

POLSC 991: Middle Eastern Politics, spring 2016
Kansas State University
Waters 230/Leavenworth, Tuesday 3:30-6:30 PM

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Office Hours:
T: 12:30pm – 2:00pm
OR by appointment

Course Description and Goals

This graduate seminar is designed to review the scholarly research on the politics of the Middle East. The course aims to expose students to significant theoretical puzzles and the frontiers of applied research in the Middle Eastern politics. We will read, evaluate, and criticize social scientific research published in this area. We will discuss the best examples of qualitative and quantitative works within this research program by imposing a structured organization of the diverse studies in this area. With the completion of this course, you are expected to use the scholarly literature about Middle Eastern politics to conduct your own research.

Course Requirements

The reading load for this course is extensive. Students are expected to complete the readings in a timely manner and come to class well prepared to carry a good discussion. The grading components are as follows:

- ✓ 3 Review Papers (45%)
- ✓ Participation, Discussion Leadership (25%)
- ✓ Paper (30%)

Review Papers (45%): Student will write three review papers (each 15%). Review papers should include more than simple summaries of the assigned readings. They should engage in the theoretical and methodological aspects of the readings, provide a critical overview, point to the strengths and weaknesses, and also make connections to the other readings covered in the class. Students are expected to introduce new research questions and some ideas about future research projects. Each paper should be about 2000-2500 words, double-spaced, and typed with 10-12 font size. The review papers are due 24 hours before to class meeting time.

Participation, Discussion Leadership (25%): Students will assume a discussion leadership role for multiple sessions. A discussion leader will facilitate the discussion by providing a brief overview and identifying theoretical/methodological weakness or strengths of the readings. The group, however, will collectively carry the rest of the discussion. The quality of a graduate seminar depends on the efforts of the students. Thus, I expect class attendance and preparation to discuss the assigned material each week. You should complete the assigned readings in advance. As in any graduate seminar, you should think about the following questions for each assigned reading:

- What is the author's main argument?
- What method is used? What kind of evidence is used to support the main argument?
- How is the reading different/similar compared to the other readings?
- What are the strengths and weaknesses of the authors' analyses?
- Do you agree or disagree with the authors? Can you provide an alternative argument?

I am expecting to see vigorous scholarly debate during the class. All students should be professional, respectful, and courteous during the class discussion.

Research Paper (30%): This assignment gives you the opportunity to conduct your own political science research. You may choose any topic that fits the theme of the course. A good research paper starts with an interesting question. In your paper, you should explain why your research question is important and how it fits in the relevant research literature. Then you should review the literature, develop an argument and derive a testable hypothesis, provide empirical evaluation of these hypotheses. You are expected to submit one page summary of your action plan for this assignment during the **third week** of the course. This action plan should state a clear research question, one paragraph description of relevant research, and the methods.

Grading and Make-Up Policy: Attendance is required. Students are expected to actively and substantially participate in class discussions and do not miss a session. Each absence without proper documentation will result in 1% point deduction from the final grade. Late submissions are not allowed. The following grade scale is applicable in this class:

A: 100-90, B: 89-80, C: 79-70, D: 69-60, F: 59-0. Grades are rounded to the nearest integer.

Academic Honesty & Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

Kansas State University has an Honor & Integrity System based on personal integrity which is presumed to be sufficient assurance in academic matters one's work is performed honestly and without unauthorized assistance. Undergraduate and graduate students, by registration, acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Honor & Integrity System. The policies and procedures of the Honor System apply to all full and part-time students enrolled in undergraduate and graduate courses on-campus, off-campus, and via distance learning. A component vital to the Honor & Integrity System is the inclusion of the Honor Pledge which applies to all assignments, examinations, or other course work undertaken by students. The Honor Pledge is implied, whether or not it is stated: "On my honor, as a student, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid on this academic work." The default in this class is that ALL work will be accomplished individually, UNLESS my permission is given in advance of an assignment/quiz/exam/take-home exam/final. If you are in doubt, please ask. A grade of XF can result from a breach of academic honesty. The F indicates failure in the course; the X indicates the reason is an Honor Pledge violation. For more information, visit the Honor & Integrity System home web page at: <http://www.k-state.edu/honor/> Any student with a disability that needs a classroom accommodation, access to technology or other assistance in this course should contact me.

COURSE SCHEDULE

January 19: Introduction, No readings!

Week 1, Jan 26: State of the Field

Anderson, Lisa. 2004. "Scholarship, Policy, Debate and Conflict: Why We Study the Middle East and Why It Matters," Middle East Studies Association Bulletin, v. 38, no. 1 (June 2004): 2-15.

Said, Edward. 2004. "Orientalism Once More" Development and Change, 35(5): 869– 879.

Gregory Gause, 2011. "Why Middle East Studies Missed the Arab Spring," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 90, No. 4 (July/August).

Kuran, Timur. 2012. Synergies Between Middle Eastern Economic History and the Analytic Social Sciences. International Journal of Middle East Studies, 44(3), 542-545.

Kurzman, Charles. 2011. Islamic Studies in U.S. Universities," with Carl W. Ernst, Review of Middle East Studies, Vol. 46, No. 1, Summer 2012, pp. 24-46.

Schwedler, Jillian. (2015). Comparative Politics and the Arab Uprisings. Middle East Law and Governance, 7(1), 141-152.

Week 2, Feb 2: State and Society in the Middle East

- Anderson, Lisa. 1987. "The State in the Middle East and North Africa," *Comparative Politics* 20:1 (October): 1-18.
- Anderson, Lisa. 1991. Absolutism and Resiliency of Monarchy in the Middle East, *Political Science Quarterly*, 106.
- Joel S. Migdal, 1988. *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World*, Princeton University Press, Chapters 3 and 4.
- Nazih N. Ayubi. 1996. *Over-Stating the Arab State: Politics and Society in the Middle East*, I.B.Tauris, chapters 1, 3, 6, 7.

*****ONE PAGE SUMMARY OF THE PROPOSED PAPER IS DUE IN CLASS*****

Week 3, Feb 9: Historical Perspectives on the Middle East-I

- Douglass C. North, John Joseph Wallis, and Barry R. Weingast. *Violence and Social Orders: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Recorded Human History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), chap. 1.
- Karl A. Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), Intro and Chapter 2
- Bosker, M., Buringh, E. and van Zanden, J.L., 2013. From Baghdad to London: Unraveling Urban Development in Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa, 800–1800. *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 95(4), pp.1418-1437.
- Şerif Mardin, "Power, Civil Society and Culture in the Ottoman Empire," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 11 (1969): 258-81.
- L Karen Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to Centralization* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), chap. 5.

Week 4, Feb 16: Historical Perspectives on the Middle East-II

- François Facchini, "Religion, Law, and Development: Islam and Christianity—Why Is It in the Occident and not in the Orient that Man Invented the Institutions of Freedom?" *European Journal of Law and Economics*, 29 (2010): 103-29.
- Kuran, T., 2004. Why the Middle East is economically underdeveloped: historical mechanisms of institutional stagnation. *Journal of economic perspectives*, pp.71-90.
- Blaydes Lisa and E. Chaney (2012) *The Feudal Revolution and Europe's Rise: Political Divergence of the Christian and Muslim Worlds before 1500 CE*, APSR.
- Chaney E. *Democratic Change in the Arab World, Past and Present*. *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*. 2012;42(1):363-414.
- Timur Kuran, "Legal Roots of Authoritarian Rule in the Middle East: Civic Legacies of the Islamic Waqf," *American Journal of Comparative Law*, 63 (2015)

Week 5, Feb 25: Politics of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Survival Mechanisms

- Wedeen, Lisa. 1999 (2015). *Ambiguities of Domination: politics, rhetoric, and symbols in contemporary Syria*, University of Chicago Press, Chapters 1, 2, and 5.
- Bellin, Eva. "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: A Comparative Perspective," *Comparative Politics*, vol. 36, no. 2, pp. 139-157. Jan, 2004.
- Lust-Okar, Ellen, 2006. *Elections under authoritarianism: Preliminary lessons from Jordan*, *Democratization*, Vol. 13, Iss. 3.
- Blaydes, L., 2010. *Elections and distributive politics in Mubarak's Egypt*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 4.

Week 6, March 1: Politics of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Oil and Monarchies

- Beblawi, Hazem. 1987. "The Rentier State in the Arab World". Arab Studies Quarterly 9 (4). 383–98.
- Luciani, Giacomo. "Economic Foundation of Democracy and Authoritarianism," Arab Studies Quarterly. November 1999
- Gawdat Bahgat, Oil Funds: Perils and Opportunities.. Middle Eastern Studies. Volume 45, Issue 2, 2009, p. 283-293.
- Michael Herb. 1999. All in the Family: Absolutism, Revolution and Democracy in the Middle Eastern Monarchies. Albany: State University of New York Press. Chps 1, 9.
- Menaldo, Victor. 2012. "The Middle East and North Africa's Resilient Monarchies." Journal of Politics.
- Yom, Sean L., and F. Gregory Gause III. 2012. "Resilient royals: How Arab monarchies hang on." Journal of Democracy 23.4 (2012): 74-88.

Week 7, March 8: The Foundations of the Arab Spring

- Kuran, T., 1995. The inevitability of future revolutionary surprises. American Journal of Sociology, pp.1528-1551.
- Pearlman, Wendy. 2013. "Emotions and the Microfoundations of the Arab Uprisings." Perspectives on Politics, 11(2): 387-409.
- Bayat, Asef. "The Arab Spring and its Surprises." Development and Change 44, no.3 (2013), 587-601. –
- Kurzman, Charles. "The Arab Spring Uncoiled." Mobilization 17, no.4 (2012), 377-390.
- Brownlee, Jason, Tarek Masoud, and Andrew Reynolds. The Arab Spring: Pathways of Repression and Reform. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015, Introduction and Chapter 1.
- Harris, Kevan. 2015. "Did Inequality Breed the Arab Uprisings? Social Inequality in the Middle East from a World Perspective". in The Arab Revolution of 2011: A Comparative Perspective, edited by Saïd Amir Arjomand. Albany, NY: SUNY Press

****ONE PAGE PAPER PROGRESS REPORT DUE IN CLASS*****

March 14-18: SPRING BREAK, NO CLASS!

Week 8, March 22: Public Opinion

- Tessler, M., 2002. Islam and democracy in the Middle East: The impact of religious orientations on attitudes toward democracy in four Arab countries. Comparative Politics, pp.337-354.
- Jamal, A.A., 2012. Of empires and citizens: pro-American democracy or no democracy at all?. Princeton University Press. Chapters 2 and 4
- Ciftci, S., 2013. Secular-Islamist Cleavage, Values, and Support for Democracy and Shari'a in the Arab World. Political Research Quarterly, 66(4), p.781.
- Benstead, L.J., 2015. Why do some Arab citizens see democracy as unsuitable for their country?. Democratization. Doh Chull Shin Assessing Citizen Responses to Democracy: A Review and Synthesis of Recent Public Opinion Research. Center for the Study of Democracy Working Papers, University of California – Irvine. 2015.
- Bush, Sarah Sunn and Amaney A. Jamal 2015. Anti-Americanism, Authoritarian Politics, and Attitudes about Women's Representation: Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Jordan. International Studies Quarterly.

Week 9, March 29: Political Participation

- Ciftci, S. and Bernick, E.M., 2015. Utilitarian and modern: clientelism, citizen empowerment, and civic engagement in the Arab world. Democratization.
- Moghadam, V.M., 2014. Democratization and Women's Political Leadership in North Africa. Journal of International Affairs, 68(1), p.59.

- de Miguel Carolina, Amaney A. Jamal, and Mark Tessler, Elections in the Arab World: Why Do Citizens Turn Out?.
Comparative Political Studies, 2015.
- Mark R. Beissinger, Amaney A. Jamal, and Kevin Mazur. 2015. Explaining Divergent Revolutionary Coalitions.
Comparative Politics.
- David Doherty and Peter Schraeder. 2015. Support for Democracy and Mass Participation in the Tunisian
Revolution.
- Benstead, L.J., Jamal, A.A. and Lust, E., 2015. Is It Gender, Religiosity or Both? A Role Congruity Theory of
Candidate Electability in Transitional Tunisia. Perspectives on Politics, 13(01), pp.74-94.

Week 10, April 5: Globalization

- Henry, Clement and Robert Springborg (2010). Globalization and the politics of development in the Middle East.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (chapters 1 and 8).
- Bayat, A., 2000. From Dangerous Classes' to Quiet Rebels' Politics of the Urban Subaltern in the Global South.
International sociology, 15(3), pp.533-557.
- Bayat, A., 2013. Life as politics: How ordinary people change the Middle East. Stanford University Press, chapter 1,
10.
- Moghadam, V.M., 2012. Globalization and social movements: Islamism, feminism, and the global justice
movement. Rowman & Littlefield. Chapters 1 and 2.
- Cammett, M.C., 2007. Globalization and business politics in Arab North Africa: a comparative perspective.
Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 7.
- Millner Helen and Amaney Jamal, Economic and Cultural Sources of Preferences for Globalization in Egypt,
unpublished manuscript (available at: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2300075)

Week 11, April 12: Political Economy

- Bellin, E., 2000. Contingent democrats: Industrialists, labor, and democratization in late-developing countries.
World Politics, 52(02), pp.175-205.
- Cammett, M. and Issar, S., 2010. Bricks and mortar clientelism: sectarianism and the logics of welfare allocation in
Lebanon. World Politics, 62(03), pp.381-421.
- Cammett, M., 2014. Compassionate Communalism: Welfare and Sectarianism in Lebanon. Cornell University Press.
Chapters tba
- Harris, Kevan. 2013. "A Martyrs' Welfare State and Its Contradictions: Regime Resilience and Limits through the
Lens of Social Policy in Iran". in Middle East Authoritarianisms: Governance, Contestation, and Regime Resilience in
Syria and Iran, edited by Steven Heydemann and Reinoud Leenders. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press
- Pepinsky, T.B., Liddle, R.W. and Mujani, S., 2012. Testing Islam's political advantage: Evidence from Indonesia.
American Journal of Political Science, 56(3), pp.584-600.

Week 12, April 19: Political Violence

- Kalyvas, Stathis. 1999. "Wanton and Senseless: The Logic of Massacres in Algeria," Rationality and Society 11.
- Wendy Pearlman. 2011. Violence, Nonviolence, and the Palestinian National Movement New York: Cambridge
University Press. Chps 1, 4.

- Parkinson, Sarah Elizabeth. 2013. "Organizing Rebellion: Rethinking High-Risk Mobilization and Social Networks in War" *American Political Science Review* 107(3).
- Hegghammer, Thomas. 2013. "Should I Stay or Should I Go? Explaining Variation in Western Jihadists' Choice between Domestic and Foreign Fighting," *American Political Science Review* 107(1)
- Güneş Murat Tezcür, Forthcoming. "Ordinary People, Extraordinary Risks: Participation in an Ethnic Rebellion," *American Political Science Review*.

Week 13, April 26: Political Islam

- Kalyvas, S.N., 2000. Commitment problems in emerging democracies: The case of religious parties. *Comparative Politics*, pp.379-398.
- Tezcur, G.M., 2009. The moderation theory revisited: The case of Islamic political actors. *Party Politics*.
- Gumuscu, S., 2010. Class, status, and party: The changing face of political Islam in Turkey and Egypt. *Comparative Political Studies*, 43(7), pp.835-861.
- Masoud, T., 2014. *Counting Islam: Religion, Class, and Elections in Egypt*. Cambridge University Press., chapters, 1 and 3.
- Steven Brooke, 2015. *Clients of Islam: The Politics of Social Service Provision in Post-Mubarak Egypt*, unpublished manuscript.

May 3, No Class

May 5, Middle East Workshop, Library Hemisphere Room, 8:00 am-5:00 pm

Paper Due May 8, 10: 00 PM in dropbox.

Middle East Workshop on May 5th, Library Hemisphere Room

******If we had time, we would have discussed following readings.******

Week 14: Radicalization and Terror

- Gerges, F.A., 2009. *The far enemy: why Jihad went global*. Cambridge University Press. Introduction
- Roy, O., 2008. Al Qaeda in the West as a youth movement: The power of a narrative. *CEPS Policy Briefs*, (1-12), pp.1-8.
- Wiktorowicz, Q., 2005. A genealogy of radical Islam. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 28(2), pp.75-97.
- Eposito, J.L., 2015. Islam and Political Violence. *Religions*, 6(3), pp.1067-1081.
- Foreign Fighters in Syria: Update 2015. The Soufan Group, available online.
- Ciftci, Sabri and Gunes Murat Tezcur. 2015. Radical Turks. *Foreign Affairs online*, November.

Week 15: International Relations of the Middle East

Raymond Hinnebusch, "The Middle East Regional System" in Raymond Hinnebusch and Anoushiravan Ehteshami (eds.), *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States* (Lynne Rienner, 2002), pp. 29-50

Paul Salem, "The Middle East: Evolution of a Broken Regional Order," *Carnegie Paper*, July 2008

Ian Lustick, "The Absence of Middle Eastern Great Powers: Political 'Backwardness' in Historical Perspective," *International Organization*, Vol. 51, No. 4, 1997, pp. 653-683.

Michael Barnett and Jack Levy, "Domestic sources of alliances and alignments: The case of Egypt, 1962-73," *International Organization* Vol. 45, No. 3 (Summer 1991): 369-95.

Gause, G., 2014. *Beyond Sectarianism: The New Middle East Cold War*. The Brookings Doha Center.