwerken*. In: Rehberg, Karl-Siegbert (Hg.): *Die Natur der Gesellschaft*. Frankfurt: 2933-2943.
- (2009): *Die kommunikative Konstruktion von Akteuren in Netzwerken*. In: *Soziale Systeme* 15(2): 288-316.
- (2010): *Zu einer relationalen Ungleichheitssoziologie*. In: Fuhse, Jan/Mützel, Sophie (Hg.): *Relationale Soziologie. Zur kulturellen Wende der Netzwerkforschung. Netzwerkforschung, Bd. 2*. Wiesbaden: 179-206.
- Fuhse, Jan/Mützel, Sophie (2010a): *Einleitung: Zur relationalen Soziologie. Grundgedanken, Entwicklungslinien und transatlantische Brückenschläge*. In: Fuh-

- se, Jan/Mützel, Sophie (Hg.): Relationale Soziologie. Zur kulturellen Wende der Netzwerkforschung. Netzwerkforschung, Bd. 2. Wiesbaden: 7-36.
- (Hg.) (2010b): Relationale Soziologie. Zur Kulturellen Wende Der Netzwerkforschung. Netzwerkforschung, Bd. 2. Wiesbaden.
- Gaber, Yassin (2012): Morsi Supporters and the Opposition: Two Different Egypts. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/60021.aspx>. Zugriff: 6.8.2019.
- Gamal, Wael (2011): Sag´: Kollektive Rechte und nicht Partikularinteressen. [arab. original Qul Huquq Idschtimaiya wa la taqul matalib fiawiya]. URL: <https://www.shorouknews.com/columns/view.aspx?cdate=22022011&id=83abof51-8995-4c98-8b3c-4dfab7d00e59>. Zugriff: 31.3.2020.
- Gamson, William (1968): Power and Discontent. Homewood, Illinois.
- Gamson, William/Meyer, David S. (1996): Framing Political Opportunity. In: McAdam, Doug/McCarthy, John D./Zald Mayer N. (Hg.): Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements. Political Opportunitites, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings. Cambridge: 275-290.
- Geertz, Clifford (1973): The Interpretation of Cultures. Selected Essays. New York.
- (1997): Dichte Beschreibung. Frankfurt a.M.
- Gehlen, Martin (2012a): Ägypten bekommt einen Präsidenten ohne Macht. In: Die Zeit, 18.6.2012. URL: <https://www.zeit.de/politik/ausland/2012-06/aegypten-wahl-militaer>. Zugriff: 11.7.2019.
- (2012b): Mursis gewagter Coup gegen Ägyptens Militär. In: Die Zeit, 13.8.2012. URL: <https://www.zeit.de/politik/ausland/2012-08/aegypten-mursi-militaer>. Zugriff: 11.7.2019.
- Gemeinder, Sarah/Jacobs, Andreas/Trepesch, Elisabeth (2011): Parteienmonitor Ägypten. Länderbericht.
- Ghadbian, Najib (1997): Democratization and the Islamist Challenge in the Arab World. Boulder, Colorado.
- Ghonim, Wael (2012): revolution 2.0. Wie wir mit der ägyptischen Revolution die Welt verändern. Berlin.
- GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies (2013): Umbrüche in der arabischen Welt. Annotierte Online-Bibliographie. Zugriff: 22.2.2019.
- Gläser, Jochen/Laudel, Grit (2009): Experteninterviews und qualitative Inhaltsanalyse als Instrumente rekonstruierender Untersuchungen. Wiesbaden.
- Goffman, Erving (1974): Frame Analysis. Cambridge.
- Goldstone, Jack A. (2011): Cross-Class Coalitions and the Making of the Arab Revolts of 2011. In: Swiss Political Science Review 17(4): 457-462.
- Goodwin, Jeff/Jasper, James (1999): Caught in A Winding, Snarling Vine. The Structural Bias of Political Process Theory. In: Sociological Forum 14: 27-54.
- Grawert, Elke/Abul-Magd, Zeinab (Hg.) (2016): Businessmen in Arms. How the Military and Other Armed Groups Profit in the MENA Region. London/New York/Boulder/Lanham.

- Gresh, Alain (2011): Angst vor der Demokratie. In: *Le Monde diplomatique*, 2011.
- (2012): Im neuen Ägypten. In: *Le Monde diplomatique*, 9.11.2012: 8-9.
- (2013): An der Hand der Armee. In: *Le Monde diplomatique*, 2013.
- Grimm, Jannis (2015): Eine Schwalbe macht noch keinen Frühling: Die arabischen Umbrüche in der politikwissenschaftlichen Literatur. In: *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Politikwissenschaft* 9: 97-118.
- Grimm, Jannis/Roll, Stephan (2016): Ägypten. In: Faath, Siegrid (Hg.): *Nordafrikas säkulare Zivilgesellschaften. Ihr Beitrag zur Stärkung von Demokratie und Menschenrechten*. Berlin: 249-272.
- Guerin, Nina (2014): Der Arabische Frühling – Die Inkongruenz von Politischer Kultur und politischer Struktur als (Mit)Ursache des Umbruchs in Ägypten und Marokko. In: Cavuldak, Ahmet et al. (Hg.): *Demokratie und Islam. Theoretische und empirische Studien. Politik und Religion*. Berlin: 305-329.
- Guillén, Mauro (1994): *Models of Management*. Chicago.
- Guirguis, Dina (2011): *Egypt Opposition Divided over New Political Parties Law*. URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/egypt-opposition-divided-over-new-political-parties-law>. Zugriff: 25.3.2019.
- Gunning, Jeroen/Zvi Baron, Ilan (2014): *Why Occupy a Square? People, Protests and Movements in the Egyptian Revolution*.
- Gürsoy, Yaprak (2017): *Between Military Rule and Democracy. Regime Consolidation in Greece, Turkey, and Beyond*.
- Haas, Mark L./Lesch, David W. (Hg.) (2016): *The Arab Spring. The Hope and Reality of the Uprisings*. Boulder.
- Haenni, Patrick (2016): *The Reasons for the Muslim Brotherhood's Failure in Power*. In: Rougier, Bernard/Lacroix, Stephane (Hg.): *Egypt's Revolutions. Politics, Religion, Social Movements*. New York: 19-39.
- Hafez, Kai (2009): *Heiliger Krieg und Demokratie. Radikalität und politischer Wandel im islamisch-westlichen Vergleich*. Bielefeld.
- (2017): *Zivilgesellschaft am Scheideweg der Demokratie. Anerkennungskämpfe in der ägyptischen Öffentlichkeit*. In: Demmelhuber, Thomas/Paul, Axel T./Reinkowski, Maurus (Hg.): *Arabellion. Vom Aufbruch zum Zerfall einer Region? Sonderband 31*. Baden-Baden: 279-300.
- Haggard, Stephan/Kaufman, Robert R. (1995): *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*. Princeton, N.J.
- Hagmann, Jannis (2011): *Muslimbruderschaft gründet Partei: Ein Programm für die Brüder*. URL: <https://www.disorient.de/blog/muslimbruderschaft-gruend-et-partei-ein-programm-fuer-die-brueder>.
- Hamid, Shadi (2014): *Political Party Development Before and After the Arab Spring*. In: Kamrava, Mehran (Hg.): *Beyond the Arab Spring. The Evolving Ruling Bargain in the Middle East*. New York: 131-150.

- Hanieh, Adam (2015): Re-Scaling Egypt's Political Economy: Neoliberalism and the Transformation of the Regional Space. In: Abou-El-Fadl, Reem (Hg.): *Revolutionary Egypt*. Abingdon/New York: 156-176.
- Hansen, Susan (2012): The Economic Vision of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood Millionaires. URL: <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2012-04-19/the-economic-vision-of-egypts-muslim-brotherhood-millionaires>. Zugriff: 8.8.2019.
- Harders, Cilja (2011): Neue Proteste, alte Krisen. Ende des autoritären Sozialvertrags. In: *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, 2011: 9-15.
- (2013): Revolution I und II – Ägypten zwischen Transformation und Restauration. In: Jünemann, Annette/Zorob, Anja (Hg.): *Arabellions*. Wiesbaden: 19-42.
- Hasan, Mazen (2012): The Map of Egypt's Political Parties for 2011 Elections. URL: <https://web.archive.org/web/20130910233809/http://english.dohainstitute.org/release/4545odd3-1116-42f3-a112-eeed37a6fd13>. Zugriff: 19.04.2021.
- Hasche, Thorsten (2012): Politischer Frühling? Ägypten am Scheideweg. In: *Welttrends. Zeitschrift für internationale Politik* Nr. 83: 65-73.
- Hasse, Raimund/Krücken, Georg (1996): Was leistet der organisationssoziologische Neo-Institutionalismus? Eine theoretische Auseinandersetzung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des wissenschaftlichen Wandels. In: *Soziale Systeme* 2(2): 91-112.
- Hasso, Frances S. (2015): Civil and the Limits of Politics in Revolutionary Egypt. In: *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 35(3): 605-621.
- Hatab, Shima (2018): Abortive Regime Transition in Egypt: Pro-Democracy Alliance and Demand-Making Framework. In: *Democratization* 25(4): 579-596.
- Haun, Matthias (2016): *Cognitive Organisation. Prozessuale und funktionale Gestaltung von Unternehmen*. Wiesbaden.
- Hearst, David/Hussein, Abdel Rahman (2012): Egypt's Supreme Court Dissolves Parliament and Outrages Islamists. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jun/14/egypt-parliament-dissolved-supreme-court>. Zugriff: 30.7.2019.
- Hefny, Assem (2014): *Herrschaft und Islam. Religiös-politische Termini im Verständnis ägyptischer Autoren*. Frankfurt.
- Helms, Ludger (2017): Polarisierung in der Demokratie. Formen und Wirkungen. In: *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* 45(3): 58-68. Zugriff: 19.11.2018.
- Hepp, Andreas (2010): Netzwerk und Kultur. In: Stegbauer, Christian/Häußling, Roger (Hg.): *Handbuch Netzwerkforschung*. Wiesbaden: 227-237.
- Heritier, Adrienne (1993): Policy-Analyse: Elemente der Kritik und Perspektive der Neuorientierung. In: Heritier, Adrienne (Hg.): *Policy – Analyse: Kritik und Neuorientierung. Sonderband 24*: 9-36.
- Herrera, Linda (2012): Youth and Citizenship in the Digital Age: A View from Egypt. In: *Harvard Educational Review* 82(3): 333-352.

- Herrman, Rainer (2011): Revolution nach Plan. URL: <https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/ausland/naher-osten/protestbewegung-in-aegypten-revolution-nach-plan-1589885.html?printPagedArticle=true>. Zugriff: 4.9.2019.
- Heydeman, Steven (Hg.) (2004): *Networks of Privilege in the Middle East*. New York.
- Hinnebusch, Raymond (2003): *The International Politics of the Middle East*. Manchester/New York.
- (2006): Authoritarian Persistence, Democratization Theory and the Middle East. An Overview and Critique. In: *Democratization* 13(3): 373-395.
- (2010): Toward a Historical Sociology of State Formation in the Middle East. In: *Middle East Critique* 19: 201-216.
- (2015a): A Historical Sociology Approach to Authoritarian Resilience in Post-Arab Uprising MENA. In: *The Arab Thermidor: The Resurgence of the Security State*: 10-13.
- (2015b): Change and Continuity after the Arab Uprising. The Consequences of State Formation in Arab North African States. In: *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 42: 12-30. URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13530194.2015.973182>
- (Hg.) (2018): *After the Arab Uprisings. Between Democratization, Counter-Revolution, and State Failure*. Abingdon/New York.
- Hinnebusch, Raymond/Imady, Omar (Hg.) (2018): *The Syrian Uprising. Domestic Origins and Early Trajectory*. New York/Abingdon.
- Holzer, Boris/Fuhse, Jan (2010): Netzwerke aus systemtheoretischer Perspektive. In: Stegbauer, Christian/Häußling, Roger (Hg.): *Handbuch Netzwerkforschung*. Wiesbaden: 313-323.
- Honneth, Axel (1992): *Kampf um Anerkennung. Zur moralischen Grammatik sozialer Konflikte*. Frankfurt.
- (2003): Umverteilung als Anerkennung. Eine Erwiderung auf Nancy Fraser. In: Fraser, Nancy/Honneth, Axel (Hg.): *Umverteilung oder Anerkennung? Eine politisch-philosophische Kontroverse*. Frankfurt: 129-224.
- (2010): *Das Ich im Wir. Studien zur Anerkennungstheorie*. Berlin.
- Hopf, Christel (1978): Die Pseudo-Exploration. Überlegungen zur Technik qualitativer Interviews in der Sozialforschung. In: *Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 7: 97-115.
- (2004): Qualitative Interviews: An Overview. In: Flick, Uwe/Kardorff, Ernst von/Steinke, Ines (Hg.): *A Companion to Qualitative Research*. London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: 203-208.
- Horkheimer, Max (1988): Egoismus und Freiheitsbewegung. In: Horkheimer, Max (Hg.): *Gesammelte Schriften. Schriften 1936-1941. Bd. 4*. Frankfurt: 9-88.
- Hubbar, Ben/Kirkpatrick, David D. (2013): Sudden Improvements in Egypt Suggest a Campaign to Undermine Morsi. URL: www.nytimes.com/2013/07/11/world/middleeast/improvements-in-egypt-suggest-a-campaign-that-undermined-morsi.html?pagewanted=all.

- Human Rights Watch (2007): Monopolizing Power. Egypt's Political Parties Law. URL: <https://www.hrw.org/legacy/backgrounder/mena/egypt0107/egypt0107web.pdf>. Zugriff: 25.3.2019.
- (2014): All According to Plan. The Rab' a Massacre and Mass Killings of Protesters in Egypt. URL: https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/egypt0814web_0.pdf. Zugriff: 20.4.2020.
- Huntington, Samuel P. (1991): How Countries Democratize. In: *Political Science Quarterly* 106(04): 579-616.
- (1996): *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. London.
- Ibrahim, Arwa (2015): Ittihadiya Clashes: Planned Coup or Deadly Attack on Sit-in? URL: <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/ittihadiya-clashes-planned-coup-or-deadly-attack-sit>. Zugriff: 5.8.2019.
- Ibrahim, Ekram (2011): Egyptian Left Rising: First Post-Revolution Leftist Party Marches to Legality. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/22776.aspx>. Zugriff: 1.3.2019.
- Ibrahim, Ferhad (1997): Rente und Zivilgesellschaft in Ägypten. In: Pawelka, Peter/Boekh, Andreas (Hg.): *Staat, Markt und Rente in der internationalen Politik*. Wiesbaden: 172-189.
- Ikhwanweb (2012a): Morsi Campaign Hails April 6 Movement's Endorsement of Morsi as Wise Decision. URL: <https://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=30091>. Zugriff: 8.7.2019.
- (2012b): Morsi Campaign Press Conference at Fairmont Hotel to Discuss Latest Developments. URL: <https://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=30125>. Zugriff: 8.7.2019.
- Jadaliyya (2011a): Free Egyptians Party. URL: <http://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/24641>. Zugriff: 12.3.2019.
- (2011b): Socialist Popular Alliance. URL: <http://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/24647/Socialist-Popular-Alliance-Party>. Zugriff: 12.3.2019.
- (2011c): Freedom and Justice Party. URL: <https://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/24642>. Zugriff: 8.7.2019.
- (2011d): Al-Adl Party. URL: <http://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/24827>. Zugriff: 18.3.2019.
- Javaher-Haghighi, Peyman/Azad, Hassan/Noshadi, Hamid Reza (2013): *Arabellion. Die arabische Revolution für Freiheit und Brot von Kairo bis Damaskus*. Münster.
- Jepperson, Ronald L. (1991): Institutions, Institutional Effects, and Institutionalism. In: Powell, Walter W./DiMaggio, Paul J. (Hg.): *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Chicago: 143-163.
- Jünemann, Annette/Zorob, Anja (Hg.) (2013): *Arabellions*. Wiesbaden.
- Jurk, Arne Ingo (2003): *Organisation virtueller Unternehmen. Eine systemtheoretische Perspektive*. Wiesbaden.

- Kaltwasser, Cristóbal Rovira (2015): Transformationseliten. In: Kollmorgen, Raj/Merkel, Wolfgang/Wagener, Hans-Jürgen (Hg.): Handbuch Transformationsforschung. Wiesbaden: 721-725.
- Kandil, Hazem (2015): Inside the Brotherhood. Cambridge.
- (2016): Sisi's Egypt. Interview. In: NLR Nr. 102. URL: <https://newleftreview.org/issues/II102/articles/hazem-kandil-sisi-s-egypt.pdf>. Zugriff: 14.8.2019.
- Karatnycky, Adrian (2002): Muslim Countries and the Democracy Gap. In: Journal of Democracy 13(1): 99-112.
- Kebir, Sabine (1991): Antonio Gramsci's Zivilgesellschaft. Hamburg.
- Keck, Margaret E./Sikkink, Kathryn (1998): Activists Beyond Borders. Advocacy Networks in International Politics. Ithaca/London.
- Keck, Otto (1991): Der neue Institutionalismus in der Theorie der internationalen Politik. In: Politische Vierteljahresschrift 32: 635-653.
- Kedourie, Elie (1992): Democracy and Arab Political Culture. Washington.
- Kelly, Ian (2016): Regime Elites and Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: A Comparative Analysis of the Tunisian and Egyptian Uprisings. Dublin City University, PhD Thesis.
- Ketchley, Neil (2017): Egypt in a Time of Revolution. Contentious Politics and the Arab Spring. Cambridge.
- Khalifa, Sherif (2015): Egypt's Lost Spring. Santa Barbara.
- Khazbak, Rana (2011): Adl Party Seeks to Displace Brotherhood from Center Ground of Egyptian Politics. URL: <https://web.archive.org/web/20110831113308/http://www.almasryalyoum.com/en/node/449919/>. Zugriff: 18.3.2019.
- Khondker, Habibul Haque (2011): Role of the New Media in the Arab Spring. In: Globalizations 8(5): 675-679.
- Khorshid, Sara (2013): Mohamed Morsi has Turned his Back on Egypt's Revolution. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jun/27/mohamed-morsi-turned-back-egypt>. Zugriff: 8.7.2019.
- Kindelberger, Hala (2012): Ägypten, verpasste Wende? In: Welttrends – Zeitschrift für internationale Politik Nr. 86: 10-16.
- Kingsley, Patrick (2013a): Mass March in Port Said as Anger Grows on Anniversary of Egypt Revolution. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/feb/01/port-said-protests-egypt-anniversary>. Zugriff: 14.8.2013.
- (2013b): Egypt's Mohamed Morsi: I have Made Mistakes. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/26/egypt-mohamed-morsi-mistakes>. Zugriff: 14.8.2019.
- (2013c): Egyptian Activists Hope for ›Second Revolution‹ a Year After Morsi's Election. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/27/egyptian-activists-hope-revolution-morsi>. Zugriff: 14.8.2019.

- (2013d): Tamarod Campaign Gathers Momentum Among Egypt's Opposition. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/27/tamarod-egypt-morsi-campaign-opposition-resignation>. Zugriff: 8.8.2019.
- Klandermans, Bert (1988): The Formation and Mobilization of Consensus. In: Klandermans, Bert/Kriesi, Hanspeter/Tarrow, Sidney (Hg.): *From Structure to Action. Comparing Social Movement Research Across Cultures*. International Social Movement Research, Greenwich: 173-196.
- (1997): *The Social Psychology of Protest*. Oxford.
- Klandermans, Bert/Kriesi, Hanspeter/Tarrow, Sidney (Hg.) (1988): *From Structure to Action. Comparing Social Movement Research Across Cultures*. International Social Movement Research, Greenwich.
- Klandermans, Bert/Roggeband, Conny (Hg.) (2007): *Handbook of Social Movements Across Disciplines*. Handbooks of Sociology and Social Research. Boston, MA.
- Klatch, Rebecca E. (2002): The Development of Individual Identity and Consciousness among Movements of the Left and Right. In: Meyer, David S./Whittier, Nancy/Robnett, Belinda (Hg.): *Social Movements. Identity, Culture, and the State*. Oxford: 185-201.
- Knox, Hannah/Savage, Mike/Harvey, Penelope (2005): *Social Networks and Spatial Relations. Networks as Method, Metaphor and Form*. Milton Keynes.
- Kollmorgen, Raj/Merkel, Wolfgang/Wagener, Hans-Jürgen (2015): Transformation und Transformationsforschung: Zur Einführung. In: Kollmorgen, Raj/Merkel, Wolfgang/Wagener, Hans-Jürgen (Hg.): *Handbuch Transformationsforschung*. Wiesbaden: 11-27.
- Koopmans, Ruud (2020): *Das verfallene Haus des Islam. Die religiösen Ursachen von Unfreiheit, Stagnation und Gewalt*. München.
- Kraetzschmar, Hendrik (2011): Mapping Opposition Cooperation in the Arab World. From Single-Issue Coalitions to Transnational Networks. In: *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 38(3): 287-302.
- Krämer, Gudrun (1999): *Gottes Staat als Republik. Reflexionen zeitgenössischer Muslime zu Islam, Menschenrechten und Demokratie*. Baden-Baden.
- Kreitmeyr, Nadine/Schlumberger, Oliver (2010): Autoritäre Herrschaft in der Arabischen Welt. In: *APuZ* Nr. 24: 16-22.
- Krieger, Helmut (2017): Nicht zu verwischende Spuren. Zur Dialektik von Revolution und Konterrevolution in der arabischen Welt. In: Krieger, Helmut/Seewald, Magda (ViDC) (Hg.): *Krise, Revolte und Krieg in der arabischen Welt*. Münster: 13-26.
- Krieger, Helmut/Seewald, Magda (ViDC) (Hg.) (2017): *Krise, Revolte und Krieg in der arabischen Welt*. Münster.

- Kriesi, Hanspeter/Koopmans, Ruud/Duyvendak, Jan/Giugni, Marco (1995): *New Social Movements in Western Europe. A Comparative Analysis. Social Movements, Protest and Contention.* Minneapolis.
- Kubik, Jan (2015): Kulturtheoretische Ansätze. In: Kollmorgen, Raj/Merkel, Wolfgang/Wagener, Hans-Jürgen (Hg.): *Handbuch Transformationsforschung.* Wiesbaden: 111-123.
- Kuckartz, Udo (2014): *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse. Methoden, Praxis, Computerunterstützung.* Weinheim und Basel.
- Lacroix, Stéphane/Shalata, Ahmed Zaghoul (2016): The Rise of Revolutionary Salafism in Post-Mubarak Egypt. In: Rougier, Bernard/Lacroix, Stéphane (Hg.): *Egypt's Revolutions. Politics, Religion, Social Movements.* New York: 163-178.
- Laiq, Nur (2013): *Talking to Arab Youth: Revolution and Counterrevolution in Egypt and Tunisia.* New York.
- Lamnek, Siegfried (2016): *Qualitative Sozialforschung. Lehrbuch.* Weinheim.
- Latham, Earl (1965 [1952]): *The Group Basis of Politics. A Study in Basing-Point Legislation.* New York.
- Levitsky, Steven/Way, Lucan A. (2013): *Competitive Authoritarianism. Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War.* Cambridge.
- Lijphart, Arend (2015): Polarization and Democratization. In: Persily, Nathaniel (Hg.): *Solutions to Political Polarization in America.* New York, NY: 73-82.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin (1959): *Some Social Requisites of Democracy. Economic Development and Political Legitimacy.* Indianapolis.
- (1981): *Political Man. The Social Basis of Politics.* Baltimore, Maryland.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin/Rokkan, Stein (Hg.) (1967): *Party Systems and Voter Alignments.* New York/London.
- Lübben, Ivesa (2011): Die Rolle der sozialen Bewegungen. In: inamo – Informationsprojekt Naher und Mittlerer Osten e.V. Sonderheft »Game Over«: 51-55.
- (2012): Die ägyptische Arbeiterklasse. Rückgrat der Revolution. In: inamo – Informationsprojekt Naher und Mittlerer Osten e.V. Nr. 69: 23-26.
- (2013a): Auf dem Weg zum Gottesstaat? Zur politischen Partizipation von Islamisten am Beispiel Ägyptens nach Mubarak. In: Schneiders, Thorsten Gerald (Hg.): *Der arabische Frühling. Hintergründe und Analysen.* Wiesbaden: 163-181.
- (2013b): Welche Rolle für den Islam? In: Jünemann, Annette/Zorob, Anja (Hg.): *Arabellions.* Wiesbaden: 279-307.
- Lucardie, Paul (2017): Zur Typologie der politischen Parteien. In: Decker, Frank/Neu, Viola (Hg.): *Handbuch der deutschen Parteien.* Bonn: 41-56.
- Luciani, Giacomo (1987): *Allocation vs. Production State. A Theoretical Framework.* In: Beblawi, Hazem/Luciani, Giacomo (Hg.): *The Rentier State.* London.
- Lust, Ellen/Soltan, Gamal/Wichmann, Jakob (2013): *Islam, Ideology, and Transition.* Manuskript.

- Lust, Ellen/Waldner, David (2016): Parties in Transitional Democracies. In: Bermeo, Nancy Gina/Yashar, Deborah J. (Hg.): Parties, Movements and Democracy in the Developing World. Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics. New York, NY: 157-189.
- Lust, Ellen/Wichmann, Jakob/Soltan, Gamal (2016): Why Fear Explains the Failure of Egypt's Revolution. URL: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/01/25/why-fear-explains-the-failure-of-egypts-revolution/>. Zugriff: 20.4.2020.
- Lust-Okar, Ellen (2011a): Opposition Cooperation and Uprisings in the Arab World. In: British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies 38(3): 425-434. URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13530194.2011.621704>.
- (2004): Divided They Rule. The Management and Manipulation of Political Opposition. In: Comparative Politics 36(2): 159-179.
- (2005): Structuring Conflict in the Arab World. Incumbents, Opponents, and Institutions. Cambridge/New York. URL: <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/alltitles/docDetail.action?docID=10289234>.
- (2011): Missing the Third Wave. Islam, Institutions, and Democracy in the Middle East. In: Studies in Comparative International Development 46: 163-190.
- Lynch, Marc (Hg.) (2014): The Arab Uprisings Explained. New Contentious Politics in the Middle East. New York.
- Mada Masr (2018): 858: Archiving as a Tool of Resistance. Archiving as a Tool of Resistance On Revolution, Non-Production and Subversive Documentation. URL: <https://madamasr.com/en/2018/02/11/feature/culture/858-archiving-as-a-tool-of-resistance/>. Zugriff: 23.8.2019.
- Maguire, Diarmuid (1995): Opposition Movements and Opposition Parties: Equal Partners or Dependent Relations in the Struggle for Power and Reform? In: Jenkins, J. Craig/Klandermans, Bert (Hg.): The Politics of Social Protest. Comparative Perspectives on States and Social Movements. Minneapolis: 199-298.
- Mainwaring, Scott P. (1999): Rethinking Party Systems in the Third Wave of Democratization. The Case of Brazil. Stanford.
- Mandour, Maged (2018): Education and Orientalist Discourse. URL: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/north-africa-west-asia/maged-mandour/education-and-orientalist-discourse>. Zugriff: 26.11.2018.
- Mansfield, Edward D./Snyder, Jack (1995): Democratization and the Danger of War. In: International Security 20(1): 5-38.
- Marfleet, Philipp (2014): Egypt after the Coup. URL: <http://isj.org.uk/egypt-after-the-coup/>. Zugriff: 12.3.2019.
- Mariz, Tadros (2012): The Muslim Brotherhood in Contemporary Egypt. Democracy Defined or Confined? London/New York.
- Markus Bickel (2018): Die Kairo-Kumpaneien. URL: <https://taz.de/Debatte-Ruestungsexporte-nach-Aegypten/!5471852/>. Zugriff: 20.4.2020.

- Marshall, Shana (2015): The Egyptian Armed Forces and the Remaking of an Economic Empire. URL: <http://carnegie-mec.org/2015/04/15/egyptian-armed-forces-and-remaking-of-economic-empire-pub-59726>. Zugriff: 1.1.2017.
- Marshall, Shana/Stacher, Joshua (2012): Egypt's Generals and Transnational Capital. URL: <http://www.merip.org/mer/mer262/egypts-generals-transnational-capital>. Zugriff: 1.1.2017.
- Masoud, Tarek (2014): Counting Islam. Religion, Class and Elections in Egypt.
- (2015): Has the Door Closed on Arab Democracy. In: *Journal of Democracy* 26(1): 74-87.
- Masri, Safwan M. (2017): Tunisia. An Arab Anomaly. New York.
- Matys, Thomas (2014): Macht, Kontrolle und Entscheidungen in Organisationen. Eine Einführung in organisationale Mikro, Meso- und Makropolitik. Wiesbaden. Zugriff: 6.12.2016.
- Mayntz, Renate/Scharpf, Fritz (1995a): Der Ansatz des akteurszentrierten Institutionalismus. In: Mayntz, Renate/Scharpf, Fritz (Hg.): *Gesellschaftliche Selbstregulierung und politische Steuerung*. Frankfurt/New York: 39-72.
- (Hg.) (1995b): *Gesellschaftliche Selbstregulierung und politische Steuerung*. Frankfurt/New York. Zugriff: 6.12.2016.
- Mayring, Phlipp (2000): Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse [28 Absätze]. In: *Forum qualitative Sozialforschung* 1(2). URL: <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1089/2384>.
- (2002): Einführung in die qualitative Sozialforschung. Eine Anleitung zum qualitativen Denken. Weinheim.
- (2004): Qualitative Content Analysis. In: Flick, Uwe/Kardorff, Ernst von/Steinke, Ines (Hg.): *A Companion to Qualitative Research*. London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: 266-269.
- (2008): *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse. Grundlagen und Techniken*. Weinheim und Basel.
- McAdam, Doug (1982): *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. Chicago.
- (1988): Micromobilization Contexts and Recruitment to Activism. In: Klandermans, Bert/Kriesi, Hanspeter/Tarrow, Sidney (Hg.): *From Structure to Action. Comparing Social Movement Research Across Cultures*. International Social Movement Research, Greenwich: 125-154.
- (1996): The Framing Function of Movement Tactics: Strategic Dramaturgy in the American Civil Rights Movement. In: McAdam, Doug/McCarthy, John D./Zald Mayer N. (Hg.): *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements. Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*. Cambridge: 338-355.
- (2003): Beyond Structural Analysis. Toward a More Dynamic Understanding of Social Movements. In: Diani, Mario/McAdam, Doug (Hg.): *Social Movements*

- and Networks. Relational Approaches to Collective Action. Comparative Politics. Oxford/New York: 281-298.
- McAdam, Doug/McCarthy, John D./Zald Mayer N. (Hg.) (1996a): Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements. Political Opportunitites, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings. Cambridge.
- (1996b): Introduction. Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Framing Processes – Toward a Synthetic, Comparative Perspective on Social Movements. In: McAdam, Doug/McCarthy, John D./Zald Mayer N. (Hg.): Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements. Political Opportunitites, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings. Cambridge: 1-20.
- McAdam, Doug/Scott, W. Richard (2005): Organizations and Movements. In: Davis, Gerald F. et al. (Hg.): Social Movements and Organization Theory. Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics. Cambridge: 4-40.
- McAdam, Doug/Tarrow, Sidney/Tilly, Charles (2001): Dynamics of Contention. Cambridge.
- (2009): Comparative Perspectives on Contentious Politics. In: Lichbach, Mark/Zuckerman, Alan (Hg.): Comparative Politics. Rationality, Culture, and Structure: Advancing Theory in Comparative Politics. Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics. Cambridge: 1-40.
- McCarthy, John D. (1996): Constraints and Opportunities in Adopting, Adapting, and Inventing. In: McAdam, Doug/McCarthy, John D./Zald Mayer N. (Hg.): Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements. Political Opportunitites, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings. Cambridge: 141-151.
- McCarthy, John D./Zald, Mayer N. (1977): Resource Mobilization and Social Movements. A Partial Theory. American Journal of Sociology. In: American Journal of Sociology 82: 1212-1241.
- Mead, George Herbert (1934/1967): Mind, Self&Society. Chicago.
- Melucci, Alberto (1985): The Symbolic Challenge of Contemporary Movements. In: Social Research 52(4): 789-816.
- (1988): Getting Involved. Identity and Mobilization in Social Movements. In: Klandermans, Bert/Kriesi, Hanspeter/Tarrow, Sidney (Hg.): From Structure to Action. Comparing Social Movement Research Across Cultures. International Social Movement Research, Greenwich: 329-348.
- (1996): Challenging Codes. Cambridge/New York.
- Merkel, Wolfgang (1996): Struktur oder Akteur, System oder Handlung:. Gibt es einen Königsweg in der politikwissenschaftlichen Transformationsforschung? In: Merkel (Hg.): Systemwechsel 1. Opladen: 303-332.
- (1997a): Einleitung. In: Merkel, Wolfgang (Hg.): Systemwechsel 3. Parteien im Transformationsprozess. Opladen: 9-21.
- (Hg.) (1997b): Systemwechsel 3. Parteien im Transformationsprozess. Opladen.

- (2010): *Systemtransformation. Eine Einführung in die Theorie und Empirie der Transformationsforschung*. Wiesbaden.
- Merkel, Wolfgang/Puhle, Hans-Jürgen (Hg.) (1999): *Von der Diktatur zur Demokratie. Transformationen, Erfolgsbedingungen, Entwicklungspfade*. Opladen.
- Merkel, Wolfgang/Saliba, Ilyas (2015): Dilemmata der Gleichzeitigkeit. In: Kollmorgen, Raj/Merkel, Wolfgang/Wagener, Hans-Jürgen (Hg.): *Handbuch Transformationsforschung*. Wiesbaden: 517-526.
- Merkel, Wolfgang/Sandschneider, Eberhard/Segert, Dieter (1996a): Einleitung. Die Institutionalisierung der Demokratie. In: Merkel, Wolfgang/Sandschneider, Eberhard/Segert, Dieter (Hg.): *Systemwechsel 2. Unter Mitarbeit von Marianne Rinza*. Opladen: 9-36.
- (Hg.) (1996b): *Systemwechsel 2. Unter Mitarbeit von Marianne Rinza*. Opladen.
- Merkel, Wolfgang/Wagener, Hans-Jürgen (2015): Akteure. In: Kollmorgen, Raj/Merkel, Wolfgang/Wagener, Hans-Jürgen (Hg.): *Handbuch Transformationsforschung*. Wiesbaden: 63-74.
- Merkel, Wolfgang/Weiffen, Brigitte (2012): Does Heterogeneity Hinder Democracy? In: *Comparative Sociology Vol II*(3): 387-421.
- Meuser, Michael/Nagel, Ulrike (2002): ExpertInneninterviews – vielfach erprobt, wenig bedacht. In: Bogner, Alexander/Littig, Beate/Menz, Wolfgang (Hg.): *Das Experteninterview. Theorie, Methode, Anwendung*.
- Meyer, David S./Tarrow, Sidney (Hg.) (1998): *The Social Movement Society. Contentious Politics for a New Century*. Lanham, MD.
- Meyer, Marshall W./Rowan, Brian (1977): Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structures as Myth and Ceremony. In: *American Journal of Sociology* 83(2): 340-363.
- Michels, Robert (1989): *Soziologie des Parteiwesens*. Stuttgart.
- Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP) (2013): *Egypt in Year Three*. URL: <http://www.merip.org/mero/mero071013>. Zugriff: 13.11.2018.
- Miliband, Ralph (1969): *The State in Capitalist Society*. London.
- Mills, Charles Wright (1957): *The Power Elite*. New York.
- Mills, Charles Wright/Horowitz, Irving Louis (1979): *Power, Politics and People. The collected Essays of C. Wright Mills. A galaxy book, Bd. 205*. London.
- Mitchell, Robert (1969): *The Society of the Muslim Brothers*. New York/Oxford.
- Moghadam, Valentine M. (2016): Women and Democracy after the Arab Spring: Theory, Practice, and Prospects. In: Shalaby, Marwa/Moghadam, Valentine M. (Hg.): *Empowering Women after the Arab Spring*. New York: 193-215.
- Mohammad Abdel Wahhab (2011): Mu'tamar al-Kutla: Al-Ikhwan yas'una li-Ikhtitaf Misr. URL: <https://web.archive.org/web/20120306165405/masrawy.com/elections/news/general/2011/november/1/4557625.aspx/>. Zugriff: 8.7.2019.

- Mohsen, Saleh (2012): The Rise of Ikhwanophobia. Fear of the Muslim Brotherhood. URL: <https://www.amec.org.za/political-islam/item/1160-the-rise-of-ikhwanophobia-fear-of-the-muslim-brotherhood.html>. Zugriff: 11.7.2019.
- Mouffe, Chantal (2007): Über das Politische. Wider die kosmopolitische Illusion. Frankfurt.
- (2016): Agonistik. Die Welt politisch denken. Berlin.
- Mourad, Hicham (2013a): Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood and 30/6. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/75194.aspx>. Zugriff: 12.8.2019.
- Mourad, Mary (2013b): Revolution Part 2: The Fall of Mohamed Morsi. URL: <https://english.ahram.org.eg/News/75614.aspx>. Zugriff: 8.8.2019.
- Mustafa, Ahmad (2013a): Questions Surround Unity of Egypt's National Salvation Front. URL: <https://www.arabwestreport.info/en/questions-surround-unity-egypts-national-salvation-front>. Zugriff: 30.7.2019.
- Mustafa, Imad (2013b): Der politische Islam. Zwischen Muslimbrüdern, Hamas und Hizbollah. Wien.
- (2014a): Al-Sisi und die Politik der Angst. In: Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik Nr. 10: 25-28.
- (2014b): Kampf um Ägyptens Zukunft. Demokratischer Aufbruch oder pharaonische Beharrung? In: International. Zeitschrift für internationale Politik II: 25-30.
- Nafeah, Hassan (2013): Fairmont...und weißt Du, was Fairmont ist? [Arabisch: Fairmont wa ma adraka ma Fairmont?]. URL: <https://today.almasryalyoum.com/article2.aspx?ArticleID=380723>.
- Naßmacher, Hiltrud (2010): Politikwissenschaft. München.
- Nawara, Wael (2013): A Lose-Lose Gamble: An Asymmetric Conflict Between Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood and the Opposition. URL: <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/menasource/a-lose-lose-gamble-an-asymmetric-conflict-between-egypt-s-muslim-brotherhood-and-the-opposition>. Zugriff: 6.8.2019.
- New Tactics in Human Rights (o.J.): Using Humor to Put An Oppressive Government in a Lose-Lose Situation. URL: <https://www.newtactics.org/tactic/using-humor-put-oppressive-government-lose-lose-situation>.
- Niedermayer, Oskar (2014): Die Rolle und Funktionen von Parteien in der deutschen Demokratie. URL: <https://www.bpb.de/politik/grundfragen/parteien-in-deutschland/42035/rolle-und-funktionen>. Zugriff: 11.3.2020.
- Nohlen, Dieter/Thibaut, Bernhard (1996): Transitionsforschung zu Lateinamerika. Ansätze, Konzepte, Thesen. In: Merkel (Hg.): Systemwechsel 1. Opladen: 195-228.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo/Schmitter, Philippe C./Whitehead, Laurence (Hg.) (1986): Transitions from Authoritarian Rule. Baltimore.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo/Schmitter, Phillippe C. (1989): Transitions from authoritarian rule. Tentative conclusions about uncertain democracies. Baltimore [u.a.].

- Offe, Claus (Hg.) (2003a): Herausforderungen der Demokratie. Zur Integrations- und Leistungsfähigkeit politischer Institutionen. Frankfurt.
- (2003b): Politische Herrschaft und Klassenstrukturen. Zur Analyse spätkapitalistischer Gesellschaftssysteme. In: Offe, Claus (Hg.): Herausforderungen der Demokratie. Zur Integrations- und Leistungsfähigkeit politischer Institutionen. Frankfurt: 11-42.
- (2006): Political Institutions and Social Power. Conceptual Explorations. In: Shapiro, Ian/Skowronek, Stephen/Galvin, Daniel (Hg.): Rethinking Political Institutions. The Art of the State. New York/London: 9-31.
- Olson, Mancur (2004 [1965]): Die Logik des kollektiven Handelns. Kollektivgüter und die Theorie der Gruppen. Tübingen.
- Opp, Karl-Dieter (2009): Theories of Political Protest and Social Movements. A Multidisciplinary Introduction, Critique, and Synthesis. London/New York.
- (2015): Mobilisierungsansätze in der Transformationsforschung. In: Kollmorgen, Raj/Merkel, Wolfgang/Wagener, Hans-Jürgen (Hg.): Handbuch Transformationsforschung. Wiesbaden: 183-193.
- Otasevic, Ana (2019): Friedliche Faust. In: *Le Monde diplomatique*, Dezember 2019: 1; 4-5.
- Ouaissa, Rachid (2014): Die Rolle der Mittelschichten im Arabischen Frühling. Ein Überblick. Wiesbaden.
- Ouaissa, Rachid/Gertel, Jörg (Hg.) (2014): Jugendbewegungen, städtischer Widerstand und Umbrüche in der arabischen Welt. Bielefeld.
- Parsons, Talcott (1960): Structure and Process in Modern Societies. New York.
- Pasquino, Gianfranco (1990): Party Elites and Democratic Consolidation: Cross National Comparison of Southern European Experience. In: Pridham, Geoffrey (Hg.): Securing Democracy. Political Parties and Democratic Consolidation in Southern Europe. New York: 42-62.
- Pawelka, Peter (1985): Herrschaft und Entwicklung im Nahen Osten. Ägypten. UTB für Wissenschaft, Bd. 1384. Heidelberg.
- (2002): Der Staat im Vorderen Orient. Über die Demokratie-Resistenz in einer globalisierten Welt. In: *Leviathan: Berliner Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft* 30(4): 431-454.
- Perthes, Volker (2013): Putsch in Ägypten. URL: <http://www.swp-berlin.org/de/publikationen/kurz-gesagt/putsch-in-aegypten.html>. Zugriff: 1.1.2017.
- Pitcher, Anne/Moran, Mary H./Johnston, Michael (2009): Rethinking Patrimonialism and Neopatrimonialism in Africa. In: *African Studies Review* 52(01): 125-156. Zugriff: 16.11.2016.
- Popovic, Srdja/Miller, Matthew (2015): Protest! Wie man die Mächtigen das fürchten lehrt. Frankfurt.
- Poulantzas, Nicos (1969): The Problem of the Capitalist State. In: *New Left review* 1/58: 67-78.

- (1976): The Capitalist State – Reply to Miliband and Laclau. In: *New Left review* 1/96: 63-83.
- (2017 [2002, Erstausgabe 1978]): *Staatstheorie: Politischer Überbau, Ideologie, autoritärer Etatismus*. Mit einer Einleitung von Alex Demirovic, Joachim Hirsch und Bob Jessop. Hamburg.
- Powell, Walter W. (2008): The New Institutionalism. In: Clegg, Stewart/Bailey, James Russell (Hg.): *International Encyclopedia of Organization Studies*. Thousand Oaks [Calif.].
- Powell, Walter W./DiMaggio, Paul J. (Hg.) (1991): *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Chicago.
- Power, Greg (o.J.): Challenges for Political Parties in Transitional Elections. Organisation, Policies and Identity. In: *Arab Forum for Alternatives* (Hg.): *Political Parties and Public Opinion in Egypt*. Kairo: 7-10.
- (2015): The Crucial Role of Political Parties in Democratic Transition. In: *Arab Forum for Alternatives* (Hg.): *Cross Party Relations and Political Transitions. Negotiations and Compromise*. Kairo: 11-19.
- Preisendörfer, Peter (2011): *Organisationssoziologie. Grundlagen, Theorien und Problemstellungen*. Wiesbaden. Zugriff: 6.12.2016.
- Pridham, Geoffrey (2000a): Confining Conditions and Breaking with the Past: Historical Legacies and Political Learning in transitions to Democracy. In: *Democratization* 7(2): 36-64.
- (2000b): *The Dynamics of Democratization. A Comparative Approach*. New York/London.
- Przeworski, Adam (1986): Some Problems in the Study of Transition. In: O'Donnell, Guillermo/Schmitter, Philippe C./Whitehead, Laurence (Hg.): *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*. Baltimore: 47-63.
- Przeworski et al. (Hg.) (2000): *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Material well-being in the World*. Cambridge.
- Przyborski, Aglaja/Wohlrab-Sahr, Monika (2014): *Qualitative Sozialforschung. Ein Arbeitsbuch*. München.
- Ramsenthaler, Christina (2013): Was ist »qualitative Inhaltsanalyse?«. In: Schnell, Martin et al. (Hg.): *Der Patient am Lebensende. Eine qualitative Inhaltsanalyse*. Wiesbaden: 23-42.
- Ranko, Annette (2014): *Die Muslimbruderschaft. Porträt einer mächtigen Verbindung*. Hamburg.
- Ranko, Annette/Nedza, Justyna (2016): Crossing the Ideological Divide? Egypt's Salafists and the Muslim Brotherhood after the Arab Spring. In: *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 39(6): 519-541.
- Raufelder, Diana (2007): Die Methode der »Dichten Beschreibung« in der qualitativen Schulforschung – Ergebnisse einer Feldstudie zum Lehrer-Schüler-

- Verhältnis. In: Ittel, Angela/Merkens, Hans/Stecher, Ludwig (Hg.): *Jahrbuch Jungendforschung*. Wiesbaden: 143-161.
- Reporters without Borders (2014): *The Situation of Freedom of Information in Egypt*.
- Reuters (2011): *Liberal Egyptian Party Secures 100,000 Members*. URL: <https://egyptindependent.com/liberal-egyptian-party-secures-100000-members/>. Zugriff: 5.3.2019.
- Roll, Stephan (2013): *Der bezahlte Putsch*. In: *Welttrends – Zeitschrift für internationale Politik* Nr. 92: 142-144.
- Roß, Jan (2013): *Sind die Frommen die Dummen? Warum der Klassendünkel gegen den politischen Islam die Demokratie gefährdet*. In: *Die Zeit*, 25.7.2013. URL: <https://www.zeit.de/2013/31/politischer-islam-demokratie>. Zugriff: 19.11.2018.
- Ross, Michael L. (2001): *Does Oil Hinder Democracy?* In: *World Politics* 53(3): 325-361.
- Roth, Roland/Rucht, Dieter (Hg.) (2008): *Die sozialen Bewegungen in Deutschland seit 1945. Ein Handbuch*. Frankfurt.
- Rougier, Bernard/Lacroix, Stephane (Hg.) (2016a): *Egypt's Revolutions. Politics, Religion, Social Movements*. New York.
- (2016b): *Introduction: Egypt in Revolution*. In: Rougier, Bernard/Lacroix, Stephane (Hg.): *Egypt's Revolutions. Politics, Religion, Social Movements*. New York: 1-15.
- Rüb, Friedbert W. (1996): *Die Herausbildung politischer Institutionen in Demokratisierungsprozessen*. In: Merkel (Hg.): *Systemwechsel 1*. Opladen: 111-137.
- (2002): *Hybride Regime. Politikwissenschaftliches Chamäleon oder neuer Regimetypus? Begriffliche und konzeptionelle Überlegungen zum neuen Pessimismus in der Transitologie*. In: Bendel, Petra/Croissant, Aurel/Rüb, Friedbert W. (Hg.): *Zwischen Demokratie und Diktatur. Zur Konzeption und Empirie demokratischer Grauzonen*. Wiesbaden: 99-118.
- Rustow, Dankwart A. (1970): *Transitions to Democracy: Toward A Dynamic Model*. New York.
- Said, Atef (2014): *The Tahrir Effect: History, Space, and Protest in the Egyptian Revolution of 2011*. PhD Thesis in Sociology. URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/2027.4/2/110379>. Zugriff: 6.3.2019.
- (2020): *The Rise and Fall of the Tahrir Repertoire. Theorizing Temporality, Trajectory, and Failure*. In: *Social Problems* 67: 1-19. Zugriff: 8.7.2020.
- Salah, Fady (2013): *The Salvation of the National Salvation Front*. URL: <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/menasource/the-salvation-of-the-national-salvation-front>. Zugriff: 30.7.2019.
- Salamé, Ghassan (Hg.) (1994): *Democracy without Democrats? The Renewal of Politics in the Muslim World*. London/New York.

- Saleh, Yasmine/Zayed, Dina (2011): In Egypt's First Democratic Test, Reformists Divided. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-constitution-idUSTRE72F47820110316>. Zugriff: 25.7.2019.
- Salem, Mostafa (2013): Social Popular Alliance Party Shaken by 304 Resignations. URL: <https://dailynewsegypt.com/2013/11/09/social-popular-alliance-party-shaken-by-304-resignations/>. Zugriff: 24.8.2019.
- Salman, Ton/Assies, Willem (2007): Anthropology and the Study of Social Movements. In: Klandermans, Bert/Roggeband, Conny (Hg.): Handbook of Social Movements Across Disciplines. Handbooks of Sociology and Social Research. Boston, MA: 205-266.
- Samak, Dina (2011): Deal or No Deal: Egypt's Fragile Electoral Pacts. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/24457.aspx>. Zugriff: 26.8.2019.
- Sartori, Giovanni (1976): Parties and Party Systems. A Framework for Analysis. Cambridge/New York.
- Schaffar, Wolfram (2018): Demokratie, Demokratisierung und Konstitutionalismus in Peripheriestaaten. In: Ataç, Ilker et al. (Hg.): Politik und Peripherie. Eine politikwissenschaftliche Einführung. Rote Reihe. Wien: 157-179.
- Scharpf, Fritz W. (2006): Interaktionsformen. Akteurzentrierter Institutionalismus in der Politikforschung. Wiesbaden.
- Schedler, Andreas (2013): The Politics of Uncertainty. Sustaining and Subverting Electoral Authoritarianism. Oxford Studies in Democratization. Oxford. Zugriff: 17.11.2016.
- Scheufele, Bertram (2019): Warum Frames und Ideologien keine Synonyme sind und Populismus keines von beiden ist – Konzeptionelle Brückenschläge zwischen Frames und Ideologien und Einwände zur aktuellen Populismus-Forschung. URL: http://mythos-magazin.de/politisches-framing/bs_warum_frames_und_ideologien.pdf. Zugriff: 10.2.2020.
- Schielke, Samuli (2014): There Will Be Blood. Expecting Violence in Egypt 2011-2013. URL: https://www.zmo.de/publikationen/WorkingPapers/schielke_2014.pdf. Zugriff: 6.8.2019.
- Schlumberger, Oliver (2008): Autoritarismus in der Arabischen Welt. Ursachen, Trends und internationale Demokratieförderung. Entwicklungstheorie und Entwicklungspolitik. Baden-Baden.
- Schmitt, Marco/Fuhse, Jan (2015): Zur Aktualität von Harrison White. Einführung in sein Werk. Wiesbaden. Zugriff: 14.6.2017.
- Schubert, Gunter/Tetzlaff, Rainer/Vennewald, Werner (1994): Demokratisierung und politischer Wandel. Theorie und Anwendung des Konzeptes der strategischen und konfliktfähigen Gruppen (SKOG). Demokratie und Entwicklung. Münster/Hamburg.
- Schulte-Zurhausen, Manfred (2005): Organisation. München.

- Schulze, Reinhard (2012): Die Passage von politischer Normenordnung zu lebensweltlicher Werteordnung. Erkenntnisse aus dem arabischen Frühling. In: *Periplus* 2012. Jahrbuch für außereuropäische Geschichte 22: 32-56.
- Schumann, Christoph (2013): Revolution oder Revolte? Arabischer Frühling jenseits des Autoritarismus- und Transitionsparadigmas. In: Albrecht, Holger/Demmelhuber, Thomas (Hg.): *Revolution und Regimewandel in Ägypten*. Baden-Baden: 19-42.
- Schwedler, Jillian/Clark, Janine A. (2006): Islamist-Leftist Cooperation in the Arab World. In: *ISIM Review* 18. URL: https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/bitstream/handle/1887/17077/ISIM_18_Islamist-Leftist_Cooperation_in_the_Arab_World.pdf?sequence=1. Zugriff: 25.1.2019.
- Scott, W. Richard (1986 [1981]): *Grundlagen der Organisationstheorie*. Frankfurt.
- Seminar für Orientalistik – Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel (o.J.): Regeln zur wissenschaftlichen Umschrift des Arabischen am Seminar für Orientalistik der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel. URL: <https://www.islam.uni-kiel.de/de/studium/materialien/materialien-1/umschrift-arabisch>. Zugriff: 20.4.2020.
- Shafik, Viola (2011): Mediale Strategie-Spiele. Ein ägyptisches Tagebuch. In: *inamo – Informationsprojekt Naher und Mittlerer Osten e.V.* 17 (Sonderheft Game Over): 46-50.
- Shahine, Selim (2011): Youth and the Revolution in Egypt. In: *Anthropology Today* 27(2): 1-3.
- Shams el-Din, Mai (2014): Fragmented Politics. URL: <https://madamasr.com/en/2014/09/15/feature/politics/fragmented-politics/>. Zugriff: 4.3.2020.
- Shehata, Dina (2012): Youth Movements and the 25 January Revolution. In: Korany, Bahgat/el-Mahdi, Rabab (Hg.): *Arab Spring in Egypt. Revolution and Beyond*. Cairo.
- Shehata, Said (2011): Profile: Egypt's Free Egyptians Party. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-15899997>. Zugriff: 6.3.2019.
- Shobaki, Amr (2015): The Problem of Negotiation in Egypt. In: Arab Forum for Alternatives (Hg.): *Cross Party Relations and Political Transitions. Negotiations and Compromise*. Kairo: 21-33.
- Shokr, Ahmad (2012): Reflections on Two Revolutions.
- Sholkamy, Hania (2012): Women Are Also Part of This Revolution. In: Korany, Bahgat/el-Mahdi, Rabab (Hg.): *Arab Spring in Egypt. Revolution and Beyond*. Cairo.
- Shukrallah, Hani (2013a): Egypt's Second Revolution: Questions of Legitimacy. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/75712.aspx>. Zugriff: 12.8.2019.
- Shukrallah, Salma (2013b): Once Election Allies, Egypt's 'Fairmont' Opposition Turn against Morsi. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/74485.aspx>. Zugriff: 8.7.2019.

- (2013c): Egypt Protesters Tell Stories of Torture, Abuse at Ittihadiya Presidential Palace. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/85587.aspx>. Zugriff: 6.8.2019.
- Sika, Nadine (2012a): Dynamics of a Stagnant Religious Discourse and the Rise of New Secular Movements in Egypt. In: Korany, Bahgat/el-Mahdi, Rabab (Hg.): Arab Spring in Egypt. Revolution and Beyond. Cairo.
- (2012b): Youth Political Engagement in Egypt: From Abstention to Uprising. In: British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies 39(2): 181-199.
- (2019): Repression, Cooptation, and Movement Fragmentation in Authoritarian Regimes. Evidence from the Youth Movement in Egypt. In: Political Studies 67(3): 676-692.
- Snow, David/Benford, Robert D. (1988): Ideology, Frame Resonance, and Participant Mobilization. In: Klandermans, Bert/Kriesi, Hanspeter/Tarrow, Sidney (Hg.): From Structure to Action. Comparing Social Movement Research Across Cultures. International Social Movement Research, Greenwich: 197-217.
- Snow, David/Rochford Jr., E. Burke/Worden, Steven K./Benford, Robert D. (1986): Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation. In: American Sociological Review 51(4): 464-481.
- Snow, David/Soule, Sarah/Kriesi, Hanspeter (Hg.) (2004): Blackwell Companion to Social Movements. The Blackwell Companions to Sociology.
- Snyder, Richard (1992): Explaining Transitions from Neopatrimonial Dictatorships. In: Comparative Politics 24(4): 379-399.
- Souief, Ahdaf (2013): In Egypt, We Thought Democracy Was Enough. It Was Not. URL: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jul/01/egypt-thought-democracy-enough-morsi>. Zugriff: 12.8.2019.
- Sowers, Jeannie L./Rutherford, Bruce K. (2016): Revolution and Counterrevolution in Egypt. In: Haas, Mark L./Lesch, David W. (Hg.): The Arab Spring. The Hope and Reality of the Uprisings. Boulder: 40-71.
- Springborg, Robert (1987): The President and the Field Marshall. Civil-Military Relations in Egypt Today. In: Middle East Research and Information Project Nr. 147: 4-11.
- Stacher, Joshua (2011): Egypt without Mubarak. URL: <http://www.merip.org/mero/mero040711>. Zugriff: 1.1.2017.
- (2012): Adaptable Autocrats. Regime Power in Egypt and Syria. Stanford.
- Stamboliyska, Rayna (2012): Egypt's Constitutional Referendum Results. URL: <http://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/27696/Egypt%E2%80%99s-Constitutional-Referendum-Results>. Zugriff: 6.8.2019.
- Stefes, Christoph H. (2015): Historischer Institutionalismus und Gesellschaftstransformation. In: Kollmorgen, Raj/Merkel, Wolfgang/Wagener, Hans-Jürgen (Hg.): Handbuch Transformationsforschung. Wiesbaden: 125-137.
- Steffani, Winfried (1997): Gewaltenteilung und Parteien im Wandel. Opladen.

- Stegbauer, Christian (2010a): Die Bedeutung des Positionalen. Netzwerk und Beteiligung am Beispiel von Wikipedia. In: Stegbauer, Christian (Hg.): *Netzwerkanalyse und Netzwerktheorie. Ein neues Paradigma in den Sozialwissenschaften*. Wiesbaden: 191-201.
- (Hg.) (2010b): *Netzwerkanalyse und Netzwerktheorie. Ein neues Paradigma in den Sozialwissenschaften*. Wiesbaden. Zugriff: 6.12.2016.
- (2010c): *Netzwerkanalyse und Netzwerktheorie. Einige Anmerkungen zu einem neuen Paradigma*. In: Stegbauer, Christian (Hg.): *Netzwerkanalyse und Netzwerktheorie. Ein neues Paradigma in den Sozialwissenschaften*. Wiesbaden: 11-21.
- (2010d): Positionen und positionale Systeme. In: Stegbauer, Christian/Häußling, Roger (Hg.): *Handbuch Netzwerkforschung*. Wiesbaden: 135-144.
- (2016): *Grundlagen der Netzwerkforschung. Situation, Mikronetzwerke und Kultur*. Wiesbaden. Zugriff: 6.12.2016.
- Stegbauer, Christian/Bauer, Elisabeth (2010): Die Entstehung einer positionalen Struktur durch Konflikt und Kooperation bei Wikipedia. Eine Netzwerkanalyse. In: *Medienwandel als Wandel von Interaktionsformen*: 231-255.
- Stegbauer, Christian/Häußling, Roger (Hg.) (2010a): *Handbuch Netzwerkforschung*. Wiesbaden. Zugriff: 6.12.2016.
- (Hg.) (2010b): *Handbuch Netzwerkforschung. Netzwerkforschung, Bd. 4*. Wiesbaden.
- Stegbauer, Christian/Hennig, Marina (2012): Probleme der Integration von Theorie und Methode in der Netzwerkforschung. In: Hennig, Marina/Stegbauer, Christian (Hg.): *Die Integration von Theorie und Methode in der Netzwerkforschung. Netzwerkforschung*. Wiesbaden: 7-11.
- Stegbauer, Christian/Rausch, Alexander (2006): *Strukturalistische Internetforschung. Netzwerkanalysen internetbasierter Kommunikationsräume*. Wiesbaden. URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-90420-7>.
- (2009): Wikipedia. Das Rätsel der Kooperation. *Netzwerkforschung*, Bd. 2. Wiesbaden. URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-91691-0>.
- Stepan, Alfred/Robertson, Graeme B. (2003): An »Arab« More Than a »Muslim« Democracy Gap. In: *Journal of Democracy* 14(3): 30-44.
- Stier, Ken (2011): What an Egyptian Billionaire Thinks of the New Order. URL: <http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2052116,00.html>. Zugriff: 22.8.2019.
- Süddeutsche Zeitung (2016): Deutschland ignoriert Waffen-Embargo gegen Ägypten. URL: <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/bericht-von-amnesty-international-deutschland-ignoriert-waffen-embargo-gegen-aegypten-1.3006373>. Zugriff: 20.4.2020.
- Swidler, Ann (1986): Culture in Action. Symbols and Strategies. In: *American Sociological Review* 51(2): 273-286.

- Sydow, Jörg (1995): *Strategische Netzwerke. Evolution und Organisation*. Wiesbaden. Zugriff: 6.12.2016.
- (Hg.) (2010): *Management von Netzwerkorganisationen. Beiträge aus der »Managementforschung«*. Wiesbaden. Zugriff: 6.12.2016.
- (2014): *Organisation als reflexive Strukturation: Grundlegung*. In: Sydow, Jörg/Wirth, Carsten (Hg.): *Organisation und Strukturation. Eine fallbasierte Einführung. Organisationssoziologie*. Wiesbaden: 17-56.
- Sydow, Jörg/Ortmann, Günther (Hg.) (2001): *Strategie und Strukturation. Strategisches Management von Unternehmen, Netzwerken und Konzernen*. Wiesbaden. Zugriff: 6.12.2016.
- Sydow, Jörg/Wirth, Carsten (2014): *Einführung in den Band*. In: Sydow, Jörg/Wirth, Carsten (Hg.): *Organisation und Strukturation. Eine fallbasierte Einführung. Organisationssoziologie*. Wiesbaden: 7-16.
- Tajfel, Henri/Turner, John C. (1986): *The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior*. In: Worchel, Stephen/Austin, William G. (Hg.): *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. Chicago: 7-24.
- Tarrow, Sidney (1988): *National Politics and Collective Action. Recent Theory and Research in Western Europe and the United States*. In: *Annual Review of Sociology* 14: 421-440.
- Taylor, Charles (Hg.) (1993): *Multikulturalismus und die Politik der Anerkennung*. Frankfurt.
- Tessler, Mark (2002a): *Do Islamic Orientations Influence Attitudes toward Democracy in the Arab World?* In: *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 43(3): 229-249.
- (2002b): *Islam and Democracy in the Middle East. The Impact of Religious Orientations on Attitudes toward Democracy in Four Arab Countries*. In: *Comparative Politics* Nr. 3: 337-354.
- Teti, Andrea (2011): *Political Parties and Movements in Post-Revolutionary Egypt*. URL: https://www.ispionline.it/sites/default/files/publicazioni/wp42_2011_o.pdf . Zugriff: 1.3.2019.
- The Arab Network for the Study of Democracy (2011): *Egyptian Views on Constitutional Referendum*. URL: <http://ademocracynet.com/index.php?page=news&action=Detail&id=1550>. Zugriff: 25.7.2019.
- The Carter Center (2012): *Presidential Election in Egypt. Final Report. May-June 2012*. URL: https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace_publications/election_reports/egypt-2011-2012-final-rpt.pdf . Zugriff: 25.3.2020.
- The Mosireen Collective (2011ff.): *The Mosireen Collective*. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/user/Mosireen>. Zugriff: 14.3.2019.
- Tilly, Charles (1978): *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Reading, MA.
- (2002): *Stories, Identities, and Political Change*. Lanham, MD.
- Tilly, Charles/Tarrow, Sidney (2015): *Contentious Politics*. Oxford.

- Toma, Sally (2015): The Shared Identity of Tahrir: Four Years On. URL: <https://www.madamasr.com/en/2015/01/28/opinion/u/the-shared-identity-of-tahrir-four-years-on/>. Zugriff: 30.5.2018.
- Trager, Eric (2016): Arab Fall. How the Muslim Brotherhood Won and Lost Egypt in 891 Days. Washington, D.C.
- Trew, Bel (2012): Morsi's Counterpunch: A Reading of Egypt Latest Constitutional Declaration. URL: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/50260.aspx>. Zugriff: 30.7.2019.
- Tufekci, Zeynep (2011): Can »Leaderless Revolutions« Stay Leaderless: Preferential Attachment, Iron Laws and Networks. URL: <http://technosociology.org/?p=366> Zugriff: 13.3.2019.
- (2013): Networked Politics from Tahrir to Taksim: Is There a Social Media-Fueled Protest Style? URL: <https://clalliance.org/blog/networked-politics-from-tahrir-to-taksim-is-there-a-social-media-fueled-protest-style/>. Zugriff: 13.3.2019.
- Tufekci, Zeynep/Wilson, Christopher (2012): Social Media and the Decision to Participate in Political Protest: Observations From Tahrir Square. In: Journal of Communication 62: 363-379. URL: <http://individual.utoronto.ca/christine/sources/arabspring.pdf>. Zugriff: 14.3.2019.
- Van de Walle, Nicolas (2006): Tipping Games: When do Opposition Parties Coalesce? In: Schedler, Andreas (Hg.): Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition. Boulder: 77-92.
- (2009): Opposition Parties and Incumbent Presidents. The New Dynamics of Electoral Competition in Sub-Saharan Africa. In: Lindberg, Staffan I. (Hg.): Democratization by Elections. A New Mode of Transition. Baltimore: 202-225.
- Vannetzel, Marie (2016): Confronting the Transition to Legality. In: Rougier, Bernard/Lacroix, Stephane (Hg.): Egypt's Revolutions. Politics, Religion, Social Movements. New York: 41-59.
- Voigt, Stefan/Dauner, Matthias (2015): Institutionen. In: Kollmorgen, Raj/Merkel, Wolfgang/Wagener, Hans-Jürgen (Hg.): Handbuch Transformationsforschung. Wiesbaden: 47-62.
- Volpi, Frederic (2004): Pseudo-Democracy in the Muslim World. In: Third World Quarterly 26(4): 1060-1078.
- Volpi, Frederic/Cavatorta, Francesco (2006): Forgetting Democratization? Recasting Power and Authority in a Plural Muslim World. In: Democratization Nr. 3: 363-372.
- Von Beyme, Klaus (1997): Parteien im Prozess der demokratischen Konsolidierung. In: Merkel, Wolfgang (Hg.): Systemwechsel 3. Parteien im Transformationsprozess. Opladen: 23-56.
- Walgenbach, Peter (1999): Institutionalistische Ansätze in der Organisationstheorie. In: Kieser, Alfred (Hg.): Organisationstheorien. Stuttgart: 319-353.

- Wallerstein, Immanuel Maurice (2012): *Das moderne Weltsystem*. Edition Weltgeschichte. Wien.
- Weaver, Matthew/McCarthy, Tom (2013): Egyptian Army Suspends Constitution and Removes President Morsi – As It Happened. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/middle-east-live/2013/jul/03/egypt-countdown-army-deadline-live>. Zugriff: 19.8.2019.
- Weik, Elke/Winkler, Ingo/Lang, Rainhart (2001): Organisationskultur, organisationaler Symbolismus und organisationaler Diskurs. In: Weik, Elke/Lang, Rainhart (Hg.): *Moderne Organisationstheorien*. Eine sozialwissenschaftliche Einführung. Wiesbaden: 201-252.
- Weipert-Fenner, Irene (2013): Wegbereiter oder treibende Kraft? Die Rolle der Arbeiter in der ägyptischen Revolution. In: Albrecht, Holger/Demmelhuber, Thomas (Hg.): *Revolution und Regimewandel in Ägypten*. Baden-Baden: 209-232.
- Weipert-Fenner, Irene/Wolff, Jonas (2015): Socioeconomic Contention and Post-Revolutionary Political Change in Egypt and Tunisia. A Research Agenda. Working Paper # 24, PRIF/HSFK.
- Westphal, Manon (2018): Die Normativität agonaler Politik. Konfliktregulierung und Institutionengestaltung in der pluralistischen Demokratie. Schriftenreihe der Sektion Politische Theorie und Ideengeschichte in der Deutschen Vereinigung für Politikwissenschaft, Bd. 35. Baden-Baden.
- White, Harrison C. (1992): *Identity and Control. A Structural Theory of Social Action*. Princeton, N.J.
- (1995): Network Switchings and Bayesian Forks. Reconstructing the Social and Behavioral Sciences. In: *Social Research* 62(4): 1035-1063.
- Whittier, Nancy (2002): Meaning and Structure in Social Movements. In: Meyer, David S./Whittier, Nancy/Robnett, Belinda (Hg.): *Social Movements. Identity, Culture, and the State*. Oxford: 289-308.
- Wickham, Carrie Rosefsky (2013): *The Muslim Brotherhood. Evolution of an Islamist Movement*. Princeton.
- Wischermann, Jörg/Bunk, Bettina/Köllner, Patrick/Lorch, Jasmin (2015): Zivilgesellschaftliche Organisationen in Autokratien: Akteure des Wandels? URL: http://pure.giga-hamburg.de/ws/files/24415266/gf_global_1506.pdf.
- Wolfsfeld, Gadi/Segev, Elad/Sheafer, Tamir (2013): Social Media and the Arab Spring: Politics Comes First. In: *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 18(2): 115-137.
- Yousif, Marian Michael (2015): Tatawur ad-daur as-siyasi lil kanisa al-misriya baad thawrat 25 janayar. [arab. Die Entwicklung der politischen Rolle der ägyptischen Kirche nach der Revolution des 25. Januars]. URL: <https://web.archive.org/web/20190316054135/http://www.masralarabia.com/%D9%85%D9%84%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%AA/690851-%D8%AA%D8%B7%D9%88%D8%B1-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AF%D9%88%D8%B1-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%8A%D8%A>

- 7%D8%B3%D9%8A-%D9%84%D9%84%D9%83%D9%86%D9%8A%D8%B3%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B5%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D8%A8%D8%B9%D8%AF-%D8%AB%D9%88%D8%B1%D8%A9-25-%D9%8A%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%8A%D8%B1. Zugriff: 1.3.2019.
- Zajonc, Robert (1968): Attitudinal Effects of Mere Exposure. In: *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 9(2): 1-27.
- Zald, Mayer N. (1996): Culture, Ideology, and Strategic Framing. In: McAdam, Doug/McCarthy, John D./Zald Mayer N. (Hg.): *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements. Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*. Cambridge: 261-274.
- Zambakari, Christopher/Kang, Tarnjeet K. (2016): The Arab Spring and the Struggle for Democracy in Egypt. In: *The Georgetown Public Policy Review* 21(1). URL: https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2948654. Zugriff: 22.2.2019.
- Zinecker, Heidrun (2002): Regimewechsel ohne Pfadwechsel? die unvollendeten Transitionen in Kolumbien und El Salvador. In: Bendel, Petra/Croissant, Aurel/Rüb, Friedbert W. (Hg.): *Zwischen Demokratie und Diktatur. Zur Konzeption und Empirie demokratischer Grauzonen*. Wiesbaden: 261-282.
- Zorob, Anja (2013): Der Zusammenbruch des autoritären Gesellschaftsvertrags. In: Jünemann, Annette/Zorob, Anja (Hg.): *Arabellions*. Wiesbaden: 229-256.

