States & Societies in the Middle East

GOVT 4374/6474 NES 4874/6874, Spring 2010
Wednesdays 2-4:25 pm, McGraw Hall 366
http://blackboard.cornell.edu

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Office hours: Thurs 9:30-11:30 am
or by appointment

Overview. This seminar is designed to foster a rethinking of the relationships between states, societies, and identities in the contemporary Middle East and North Africa and explore avenues of future research. The territorial state is a relatively new and novel phenomenon in most of the region. Over the past 80 years, state bureaucracies have assumed (or tried to assume…) many of the social, economic, and political roles that tribes, families, cities, business networks, guilds, and religious fraternities and endowments historically performed. Yet, these forms of "non-state" organization persist and occasionally flourish within and between states. Individuals in many places rely on kinship or personal networks to access state-provided goods and services. Alternative ways of providing public goods have spread, such as Islamic sectors that exist parallel to the state. How fragile is the territorial state in the MENA? Are these forms of organization challenges to the state, or have they come to rely upon it?

We will examine the interaction between states and forms of organization within the societies they seek to govern. We will also examine how these non-state actors interact with one another. Throughout the course, we will seek to account for variation in identity across and within countries. Empirically, we will focus on illustrative cases, particularly from Arab-majority societies, rather than seek to survey the entire region. A general familiarity with contemporary Middle Eastern history and politics (equivalent to GOVT3313/NES3550 or GOVT2747/NES2674) will be assumed.

Requirements. The requirements of the course are threefold.

- Class participation (30%): You must attend and actively participate in seminar each week. You are responsible for completing all of the assigned readings and coming to seminar prepared to discuss the issues raised by the pre-circulated discussion questions. Your participation grade will depend more on the quality than on the quantity of your contributions to the discussions.
- Two short papers (10% each): Each student is expected to write a short paper (not to exceed 1500 words or 3-5 double-spaced pages) and help guide discussion for two sessions. The paper is an individual assignment that students will write alone. It can compare across the readings or evaluate the relationship between theory and research design in the main reading(s) for the week. Alternatively, the paper can be an empirical piece that describes variation in a dependent variable related to the week's topic. In addition, the 2-3 students assigned to a particular week will coordinate and e-mail the class a list of discussion questions by 5 p.m. the day before class.
- Research project (50%): Each student will write a research paper on a topic to be agreed upon with the instructor. The project will be developed in stages. First, you will be required to turn in a short proposal that sketches your research question, your tentative answer (and hypotheses, if appropriate), and what kinds of evidence you will collect to evaluate your argument. This will be due **March 17th at 5 pm**. Second, you will be required to turn in a thorough outline or a draft of a section of the paper (approximately 8-10 pages in length) by **April 19th at 5 pm**. Finally, the

finished project is due by Tuesday, **May 18th at 11:30 am**. Graduate students' projects will require additional steps, which I will discuss with them individually.

Readings. Ten books are available for purchase at the Cornell Bookstore and online. Two of them (Charrad, Wickham) can be read online for free. All ten are also on reserve in Uris Library. All others readings will be available via the Blackboard site. The books are:

- Caton, Steven Charles. 2005. *Yemen Chronicle: An Anthropology of War and Mediation*. New York: Hill and Wang.
- Charrad, M. (Mounira). 2001. *States and Women's Rights: The Making of Postcolonial Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
  Available online via ACLS Humanities E-Book, link at:
  https://catalog.library.cornell.edu/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=6282086&DB=local
- Jamal, Amaney A., 2007. *Barriers to Democracy: The Other Side of Social Capital in Palestine and the Arab World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Krane, Jim. 2009. *City of Gold: Dubai and the Dream of Capitalism*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.
- Kurzman, Charles. 2004. *The Unthinkable Revolution in Iran*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Lewis, Bernard. 1998. *The Multiple Identities of the Middle East*. New York: Schocken Books.
- Rogan, Eugene. 2009. *The Arabs: A History*. New York: Basic Books.
- Rougier, Bernard. 2007. *Everyday Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam Among Palestinians in Lebanon*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wedeen, Lisa. 1999. *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria.* Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Wickham, Carrie Rosefsky. 2002. *Mobilizing Islam: Religion, Activism, and Political Change in Egypt*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
  Available online via NetLibrary (Safari for Mac browser not supported), link at:
  http://catalog.library.cornell.edu/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=6094951&DB=local

Cornell University policies and regulations.
Each student in this course is expected to abide by the Cornell University Code of Academic Integrity, which is available at: http://www.cuinfo.cornell.edu/Academic/AIC.html. This code includes the following statements: "A Cornell student's submission of work for academic credit indicates that the work is the student's own. All outside assistance should be acknowledged, and the student's academic position truthfully reported at all times."

It is your responsibility to familiarize yourself with university policies regarding plagiarism and other violations of academic integrity. A Cornell tutorial called "Recognizing and Avoiding Plagiarism" can be found at: http://plagiarism.arts.cornell.edu/tutorial/index.cfm

According to the Cornell University Grading System that was adopted by the University Faculty in 1965, the grade of "incomplete" is appropriate only when two (2) basic conditions are both met: 1. The student has a substantial equity at a passing level in the course with respect to work completed, **and** 2. The student has been prevented by circumstances beyond the student's control, such as illness or family emergency, from completing all the course requirements on time. A grade of "incomplete" may not be given merely because a student fails to complete all course requirements on time and is not an option that can be elected at the student's own discretion.

Weekly meetings and assignments

Class 1. January 27. Introduction

Gause III, F. Gregory. 2002. "Who Lost Middle Eastern Studies? The Orientalists Strike Back." *Foreign Affairs* 81, 2 (March-April), pp. 164-168.
http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=107399218&sid=1&Fmt=3&clientId=8424&RQT=309&VName=PQD

Anderson, Lisa. 2003. "Scholarship, Policy, Debate, and Conflict: Why We Study the Middle East and Why It Matters." MESA Annual Address.
http://fp.arizona.edu/mesassoc/Bulletin/Pres%20Addresses/Anderson.htm

Optional:
Kramer, Martin. 2001. *Ivory Towers on Sand: The Failure of Middle Eastern Studies in America*. Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near Eastern Policy.
http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/pubPDFs/IvoryTowers.pdf

Class 2. February 3. Identities in the Middle East

Posner, Daniel N. 2005. *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-20, but particularly pp. 1-2, 15-17.

Lewis, Bernard. 1998. *The Multiple Identities of the Middle East*. New York: Schocken Books.

Smith, Anthony. 1997. "The 'Golden Age' and National Renewal." In Geoffrey Hosking and George Schöpflin, eds. *Myths and Nationhood*. New York: Routledge.

Optional:
Rogan. *The Arabs: A History*. Introduction and chapters 1-4, pp. 1-107.

Class 3. February 10. Colonialism & the rise of states

Charrad, M. (Mounira). 2001. *States and Women's Rights: The Making of Postcolonial Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Anderson, Lisa. 1987. "The State in the Middle East and North Africa." *Comparative Politics* 20, 1 (October): 1-18.

Zubaida, Sami. 2002. "The Fragments Imagine the Nation: The Case of Iraq." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. 34, 2 (May): 205-215.

Rogan. *The Arabs: A History*. Chapters 5-8, pp. 109-246.

Class 4. February 17. States and tribes

Caton, Steven Charles. 2005. *Yemen Chronicle: An Anthropology of War and Mediation*. New York: Hill and Wang.

Jabar, Faleh A. 2003. "Sheikhs and Ideologues: Deconstruction and Reconstruction of Tribes under Patrimonial Totalitarianism in Iraq, 1968-1998." In Faleh A. Jabar & Hosham Dawod. *Tribes and Power: Nationalism and Ethnicity in the Middle East.* London: Saqi.

Egel, Daniel. 2009. "Tribal Diversity, Political Patronage and the Yemeni Decentralization Experiment." Unpublished manuscript. University of California, Berkeley.

Jungen, Christine. 2002. "Tribalism in Kerak: Past Memories, Present Realities." In George Joffé, ed. *Jordan in Transition*. London: Hurst & Company. P. 191-207.

Compare:

- Dodge, Toby. 2003. *Inventing Iraq: The Failure of National Building and a History Denied*. New York: Columbia University Press.
  Chapter 5, "Using the Shaikhs: The Rational Imposition of a Romantic Figure." P. 83-100.
- Baram, Amatzia. 1997. "Neo-Tribalism in Iraq: Saddam Hussein's Tribal Policies 1991-96." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29, 1 (February): 1-31.
- Learn about US engagement with tribes post-invasion, especially the "Sunni Awakening" movements and the "Sons of Iraq" program in Iraq.

Class 5. February 24. The rise and fall of social orders in post-invasion Iraq

Cole, Juan R. I. 2006. "The Rise of Religious and Ethnic Mass Politics in Iraq." In David Little, Donald K. Swearer, and Susan Lloyd McGarry, eds. *Religious and Nationalism in Iraq: A Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. P. 43-62.

Dawisha, Adeed. 2008. "The Unraveling of Iraq: Ethnosectarian Preferences and State Performance in Historical Perspective." *Middle East Journal* 62, 2 (Spring): 219-230.

Patel, David S. 2010. *Ayatollahs on the Pareto Frontier*. Book manuscript. Cornell University.

Class 6. March 3. Middle Eastern exceptionalism(s)

Anderson, Lisa. 1991. "Absolutism and the Resilience of Monarchy in the Middle East." *Political Science Quarterly* 106, 1 (Spring): 1-15.

Lustick, Ian S. 1997. "The Absence of Middle Eastern Great Powers: Political 'Backwardness' in Historical Perspective." *International Organization* 51, 4 (Autumn): 653-683.

Stepan, Alfred with Graeme B. Robertson. (2003). "An 'Arab' More Than a 'Muslim' Democracy Gap," *Journal of Democracy* 14:3 (July): 30-44.

Diamond, Larry. 2010. "Why Are There No Arab Democracies?" *Journal of Democracy* 21, 1 (January): 93-104.

Beblawi, Hazem. 1990. "The Rentier State in the Arab World." In *The Arab State*, ed. Giacomo Luciani. Berkeley: University of California Press.
pp. 85-98

Ross, Michael Lewin. 2001. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* 53, 3:325-361.

Ross, Michael. 2008. "Oil, Islam and Women." *American Political Science Review* 102, 1 (February): 107-123.

Angrist Penner, Michele. 2004. "Party Systems and Regime Formation in the Modern Middle East: Explaining Turkish Exceptionalism." *Comparative Politics* 36, 2 (January): 228-249.
Rogan. *The Arabs: A History*. Chapters 10-11, pp. 277-354.

Class 7. March 10. Explaining authoritarians' resiliency

Wedeen, Lisa. 1999. *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria.* Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Picard, Elizabeth. 1990. "Arab Military in Politics: from Revolutionary Plot to Authoritarian State." In *The Arab State*, ed. Giacomo Luciani. Berkeley: University of California Press.
pp. 189-219

Quinlivan, James T. 1999. "Coup-proofing: Its Practice and Consequences in the Middle East." *International Security* 24, 2 (Fall): 131-165.

Bellin, Eva. 2004. "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective." *Comparative Politics* 36, 2:139-157.

Fish, M. Steven. 2002. "Islam and Authoritarianism." *World Politics* 55, 1 (October): 4-37.

Donno, Daniela, and Bruce M. Russett. 2004. "Islam, Authoritarianism, and Female Empowerment: What are the Linkages?" *World Politics* 56, 4 (July): 582-607.

Posusney, Marsha Pripstein. 2004. "Enduring Authoritarianism: Middle East Lessons for Comparative Theory." *Comparative Politics* 36, 2 (January): 127-138.

Rogan. *The Arabs: A History*. Chapters 12, pp. 355-395.

Class 8. March 17. Liberalization or "liberalization"

Anderson, Lisa. 2006. "Searching Where the Light Shines: Studying Democratization in the Middle East." *Annual Review of Political Science* 9:189-214.

Lust-Okar, Ellen. 2004. "Divided They Rule: The Management and Manipulation of Political Opposition." *Comparative Politics* 36, 2 (January): 159-179.

Lust-Okar, Ellen. 2008. "Competitive Clientelism in Jordanian Elections." In Ellen Lust-Okar and Saloua Zerhouni, eds. *Political Participation in the Middle East*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Blaydes, Lisa. 2008. "Authoritarian Elections and Elite Management: Theory and Evidence from Egypt." Unpublished manuscript. Stanford University.

Herb, Michael. 2004. "Princes and Parliaments in the Arab World." *The Middle East Journal* 58, 3 (Summer): 367-384.

Lisa Wedeen. 2007. "The politics of deliberation: qāt chews as public spheres in Yemen." *Public Culture* 19, 1 (Winter): 59-84.

Rosberg, J. 1995. Roads to the Rule of Law: The Emergence of an Independent Judiciary in Contemporary Egypt. Ph.D. dissertation, Political Science, MIT.

Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan Way. 2002. "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy* 13, 2 (April): 51-65.

No class. March 24. Spring Break

Class 9. March 31. Popular mobilization

Kurzman, Charles. 2004. *The Unthinkable Revolution in Iran*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Kurzman, Charles. 2009. "Ignore all the Iran Experts." *Foreign Policy Online*. June. http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=5017

Kuran, Timur. 1995. "The inevitability of future revolutionary surprises." *American Journal of Sociology* 100, 6 (May): 1528-51.

Reading TBD on new media

Class 10. April 7. Islamic activism

Wickham, Carrie Rosefsky. 2002. *Mobilizing Islam: Religion, Activism, and Political Change in Egypt*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Sadowski, Yahya. 2006. "Political Islam: Asking the Wrong Questions?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 9: 215-240

Rogan. *The Arabs: A History*. Chapters 13, pp. 397-438.

Clark, Janine A., and Jillian Schwedler. 2003. "Who Opened the Window? Women's Activism in Islamist Parties." *Comparative Politics* 35, 3 (April): 293-312.

Blaydes, Lisa, and Drew A. Linzer. 2008. "The Political Economy of Women's Support for Fundamentalist Islam." *World Politics* 60, 4 (July): 576-609.

Class 11. April 14. Changing political Islam

Rougier, Bernard. 2007. *Everyday Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam Among Palestinians in Lebanon*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Schwedler, Jillian. 2007. "Democratization, Inclusion, and the Moderation of Islamist Parties." *Development* 50, 1 (March): 56-61.

Kurzman, Charles, and Michaelle Browers. 2004. "Comparing Reformations." In Michaelle Browers and Charles Kurzman, eds. *An Islamic Reformation?* Lanham, MD: Lexington Books. Pp 1-17.

El-Ghobashy, Mona. 2005. "The metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37, 3:373-395

Patel, David S. 2010. The Bridge on the River Jordan: Islam, Ethnicity, and Electoral Rule Manipulation." Unpublished Manuscript. Cornell University.

Brown, Nathan J., and Amr Hamzawy. 2008. "The Draft Party Platform of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood: Foray Into Political Integration or Retreat Into Old Positions." Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Compare:
- "New Islamism" – Ray Baker
- "Liberal Islamists" – Augustus Richard Norton
- "Civil Islam" – Robert Hefner
- "Islamist Auto-Reform" – Carrie Wickham
- "Muslim Democrats" – Vali Nasr
- "Post-Islamism" – Asef Bayat, Olivier Roy

Class 12. April 21. *Wasta* and clientelism

Jamal, Amaney A., 2007. *Barriers to Democracy: The Other Side of Social Capital in Palestine and the Arab World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Cunningham, Robert B., and Yasin K. Sarayrah. 1994. "Taming Wasta to Achieve Development." *Arab Studies Quarterly* 16.

Leenders, Reinhold. 2004. "Nobody Having Too Much to Answer For: Laissez-Faire, Networks, and Postwar Reconstruction in Lebanon." In Heydemann, ed. *Networks of Power and Privilege in the Middle East.* London: Palgrave.

Class 13. April 28. Globalization & the fiscal crisis in the Middle East

Krane, Jim. 2009. *City of Gold: Dubai and the Dream of Capitalism*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.

Herb, Michael. 2009. "A Nation of Bureaucrats: Political Participation and Economic Diversification in Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*." 41, 3 (August): 375-395.

Jean-Francois Seznec. N.d. The Gulf Sovereign Funds: Myths and Reality. Unpublished manuscript.

Rogan. *The Arabs: A History*. Chapters 14 and Epilogue, pp. 439-497.

Class 14. May 5. Political attitude research in the Arab world

Jamal, Amaney, and Mark Tessler. 2006. "Political Attitude Research in the Arab World: Emerging Opportunities." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 39, 3 (July): 433-424.

Lynch, Marc. 2009. "Paint by Numbers." *The National (UAE)*. May 28.
http://www.thenational.ae/article/20090529/REVIEW/705289991/1008

Pollock, David. 2008. "Slippery Polls: Uses and Abuses of Opinion Surveys from Arab States." WINEP Policy Focus #82, April.
http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/pubPDFs/PolicyFocus82.pdf

Jamal, Amaney, and Mark Tessler. 2008. "The Democracy Barometers: Attitudes in the Arab World." *Journal of Democracy* 19, 1 (January): 97-110.
http://www.arabbarometer.org/reports/democbarometers.pdf

University of Maryland and Zogby International. 2009. "2009 Annual Arab Public Opinion Survey."
http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/Files/events/2009/0519_arab_opinion/2009_arab_public_opinion_poll.pdf

Arab Baromter
http://www.arabbarometer.org/

World Values Survey
http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/

Additional polls (including raw data) available on Blackboard