

Comparative Politics of the Middle East

MAAS 725
School of Foreign Service
Georgetown University
Fall 2010

Instructor: Samer S. Shehata
Class Meetings: Thursday 2:15 - 4:05
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This course is an introduction to political science approaches to Middle East politics and more specifically, comparative politics approaches to the region's politics. As such, students will be introduced to the major questions and theoretical approaches involved in the study of Middle Eastern politics. Some of the substantive topics we will cover include: states and state formation in the Middle East; the persistence and dynamics of authoritarianism in the region; political liberalization and democratization; civil society and democratization; nationalism and identity (specifically, Arab nationalism and pan-Arabism); oil; politics, and theories of the *rentier* state; political economy approaches to Middle East politics; Islamist politics; elections in the Arab world; and other subjects. We can not hope to be comprehensive in our coverage of these important issues in only one semester. Therefore, this course is designed to provide a foundation in Middle East politics/political science (e.g. theories, debates in the field, concepts, etc.) that can be useful as you pursue more extensive studies of the region's politics.

Although this course is about "Middle East politics," we will focus primarily on the Arab world, and more specifically on the *Mashreq*, Egypt, and the Gulf States. As an introductory course, we will focus more on theoretical issues and cross-country questions than on the political histories of individual nation-states.

Some of the major topics and questions in the study of Middle East politics include (although we will not be able to cover all of these topics in class):

1) The State: What is the character of the state in the Middle East? What are its historical origins and preset condition? How can we characterize Middle Eastern states? Are they "strong," "hard," "brittle" or "weak" (i.e. Ayubi)? How is the concept of legitimacy related to the state and, more specifically, Middle Eastern states? What kinds of states have existed in the Middle East – and how has state development impacted the politics of the region?

2) Nationalism: What is Arab nationalism and pan-Arabism? Is Arab nationalism different from other kinds of nationalism? How important has Arab nationalism been in Arab politics? Is Arab nationalism “dead,” as some analysts have claimed? Is it related to Islamist politics and if so how? Have Islamist political identities come to replace Arab nationalism? Have recent developments, such as Al Jazeera and the Iraq war revived feelings of Arab nationalism?

3) Politics: Elites & Masses: Is politics in the Middle East exclusively an elite game? Do popular classes engage in “politics” in the region? What types of relations exist between political elites and popular classes (e.g., populist authoritarianism, patron-client relations; clientalism, etc.). What form does politics take in authoritarian states and can we speak of “political participation” in such states? Is there such a thing as “everyday politics”?

4) Islam and Politics: What explains the increasing prominence, popularity, and success of Islamist movements in the region and beyond? What is the extent of variation within Islamist politics (or the varieties of Islamist politics)? What are the main components, goals, and discursive themes in Islamist politics? Is there anything distinctive about Islamist politics? We often hear the questions, “Is Islam compatible with democracy?” How should we address this question? How have Islamist political parties and movements fared in different states in the region (e.g. Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, Turkey, etc.)? How have different regimes in the region dealt with Islamist political movements?

5) Oil and Politics: How does oil impact the politics of the region? Does oil hinder democracy? Does the *rentier* theory of the state explain the absence of democracy in oil-dominated economies? Are there other political consequences of oil wealth on the politics of individual nation states as well as on regional politics? How has oil shaped external/foreign interest in the region?

6) Authoritarianism: What explains the persistence of authoritarianism in the region – or alternatively – Why is there no democracy in the Middle East? Are these questions the same? What is democracy and what are its empirical indicators, what accounts for its emergence and what are the obstacles to its development in the Middle East? How much variation in “regime type” and politics is there in the region? What are the mechanisms and dynamics of authoritarian regime survival? What is “political liberalization” and how should we understand its relation to “democratization”? What are “hybrid” or semi-authoritarian regimes?

7) Democratization: Do countries “transition to democracy”? What is “liberalized autocracy” or “semi-authoritarianism”? Are “semi-authoritarian” regimes (in the Middle East and elsewhere) stable regime types? Can democracy be imposed from the outside? Can states “push” countries along democratization paths? If so, how?

8) Civil Society: What is civil society and how is it related to democracy? What is the state of civil society in the region? What is the relationship between state and civil society? Is civil society important in bringing about – and/or maintaining – democracy?

9) (Neo-liberal) Economic & Political Reform: How does economic reform impact politics? Are economic reform and political reform related? Does economic reform lead to political reform? Do “free markets” eventually produce free politics? What changes take place in a country’s domestic politics as it pursues economic liberalization policies? How do regime-society alliances (i.e., class alliances and social structure) change as a result of economic reform and how are international actors, especially international financial institutions, involved in the process of reform?

10) Middle East “Exceptionalism”: Related to topics 4, 5, 6, and 7 above (Islam, oil, and authoritarianism) – is the question of the Middle East’s supposed “uniqueness.” Are Middle Eastern politics somehow different than politics elsewhere and if so why? Is the Middle East “*exceptional*” in some sense? Which approaches are best for understanding Middle East politics (e.g., political economy/culture-symbolic/ rational choice)?

11) Elections: How can we characterize elections in the Middle East, and more specifically in the Arab world? Are they practices of democracy or are they simply a democratic façade? Are elections harbingers of democracy? Or, in such contexts, are they institutions of patronage, clientalism, and control? Why do people vote in non-democratic (i.e., “authoritarian elections”) elections and on what basis do they vote (i.e., “voting behavior”)? What are the “functions” of elections in such regimes? And what, if any, is the relationship between elections and democratization?

12) Regional & International Dimensions: What has been the role of regional and international conflicts (e.g., the cold war, regional wars) in the politics of the region? What have been the economic and political consequences of conflict and war on the region? On what basis have regional alliances historically been formed in the Middle East?

13) US and the Middle East: What has been the relationship of the U.S. to the region in the post World War II period? How have U.S. “national security interests” been defined (or “constructed”) with regard to the Middle East and with what consequences? How did the cold war and more recently, the war on terror impact US-Middle East relations as well as the domestic politics of states in the region?

14) Globalization: How do global changes in politics, economics, and information technology, impact local politics in the Middle East? Are developments in information technology such as satellite television, mobile phones (e.g., text messaging and twitter) and the internet (e.g., YouTube, blogs, etc.) having an impact on politics in the Middle East, and particularly on authoritarian regimes? How is the increased speed and ease at which capital and information flow impacting the region’s politics?

Requirements: This is a seminar based primarily on the close reading and focused discussion of set texts. The success of such an enterprise depends on the *active participation* of everyone. Therefore, you are required to:

- 1) Come to class prepared -- having read the assignments carefully and ready to discuss them.
- 2) Seminar participants are required to write short weekly responses (at least two paragraphs in length) distributed via Blackboard to all members of the seminar by Wednesday at 6:00 pm. These are not intended to be highly polished pieces of writing. Nor are they meant to be summaries of the week's readings. Rather, they are your *critical reactions* to and *reflections* on the readings. They are intended to promote discussion, generate debate, and raise critical questions about the topics to be discussed in class.
- 3) You are required to write two "review essays" (8 double-spaced pages each) that focus closely on one week's readings in addition to one or two of the "Further," "Recommended," or "Suggested" Readings' from that week. Please note that these review essays are not to be serial reviews of the works under discussion but are intended as opportunities for you to *critically engage* with the main ideas and theories presented in the texts. Review essays should be textually focused and based on your own analysis of the readings. Examples of "review essays" can be found in journals such as *World Politics*, *Comparative Politics* and the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*.
- 4) Lead class discussion (individually or with a partner) once during the semester. Note that you are not permitted to lead class discussion on a topic in which you have (or will) write a "review essay." Please also note that leading class discussion **does not** entail presenting a lecture in class. Leading class discussion entails reading the required (and some of the supplementary) readings thoroughly and coming to class prepared to **promote discussion** about the major themes and issues raised in that week's readings. This could include preparing questions to be asked in class to stimulate discussion.

Grading: 30% Attendance, Participation & Weekly Reaction Papers
 10% Leading Class Discussion
 30% Review Essay #1
 30% Review Essay #2

Books to Purchase:

- Asef Bayat, *Making Islam Democratic: Social Movements and the Post-Islamist Turn* (Stanford: Stanford University Press) 2007.
- Marsha Pripstein Posusney and Michele Penner Angrist, eds., *Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Regimes and Resistance* (Lynne Rienner), 2005.

- Diane Singerman, *Avenues of Participation* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press) 1995.
- Nazih N. Ayubi, *Overstating the Arab State* (New York & London: St. Martin's Press) 1995. paperback.

Additional Suggested Books:

- Michele Penner Angrist, ed., *Politics and Society in the Contemporary Middle East* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner), August 2010.
- Roger Owen, *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East* (Routledge) Third Edition, 2004.
- R. Brynen, B. Korany and P. Noble (eds.) *Political Liberalization & Democratization in the Arab World* (vol. I Theoretical Perspectives) (Boulder: Lynne Rienner) 1995.

Readings:

Readings marked with an asterisk (*) will be available through Blackboard.
Readings that include a web address beside them are available on the internet.
All other readings are in the books to be purchased.

Thursday September 2

Introduction: Syllabus; Assignments; Mechanics, etc...

Thursday, September 9

Topic 1: The Field of Middle East Politics

- *Zachary Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism* (New York: Cambridge University Press), 2004 (Selections: pp. 111-147; pp. 148-181; pp. 215-267)
- *Timothy Mitchell, "The Middle East in the Past and Future of Social Science," *Global, Area, & International Archive* (GAIA Books), UC Berkeley (BB), February, 2003, pp. 1-32.
- Ido Oren, "How America's Foreign Policy Affects its Political Science," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, September 6, 2002.
Available: <http://chronicle.com/article/How-Americas-Foreign-Policy/10183/>
- *Lisa Anderson, "Policy-Making and Theory Building: American Political Science and the Islamic Middle East," in Hisham Sharabi (ed.) *Theory*,

Politics and the Arab World: Critical Responses (New York: Routledge) 1990, pp. 52-80.

- Lisa Anderson, "Scholarship, Policy, Debate and Conflict: Why We study the Middle East and Why it matters," 2003 MESA Presidential Address. Available at: <http://fp.arizona.edu/mesassoc/Bulletin/Pres%20Addresses/Anderson.htm>

Highly Recommended:

- Larry Diamond, "What Political Science Owes the World," *PS Online*, March 2002. Available at: <http://www.apsanet.org/imgtest/PSOnlineDiamond911.pdf>
- Mark Tessler and Amaney Jamal, "Political Attitude Research in the Arab World," *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 39, July 2006, pp. 433- 437.
- Janine A. Clark, "Field Research Methods in the Middle East," *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 39, July 2006, pp. 417- 422.

Further Reading:

- Mark Tessler, Jodi Nachtwey and Anne Banda, 'Introduction: The Area Studies Controversy,' in *Area Studies and Social Science: Strategies for Understanding Middle East Politics* (Bloomington: Indian University Press) pp. vii-xxi, 1999.
- James Bill, 'The Study of Middle East Politics, 1946-1996: A Stocktaking,' *Middle East Journal* vol. 50, no. 4, Autumn 1996, pp. 501-512.
- Michael Hudson, 'The Middle East,' *PS: Political Science and Politics*, December 2001, vol. Xxxiv, no. 4, pp. 801-804.
- Lisa Anderson, 'Politics in the Middle East: Opportunities and Limits in the Quest for Theory,' in M. Tessler (ed), *Area Studies and Social Science: Strategies for Understanding Middle East Politics* (Bloomington: Indian University Press), 1999.
- Martin Kramer, *Ivory Towers on Sand: The Failure of Middle Eastern Studies in America* (Washington: Washington Institute for Near East policy) 2001.
- Summary of a panel session which included Martin Kramer and Lisa Anderson on Middle East Studies and the impact of *Ivory Towers on Sand*. <http://www.martinkramer.org/pages/899527/>
- *Journal of Democracy* (Middle East Studies After 9/11) (July 2003) 13:3 Articles by Marc Plattner and Larry Diamond; Ibrahim Karawan, 'Time for an Audit,'; Steven Heydemann, 'Defending the Discipline'; Daniel Brumberg 'Islamists and the Politics of Consensus.'
- Greg Gause, 'Who Lost Middle Eastern Studies?' *Foreign Affairs* March/April 2002.
- Gregory Gause, "Pensee 3: Political Science and the Middle East," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 42, 2010, pp. 8-9.
- Jerrold D. Green, 'The Politics of Middle East Politics,' *PS: Political Science* 27, no. 3 (September 1994)
- Jerrold D. Green, 'Where are the Arabs?' *Survival* 40, no. 2 (Summer 1998).
- Jerrold D. Green, 'Is Arab Politics Still Arab?' *World Politics* 38 (July 1986): 611-

625, 1986.

- Ian S. Lustick, "The Quality of Theory and the Comparative Disadvantage of Area Studies." *MESA Bulletin* 34, 2 (Winter): 189-192, 2000.

Thursday September 16

Topic 2: The State in the Middle East

- Nazih Ayubi, "The Middle East and the State Debate: A Conceptual Framework," in N. Ayubi, *Over-Stating the Arab State*, ch. 1.
- *Emile Sahliyah, "The Limits of State power in the Middle East," *Arab Studies Quarterly* vol. 22, no. 4, Fall 2000, pp. 1- 29.
- Ilya Harik, "The Origins of the Arab State System," in G. Luciani (ed.) *The Arab State* (Berkeley: UC Press) 1990.
- *Roger Owen, *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East* (Routledge) Third Edition, 2004. "States and State-Building" and Chapter 1, "The End of Empires: The Emergence of the Modern Middle Eastern States, pp. 1-22.
- *Abbas Kelidar, "States without Foundations: The political evolution of state and society in the Arab East," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 28, 2 (April 1993): 315-338.

Further Reading:

- Lisa Anderson, 'The State in the Middle East and North Africa,' *Comparative Politics* (October 1987). Available online through JSTOR
- Timothy Mitchell, "The Limits of the State: Beyond Statist Approaches and their Critics," *APSR*, vol. 85, no. 1, March 1991. [Available through JSTOR]
- Bahgat Korany, 'Alien and Besieged Yet Here to Stay: The Contradictions of the Arab Territorial State,' in G. Salame (ed.), *The Foundations of the Arab States* (London: Croom Helm) 1987.
- Sami Zubaida, *Islam, The People and the State: Essays on Political Ideas and Movements in the Middle East* (London: Routledge) 1993. (the chapter on state formation in the Middle East).

Thursday, September 23

Topic 3: Nationalism & Politics – Arab Nationalism(s) & Pan-Arabism

- *Rashid Khalidi (ed.) *The Origins of Arab Nationalism* (New York: Columbia University Press) Introduction & Chapter 1.
- *C. Ernest Dawn, 'The Origins of Arab Nationalism,' pp. 3-30, in R. Khalidi (ed.) *The Origins of Arab Nationalism* (New York: Columbia University Press).
- Nazih. Ayubi, "The Arab-State: Territorial or Pan-Arabist?" in N. Ayubi, *Over-stating the Arab State*, chapter. 4.
- Adeed Dawisha, "Requiem for Arab Nationalism," *The Middle East Quarterly* (Winter 2003) vol. x, no. 1.
[http://www.meforum.org/article/518#_ftnref4]
- Martin Kramer, "Arab Nationalism: Mistaken Identity," *Daedalus*, Summer 1993, pp. 171-206 (available at:
<http://www.geocities.com/martinkramerorg/ArabNationalism.htm>)

Highly Recommended:

- Israel Gershoni James Jankowski, Editors, *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East* (New York: Columbia University Press) 1997.
<http://www.ciaonet.org/book/jankowski/index.html>
- Joseph A. Massad, *Colonial Effects: The Making of National Identity in Jordan* (New York: Columbia University Press) 2001.
- Roger Owen, *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East* (Routledge) Third Edition, 2004. Chapter 4, "Arab nationalism, Arab unity and the practice of intra-Arab state relations," pp. 56-72.

Further Reading:

- Fouad Ajami, "The End of Arab Nationalism," *The New Republic* 23 (August 12, 1991).
- Joseph A. Massad, *Colonial Effects: The Making of National identity in Jordan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001). selections
- Aziz al-Azmeh, "Nationalism and the Arabs," *Arab Studies Quarterly*, 17:1-2 (winter-spring, 1995), pp. 1-17.
- Adeed Dawisha *Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair* (Princeton Univ. Press: February 2003).
- Bassam Tibi, 'Between Arab Nationalism and Islam,' in *Arab Nationalism: between Islam and the Nation-State* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997) chs. 11-12, pp. 201-233.
- Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (revised edition)* (London: Verso) 1983, esp. chs. 1-3, 5-6, 10-11.

<http://www.oup.co.uk/pdf/0-19-829898-6.pdf>

- Special Issue on 'Nationalism and the Colonial Legacy in the Middle East and Central Asia,' *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 34, no. 2, May 2002 (esp. Introduction and article by Sami Zubaida).

Thursday, September 30

Topic 4: Authoritarianism & Authoritarian Politics

- *Jill Crystal, "Authoritarianism and its Adversaries in the Arab World," *World Politics* 46, no. 2 (January 1994) pp. 262-289.
- Marsha Pripstein Posusney, "The Middle East's Democracy Deficit in Comparative Perspective," in *Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Regimes and Resistance*, eds. By M. Pripstein Posusney and M. Penner Angrist, (Lynne Rienner: 2005), pp. 1-20.
- Eva Bellin, "Coercive institutions and Coercive Leaders," in *Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Regimes and Resistance*, eds. By M. Pripstein Posusney and M. Penner Angrist, (Lynne Rienner: 2005).

Further Reading:

- *Michael Hudson, "Democratization and the Problem of Legitimacy in Middle East Politics," *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin* 22:2 1988, pp. 157-172.
- *Lisa Anderson, 'The Prospects for Democracy in the Arab World,' in *Middle Eastern Lectures* (Number One), Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University (1995) pp. 59- 71.
- *Thomas Carothers, 'The End of the Transition Paradigm,' *Journal of Democracy*, 13:1: 2002.
- Roger Owen, *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East* (Routledge) Third Edition, 2004. Chapter 8, "Parties, elections and the vexed question of democracy in the Arab World," pp. 131-153.
- Isam al-Khafaji, "State terror and the degradation of politics in Iraq" in *IRAQ Since the Gulf War - Prospects for Democracy*, ed. by Fran Hazelton, 1994 by Zed Press, London.
- Russell E. Lucas, 'Monarchical Authoritarianism: Survival and Political Liberalization in a Middle Eastern Regime Type,' *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 36 (2004), pp. 103-119.
- Roger Owen, chapters 2 and 3 ("The growth of State power in the Arab World: the single party regimes," and "The growth of State power in the Arab world under Family rule, and the Libyan alternative"), pp. 32-80, in his *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East* (Routledge: London) 1992.
- Nazih Ayubi, *Over-Stating the Arab State*, Skim pp. 164-288.
- Elizabeth Picard, "Arab Military in Politics: From Revolutionary Plot to Authoritarian State," in *The Arab State*, (ed.) G. Luciani (UC Press) 1990, pp. 189-219.

- Samir Al-Khalil, *The Monument: Art, Vulgarity, and Responsibility in Iraq* (Berkeley: UC Press) 1991 (pp. 1-77, and pp. 101-115).
- Kanan Makiya, *Cruelty and Silence: War, Tyranny, Uprising, and the Arab World*
- Kanan Makiya, *Republic of Fear: The Politics of Modern Iraq* (Introduction to the 1998 Paperback Edition and pp. 3-73).
- *Arab Human Development Report 2002*, chapter 7, 'Liberating Human Capabilities: Governance, Human Development and the Arab World,' available at: <http://www.undp.org/rbas/ahdr/CompleteEnglish.pdf>
<http://www.pogar.org/ongov/ahdr7.pdf>

*For different cultural analyses of authoritarianism see:

- Abdellah Hammoudi, *Master and Disciple: the cultural foundations of Moroccan Authoritarianism* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press), 1997.
- Hisham Sharabi, *Neopatriarchy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Thursday, October 7

Topic 5: Politics from Below

- Diane Singerman, *Avenues of Participation: Family, Politics, and Urban Quarters of Cairo* (Princeton: Princeton University Press: 1995).
Selections TBA.

Further Reading:

- Asef Bayat, "The Street and the Politics of Dissent in the Arab World," *MERIP* (Spring 2003)http://www.merip.org/mer/mer226/226_bayat.html
- Asef Bayat, "Activism and Social Development in the Middle East," in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* vol. 34, no. 1, February 2002, pp. 1-28.
- Asef Bayat, *Street Politics* (Columbia University Press).
- Asef Bayat, *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East* (Palo Alto: Stanford) 2009.

Thursday, October 14

Topic 6: Oil & Politics

- *Hazem Beblawi, 'The Rentier State in the Arab World,' in *The Arab State*, ed. Giacomo Luciano (Berkeley: University of California Press) 1990, pp. 85-98.
- Michael Ross, 'Does Oil Hinder Democracy?' *World Politics* 53 (April 2001), pp. 325-361. Available at: <http://www.polisci.ucla.edu/faculty/ross/doesoil.pdf>
- *Michael Herb, "No Representation without Taxation? Rents, Development, and Democracy," *Comparative Politics* (April 2005): 297-316.

- *M. Herb, "A Nation of Bureaucrats: Political Participation and Economic Diversification in Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates," 2009, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*," 41, no. 3 (August), 375-395.
- Timothy Mitchell, "Carbon Democracy," *Economy and Society*, vol. 38. no. 3, 2009. pp. 399-432.
Available at:
http://pdfserve.informaworld.com/955302_915549761_913977097.pdf

Further Reading:

- Michael Herb, "Princes, Parliaments and the Prospects for Democracy in the Gulf," in Marsha Pripstein Posusney and Michele Penner Angrist, eds. *Authoritarianism in the Middle East*, pp. 169-191.
- Michael L. Ross, "Does Taxation Lead to Representation?" *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 34, 2004, pp. 229-249 [available online]
- Giacomo Luciani, 'Resources, Revenues, and Authoritarianism in the Arab World: beyond the Rentier State?' in R. Brynen, B. Korany and P. Noble, *Political Liberalization & Democratization in the Arab World* (1995), chapter 11.
- Kiren A. Chaudhry, 'The Price of Wealth: Business and State in Labor Remittance and Oil Economies, *International Organization* (Winter 1989).
- Kiren Aziz Chaudhry, 'Economic liberalization and the Lineages of the Rentier State,' *Comparative Politics* 27 (October 1994).
- Hussein Mahdavi, 'The Patterns and Problems of Economic Development in Rentier States: the case of Iran,' in Michael Cook, ed. *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1970, pp. 428-467. (This is the earliest treatment of the idea of the rentier state in a Middle Eastern context).
- H. Beblawi and G. Luciani, *The Rentier State* (New York: Croom Helm) 1987.
- Giacomo Luciani, 'Allocation vs. Production States: A Theoretical Framework' also in *The Arab State*, pp. 65-84.
- Gwenn Okruhlik, "Rentier Wealth, Uruly Law, and the Rise of Opposition," in *Comparative Politics* (April 1999).
- Michael Ross, 'The Political Economy of the Resource Curse,' in *World Politics* 51:2, January 1999, pp. 297-322.
- Terry Lynn Karl, *The Paradox of Plenty: Oil Booms and Petro-States* (Berkeley: University of California Press) 1997. (esp. chapters 1, 9-10).
- H. Beblawi and G. Luciani, eds. *The Rentier State* (London: Croom Helm) 1987.
- *Arab Studies Quarterly* (two issues) vol. 10, no. 2 & 3.
- Michael Herb, *All in the Family: Absolutism, Revolution and Democratic Prospects in the Middle East Monarchies* (SUNY Press) 1999.

Thursday, October 21

Topic 7: Political Liberalization, Democratization, or Authoritarian Persistence & Retrenchment?

- *Holger Albrecht and Oliver Schlumberger, "Waiting for Godot: Regime Change without Democratization in the Middle East," *International Political Science Review*, (2004) 24: 4, pp. 371-392.
- Daniel Brumberg's Carnegie Endowment paper *Liberalization versus Democracy: Understanding Arab Political Reform* available at:
<http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/wp37.pdf>
- Steven Heydemann, *Upgrading Authoritarianism in the Arab World*, Brookings, October 2007. Available at:
<http://www.brookings.edu/papers/2007/10arabworld.aspx>
- *Stephen J. King, "Sustaining Authoritarianism in the Middle East and North Africa," *Political Science Quarterly* 122:3 (2007) p. 433-59.
- Larry Diamond, "Why Are There No Arab Democracies?" *Journal of Democracy* 21:1 2010. pp. 93-112.
<http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/gratis/Diamond-21-1.pdf>

Further Reading:

- "Democratization in the Muslim World: Changing Patterns of Power and Authority," Special Issue of *Democratization* (June 2006).
- Eva Bellin, "Contingent Democrats: Industrialists, Labor, and Democratization in Late-Developing Countries," in *World Politics* 52 (January 2000), pp. 175-205. (about democratization).
- Ghassan Salame, "Introduction: Where are the Democrats?" in his (ed.), *Democracy Without Democrats? The Renewal of Politics in the Muslim World* (London: I.B. Tauris) 1994 (Skim).
- John Waterbury, "Democracy without Democrats? The Potential for Political Liberalization in the Middle East," in Ghassan Salame (ed.) *Democracy without Democrats? The Renewal of Politics in the Muslim World* (London: I.B. Taurus) 1994, pp. 23-47 (Skim).
- Michael Hudson, "Obstacles to Democratization in the Middle East," *Contention*, vol. 5, no. 2, winter 1996, pp. 81-105
- Gary C. Gambill, 'Explaining the Arab Democracy Deficit: Part I, Middle East intelligence Bulletin (February-March 2003) vol. 5, no. 2.
http://www.meib.org/articles/0302_me.htm
- Larbi Sidki, *The Search for Arab Democracy* (Columbia Univ. Press 2002).
- Look over additional articles in Brynen, Noble and Korany (eds.) *Political Liberalization & Democratization in the Arab World*.

- M Hudson, 'The Political Culture Approach to Arab Democratization,' (pp. 61-76) in R. Brynen, B. Korany and P. Noble (eds.) *Political Liberalization & Democratization in the Arab World* (vol. I Theoretical Perspectives) (Boulder: Lynne Rienner) 1995.
- Lisa Anderson, 'Democracy in the Arab World: A Critique of the Political Culture Approach,' (pp. 77-92) both in R. Brynen, B. Korany and P. Noble (eds.) *Political Liberalization & Democratization in the Arab World* (vol. I Theoretical Perspectives) (Boulder: Lynne Rienner) 1995.
- Dankwart Rustow, 'Transitions to Democracy,' *Comparative Politics* 2:3 1970.
- Responses to Michael Hudson in the same issue of *Contention* by Farhad Kazemi and A. R. Norton; Suad Joseph; Clifford Chanin; Ellis Goldberg.
- Ghassan Salame (ed.) *Democracy without Democrats? The Renewal of Politics in the Muslim World* (London: I.B. Taurus) 1994

Thursday, October 28

Topic 8: Civil Society

- *R. Norton (ed), *Civil Society in the Middle East* (vol. 1) 1995 (Leiden: Brill) Introduction.
- Nazih Ayubi, "Prospects for Democracy: Is Civil Society Striking Back?" in N. Ayubi, *Over-Stating the Arab State*, chapter. 11, pp. 396-446.
- Quintan Wiktorowicz, 'Civil Society as Social Control: State Power in Jordan,' *Comparative Politics*, vol. 33, no. 1 (October 2000).
- Vickie Langohr, "Too Much Civil Society, Too Little Politics? Egypt and Other Liberalizing Arab Regimes," in M. Posusney and M. Angrist, eds., *Authoritarianism in the Middle East* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner), 2005, pp. 193-220.

Further Reading:

- Amy Hawthorne, "Middle Eastern Democracy: Is Civil Society the Answer?" Number 44, March 2004, Democracy & Rule of Law Project, Carnegie Endowment. Available at: <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/CarnegiePaper44.pdf>
- Sheila Carapico, "Civil Society," in Michele Penner Angrist, ed., *Politics and Society in the Contemporary Middle East* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner), August 2010.
- Augustus Richard Norton, 'Associational Life: Civil Society in Authoritarian Political Systems,' in Mark Tessler (ed.) *Area Studies and Social Science: Strategies for Understanding Middle East Politics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press) 1999, pp. 30-47.
- Robert Vitalis, 'The Democratization Industry and the Limits of the New Interventionism' in *MERIP* March-June 1994, pp. 46-50.

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- Seymour M. Lipset, "The Social Requisites of Democracy Revisited," *American Sociological Review*, 59,1: 1-22, 1994.
- Edward Shills, 'The Virtue of Civil Society,' *Government and Opposition* vol. 26, no. 1 (Winter 1991).

Case Study – Jordan:

- Stefanie Nanes, 'Fighting Honor Crimes: Signs of Civil Society in Jordan (forthcoming in *Middle East Journal*, Winter 2002-3).
- Ellen Lust-Okar, 'The Decline of Jordanian Political Parties: Myth or Reality?' *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (2001) 33: 545-569.
- Katherine Rath, 'The Process of Democratization in Jordan,' *Middle Eastern Studies* vol. 30, no. 3 (July 1994), pp. 530-557.
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Thursday, November 4

Topic 9: Islam and Politics

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- Quintan Wiktorowicz, Conceptualizing Islamic Activism, *ISIM Newsletter*, 14, June 2004. Available at:
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- *M. Steven Fish, "Islam and Authoritarianism," *World Politics* 55 (October 2002): 4-37.
- *A. Stepan and G. B. Robertson, 'An Arab more than Muslim Electoral Gap,' *Journal of Democracy* vol. 14, no.3 , July 2003.

- Asef Bayat, “The Perverse Charm of an Irrelevant Question,” chapter 1, *Making Islam Democratic: Social Movements and the Post-Islamist Turn* (Stanford: Stanford University Press) 2007, 1-16.
- Possibly an Additional Reading *TBA*

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- Sanford Lakoff, “The Reality of Muslim Exceptionalism,” *Journal of Democracy* 15, no. 4 (October 2004): 133-139.
- Mark Tessler, “Islam and Democracy in the Middle East: The Impact of Religious Orientations on Attitudes Toward Democracy in Four Arab Countries,” *Comparative Politics* 34, no. 3 (2002): 337-354.

Recommended Films (available in the GU Library):

- The Terrorist* (film with Adel Imam)
- Destiny* (film by Youssef Chahine - AFD) 1997.
- The Closed Door* (film by Atef Hetata, 1999 - AFD)

Further Reading:

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- *Mark Tessler, 'Islam and Democracy in the Middle East: The Impact of Religious Orientations on Attitudes toward Democracy in Four Arab Countries,' *Comparative Politics* -34 (April 2002) pp. 337-54.
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- What is Liberal Islam? In *Journal of Democracy* (several articles) – volume 14, no.2, April 2003
- Jillian Schwedler and Janine Astrid Clark recent piece in *Comparative Politics* (on Islamist political activism) "Who Opened the Window? Women's Activism within Islamist Parties," *Comparative Politics* 35, no. 3 (April).
- O. Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press) 1994.
- Alan Richards and John Waterbury, ‘Is Islam the Solution?’ in *A Political Economy of the Middle East* (second edition) chapter 14.
- Roger Owen, ‘The Politics of Religion,’ in *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*, chapter 7, pp. 166-196 (1992).
- Nazih Ayubi, *Political Islam* (ch.. 1,2,3 (pp. 1-70) and 6,7,8 (pp. 120-200).

- Gudrun Kramer, 'Islam and Pluralism,' in R. Brynen, B. Korany and P. Noble (eds.) *Political Liberalization & Democratization in the Arab World* (vol. I Theoretical Perspectives) (Boulder: Lynne Rienner) 1995, chapter 6, pp. 113-128.
- J. Esposito and J. Voll, 'Islam and Democracy,' in *MERIP*
- J. Voll and J. Esposito, 'Islam's Democratic Essence,' *Middle East Quarterly* (September 1994).
- J. Esposito and J. Piscatori, 'Democratization and Islam,' *Middle East Journal* 45 (summer). 1991.
- Lara Deeb, Hizballah: A Primer, MERIP ONLINE, <http://www.merip.org/mero/mero073106.html>

Thursday, November 11

Topic 10: Political Islam II: Islamist Politics in Egypt

- Nathan Brown, Amr Hamzawy, Marina Ottaway, "Islamist Movements and the Democratic Process in the Arab World: Exploring the Gray Zones," Carnegie Paper Number 67, March 2006, Available at: <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/CP67.Brown.FINAL.pdf>
- Mona El-Ghobashy, "The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 37 (2005), 373-395.
- Samer Shehata and Joshua Stacher, "The Brotherhood Goes to Parliament," *MERIP* 240, Fall 2006. Available at: http://www.merip.org/mer/mer240/shehata_stacher.html
- Asef Bayat, "Revolution without Movement, Movement without Revolution: Islamist Activism in Iran and Egypt, 1960s-1980s," chapter 2, *Making Islam Democratic: Social Movements and the Post-Islamist Turn* (Stanford: Stanford University Press) 2007, 16-48.
- Asef Bayat, "Egypt's Passive Revolution," chapter 5, *Making Islam Democratic: Social Movements and the Post-Islamist Turn* (Stanford: Stanford University Press) 2007, 136-186.

Further Reading:

- Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, *Mobilizing Islam: Religion, Activism and Political Change in Egypt* (New York: Columbia University Press) 2002.
- Mustapha Kamel Al-Sayyid, *The Other Face of the Islamist Movement* (Carnegie Endowment Working Paper) no. 33 January 2003. <http://www.ceip.org/files/Publications/wp33.asp?from=pubtype>
- *Ahmed Abdalla, 'Egypt's Islamists and the State,' in *MERIP*, July-August 1993, pp. 28-31.

- Wiktorowicz, Quintan. *The Management of Islamic Activism: Salafis, the Muslim Brotherhood, and State Power in Jordan* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2001).
- “Turkey’s Tigers,” Wide Angle Documentary about “Islam and capitalism in Turkey,” available at: <http://www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/shows/turkey/>
- “Turks Knock on Europe’s Door with Evidence that Islam and Capitalism can Coexist,” Dan Bilefsky, *New York Times*, August 27, 2006.
- http://www.nytimes.com/2006/08/27/world/europe/27turkey.html?_r=1&n=Top%2fNews%2fWorld%2fCountries%20and%20Territories%2fTurkey&oref=slogin
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- *Alexander Flores, ‘Secularism, Integralism and Political Islam: the Egyptian Debate,’ in *MERIP*, July-August 1993, pp.32-38.
- *Sami Zubaida, ‘Islam, the State and Democracy: Contrasting Conceptions of Society in Egypt,’ *MERIP*, Nov-Dec 1992, no. 179, vol.22, no. 6. pp. 2-10.

Thursday, November 18

Topic 11: Elections in the Middle East

****IN CLASS Film Screening****

- *Larbi Sadiki, *Rethinking Arab Democratization: Elections Without Democracy* (Oxford University Press), 2009 (Selections); Introduction, Chapters 1-2, pp. 1-99.
- Marsha Pripstein Posusney, “Multiparty Elections in the Arab World: Election Rules and Opposition Responses,” pp. 91-118, in Posusney and Angrist, *Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Regimes and Resistance*.
- *Ellen Lust, “Competitive Clientalism in the Middle East” *Journal of Democracy*, volume 20, number 3, July 2009, pp. 122-135. **BB**
- *Samer Shehata, “Inside an Egyptian Parliamentary Campaign,” in Ellen-Lust-Okar and Saloua Zerhouni, *Political Participation in the Middle East* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner), 2008, pp. 95-120.
- *Jillian Schwedler and Laryssa Chomiak, “And the Winner is ... Authoritarian Elections in the Arab World,” *MERIP*, 238, Spring 2006.

Further Reading:

- *Ellen Lust-Okar and Amaney Jamal, “Rulers and Rules: Reassessing the Influence of Regime Type on Electoral Law Formation,” *Comparative Political Studies*, April 2002.

- Ellen Lust-Okar, "Competitive Clientalism in Jordanian Elections," in Ellen-Lust-Okar and Saloua Zerhouni, *Political Participation in the Middle East* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner), 2008, pp. 75-94.
- Gandhi J. and Lust-Okar, E (2009). 'Elections under Authoritarianism', *Annual Review of Political Science*.
- Abdo Baaklini, Guilan Denoeux and Robert Springborg, *Legislative Politics in the Arab World: The Resurgence of Democratic Institutions* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner) 1999.

Thursday November 25 – Thanksgiving Holiday

Thursday, December 2

Topic 12: The United States & the Middle East:

- *Michael Hudson, "To Play the Hegemon: Fifty Years of US Policy Toward the Middle East," *Middle East Journal* vol. 50, no. 3, summer 1996.
- Roger Owen, *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East* (Routledge) Third Edition, 2004. Part III, (The Impact of the 11 September Attacks,"; America attempts to remake the Middle East," and Conclusion: the Middle East at the beginning of the twenty-first century,") pp.217-240
- President Bush's speech at the National Endowment for Democracy (November 6, 2003) <http://www.ned.org/events/anniversary/oct1603-Bush.html>
- John Mearschheimer and Stephen Walt, "The Israel Lobby," *London Review of Books*, vol. 28, no. 6, March 2006.
<http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n06/john-mearschheimer/the-israel-lobby>
- TBD

Further Reading:

- Michael Massing, "The Storm over the Israel Lobby," *New York Review of Books*, volume 53, number 10, June 8, 2006. Available at: <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/19062>
- Melani McAlister, *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media and US Interests in the Middle East, 1945-2000* (Berkeley: UC Press) 2001.
- Martin Indyk, 'Back to the Bazaar,' *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2002.
<http://www.brook.edu/views/articles/indyk/20020114.htm>
- Richard Haas, 'Toward Greater Democracy in the Muslim World,' *Washington Quarterly* (Summer 2003).
http://www.twq.com/03summer/docs/03summer_haass.pdf

- Thomas Carothers, *Is Gradualism Possible? Choosing a Strategy for Promoting Democracy in the Middle East?* Working Papers – Carnegie Endowment no. 9, June 2003 (Democracy and Rule of Law Project).
- Thomas Carothers & Bethany Lacina, “Quick Transformation to Democratic Middle East is Fantasy,” March 16, 2003 in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*
http://seattlepi.nwsourc.com/printer2/index.asp?ploc=t&refer=http://seattlepi.nwsourc.com/opinion/112637_mirage16.shtml
- Marina Ottaway, *Promoting Democracy in the Middle East: The Problem of US Credibility* (Carnegie Endowment Working Papers) no. 35, March 2003.
<http://www.ceip.org/files/Publications/wp35.asp?from=pubdate>
- Fouad Ajami, ‘Iraq and the Arabs’ Future,’ *Foreign Affairs* Jan/Feb 2003.
<http://oz.plymouth.edu/~sshirley/Ajami.htm>
- President Bush’s speech at the National Endowment for Democracy (November 6, 2003) <http://www.ned.org/events/anniversary/oct1603-Bush.html>
- Marina Ottaway, Thomas Carothers, Amy Hawthorne, Daniel Brumberg, *Democratic Mirage in the Middle East* (October 2002)
http://www.ceip.org/files/publications/Democracy_PB20.asp
- Marina Ottaway and Martha Brill Olcott, *The Challenge of Semi-Authoritarianism*, (1999). Available at:
<http://www.ceip.org/programs/democr/Semi-Authoritarianism%20WP.htm>
- Guilan P. Denoeux, ‘The United States and the Challenge of Democratization in the Arab World,’ Occasional Paper, Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University, 1996.
- Clement M. Henry, ‘USAID and Democracy: At Sea or off to Cyberspace?’ *Middle East Policy* (January 1997) 5, 1, pp. 178-198.
- C.P. Abdullah, ‘Charter to Reform the Arab Stand,’
<http://www.al-bab.com/arab/docs/saudi/saudi2003.htm>

Thursday, December 9 Last Class & Review