

GOV2221: POLITICAL SCIENCE AND THE MIDDLE EAST

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Spring 2021
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Overview

This course aims to provide graduate students with an introduction to key topics in social science research on the Middle East/North Africa (MENA) region. These include debates about the historical origins and effects of the MENA state and state-building, the origins and persistence of authoritarianism, the origins and effects of formal institutions, forms of political participation, revolutions and social mobilization, Islamism, sectarianism, political violence and terrorism, socioeconomic development, and the reasons for the alleged “backwardness” of the region. The material encompasses a variety of established and newer methods used in the study of Middle East politics, including comparative historical analysis, case studies, survey research, experimental research, ethnographies, discourse analysis, “big data,” and other quantitative and qualitative methodologies, and represent a wide array of analytical approaches, such as rational choice, political economy, cultural analysis, historical institutionalism, and others. The course explicitly links the study of Middle Eastern cases to larger theoretical questions in the field of comparative politics in order to show how research on the MENA illuminates and can illuminate big questions in the social sciences and how, in turn, engagement with major debates can enhance research on the region.

Course requirements

- 1) Attend/participate (25% of course grade): Seminar participants must attend and *participate actively* in all meetings of the seminar. All required readings should be completed and thoughtfully digested prior to class. In preparing for seminar discussions, participants should understand the main arguments of each reading, the key question it addresses in corresponding theoretical literature, competing theoretical perspectives, the logic of the hypotheses, the nature of the data and methods used in the paper, and the validity of the empirical claims.
- 2) Response papers (30%): Three response papers, each approximately 3 pages, double spaced, that critically analyze the required and, if desired, additional course readings on three different weeks/topics of your choice. Response papers should be structured around a single core question, make one central argument, avoid extended summaries of authors’ arguments, and strive to make connections across as many readings as possible on a given topic. *Response papers must be uploaded to the course website before the class period during which the corresponding readings will be discussed.*

NB: In lieu of one response paper, you may substitute a book review of a recent, MENA-focused book of your choosing. The format of the book review should follow those published in *Perspectives on Politics*.

- 3) Research paper or prospectus proposal (5%): A brief summary of the proposed paper or prospectus including the following elements:
- Statement of research question, ideally in the form of a puzzle
 - Tentative hypothesis
 - List of a few alternative and/or complementary hypotheses
 - Case selection
 - Proposed data and methods

Upload to course website by Friday, March 19.

- 4) In-class workshop presentation and feedback on other presentations (10%) and research paper/prospectus (30%): Both the research paper and prospectus should include the following elements:
- Statement of research question, ideally in the form of a puzzle
 - Tentative hypothesis
 - Identification and brief discussion of the range of possible rival or complementary hypotheses
 - Justification of case selection
 - Data and methods
 - Empirical analyses (research papers only)
 - Conclusion, including (re)statement of the importance of the question
- If you want to write a research paper or prospectus that diverges from this overarching set of elements, clear this in advance with me. Submissions should not exceed 30 pages, double-spaced exclusive of the bibliography. *Upload to course website by Friday, May 14.* Students are strongly encouraged to complete their papers by the end of this semester.

Materials

The syllabus includes both required and additional readings. Required texts are the focus of class discussion and are available on the course website. Additional texts are listed for those who would like to explore topics in greater depth and to assist in preparation for focus field exams, where relevant. All course materials are either available online through the Harvard library website as indicated or can be downloaded from the course website. For those who require basic empirical background on the region, you may want to consult Ellen Lust, ed., *The Middle East*, 15th edition (New York: CQ Press, 2019). You are also encouraged to read the following piece at some point during the semester:

Cammett, Melani and Isabel Kendall. "Political Science Scholarship on the Middle East: A View from the Journals." *PS: Political Science & Politics* (forthcoming 2021).

Topics and readings

Week 1 (Thurs., Jan. 28): The State and State-Building in the Middle East

Anderson, Lisa. "The State in the Middle East and North Africa." *Comparative Politics* 20, no. 1 (1987): 1-18.

Barkey, Karen. *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994, ch. 6.

Owen, Roger. *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*, 3rd ed. New York: Routledge, 2004, Introduction and ch. 1.

Anderson, L. *The State and Social Transformation in Tunisia and Libya, 1830-1980*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986, introduction, ch. 1; optional: chs. 7 and 9.

Fabbe, Kristin. *Disciples of the State? Religion and State-Building in the Former Ottoman Empire*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019, chs. 1-3; optional: pp. 107-127.

Blaydes, Lisa. "State Building in the Middle East." *Annual Review of Political Science* 20 (2017): 487-504.

Ayubi, Nazih N. M. *Over-Stating the Arab State: Politics and Society in the Middle East*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1995, chs. 1 and 3.

Mitchell, Timothy. "The Limits of the State: Beyond Statist Approaches and Their Critics." *American Political Science Review* 85, no. 1 (1991): 77-96.

Lawrence, Adria. *Imperial Rule and the Politics of Nationalism: Anti-Colonial Protest in the French Empire*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013, chs. 1 and 5.

Additional Readings

Migdal, Joel S. *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.

Heydemann, Steven, ed. *War, Institutions, and Social Change in the Middle East*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000.

Ghassan Salamé, ed. *The Foundations of the Arab State*. London: Routledge, 1997.

Pamuk, Şevket. "Institutional Change and the Longevity of the Ottoman Empire, 1500–1800." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 35, no. 2 (2004): 225-247.

Khoury, Philip S. and Kostiner, Joseph, eds. *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991.

Wyrzten, Jonathan. "Colonial State-Building and the Negotiation of Arab and Berber Identity in Protectorate Morocco." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43, no. 2 (2011): 227-249.

Dodge, Toby. "Iraq: The Contradictions of Exogenous State-Building in Historical Perspective." *Third World Quarterly* 27, no. 1 (2006): 187-200.

Lustick, Ian. "The Absence of Middle Eastern Great Powers: Political 'Backwardness' in Historical Perspective." *International Organization* 51, no. 4 (1997): 653-68.

Lu, Lingyu and Cameron G. Thies. "War, Rivalry, and State Building in the Middle East." *Political Research Quarterly* 66, no. 2 (2013): 239-253.

Brownlee, Jason. "Can America Nation-Build?" *World Politics* 59, no. 2 (2007): 314-340.

Al-Naqeeb, Khaldoun Hasan. *Society and State in the Gulf and Arab Peninsula: A Different Perspective*. London: Routledge, 1990.

Week 2 (Thurs., Feb. 4): Authoritarianism I – Historical Roots and State-Society Relations

Chaney, Eric. "Revolt on the Nile: Economic Shocks, Religion, and Political Power." *Econometrica* 81, no. 5 (2013): 2033-2053.

Kuru, Ahmet. *Islam, Authoritarianism, and Underdevelopment: A Global and Historical Comparison*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019, Introduction and ch. 2.

Hariri, Jacob Gerner. "A Contribution to the Understanding of Middle Eastern and Muslim Exceptionalism." *The Journal of Politics* 77, no. 2 (2015): 477-490.

Atallah, Sami. "The Gulf Region: Beyond Oil and Wars." In *Democracy in the Arab world: Explaining the Deficit*, edited by Samir Makdisi and Ibrahim Elbadawi. London: Routledge, 2010, ch. 6.

Wedeen, Lisa. *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric and Symbols in Contemporary Syria*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999, chs. 1, 2, 5.

Bush, Sarah Sunn, Aaron Erlich, Lauren Prather, and Yael Zeira. "The Effects of Authoritarian Iconography: An Experimental Test." *Comparative Political Studies* 49, no. 13 (2016): 1704-1738.

Brownlee, Jason, Tarek Masoud and Andrew Reynolds. "From Dynamic Events to Deep Causes: Outcomes and Explanation of the Arab Spring." *Middle East Law and Governance* 7 (2015): 3-15.

Nugent, Elizabeth. *After Repression: How Polarization Derails Democratic Transition*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2020, chs. 1-2.

Additional Readings: Historical Legacies

Chaney, Eric. "Democratic Change in the Arab World, Past and Present." *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity* 2012, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 363-414.

Hariri, Jacob Gerner. "The Autocratic Legacy of Early Statehood." *American Political Science Review* 106, no. 3 (2012): 471-494.

Additional Readings: Islam and Democracy

Fish, M. Steven. "Islam and Authoritarianism." *World Politics* 55, no. 1 (2002): 4-37.

Fish, M. Steven. *Are Muslims Distinctive? A Look at the Evidence*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Karatnycky, Adrian. "Muslim Countries and the Democracy Gap." *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 1 (2002): 98-112.

Stepan, Al with Graeme B. Robertson, "An Arab More Than a Muslim Democracy Gap." *Journal of Democracy* 14, no. 3 (2003): 30-44.

Tessler, Mark. "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): 227-354.

Sadowski, Yahya. "The New Orientalism and the Democracy Debate." *Middle East Report* 183 (1993): 14-21, 40.

Sachedina, Abdulaziz. *The Islamic Roots of Democratic Pluralism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press/CSIS: 2001.

Filali-Ansary, Abdou. "Muslims and Democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 10, no. 3 (1999): 18-32.

Abou El-Fadl, Khaled. *Islam and the Challenge of Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Stepan, Alfred. "Religion, Democracy, and the 'Twin Tolerations.'" *Journal of Democracy* 11, no. 4 (2000): 37-57.

Nasr, Vali. "The Rise of 'Muslim Democracy.'" *Journal of Democracy* 16, no. 2 (2005): 13-27.

Esposito, John and John Voll. *Islam and Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Takeyh, Ray. "The Lineaments of Islamic Democracy." *World Policy Journal* 18, no. 4 (2001): 59-67.

Kramer, Gudrun. "Islamist Notions of Democracy." *Middle East Report* 183 (1993): 2-8.

Zakaria, Fareed. "Islam, Democracy, and Constitutional Liberalism." *Political Science Quarterly* 119, no. 1 (2002): 1-20.

Bayat, Asef. *Islam and Democracy: What Is the Real Question?* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007.

Hashemi, Nader. *Islam, Secularism, and Liberal Democracy: Toward a Democratic Theory for Muslim Societies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Ramadan, Tariq. *Radical reform: Islamic Ethics and Liberation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Hamid, Shadi. *Temptations of Power: Islamists and Illiberal Democracy in a New Middle East*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Cesari, Jocelyne. *The Awakening of Muslim Democracy: Religion, Modernity, and the State*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Dallmayr, Fred. "Whither Democracy? Religion, Politics and Islam." *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 37, no. 4 (2011): 437-448.

Additional Readings: Are Monarchies More Resilient/Better at Governance?

Kostiner, Joseph, ed. *Middle East Monarchies: The Challenge of Modernity*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2000.

Crystal, Jill. *Oil and Politics in the Gulf: Rulers and Merchants in Kuwait and Qatar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Anderson, Lisa. "Absolutism and the Resilience of Monarchy in the Middle East." *Political Science Quarterly* 106, no. 1 (1991): 1-15.

Gause, Greg. "The Persistence of Monarchy in the Arabian Peninsula: A Comparative Analysis." In *Middle East Monarchies*, edited by Joseph Kostiner. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2000.

Herb, Michael. *All in the Family: Absolutism, Revolution, and Democracy in Middle Eastern Monarchies*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1999.

Herb, Michael. "Princes and Parliaments in the Arab World." *Middle East Journal* 58, no. 3 (2004): 367-384.

Lucas, Russell. "Monarchical Authoritarianism: Survival and Political Liberalization in a Middle Eastern Regime Type." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36, no. 1 (2004): 103-119.

Benchemsi, Ahmed. "Morocco: Outfoxing the Opposition." *Journal of Democracy* 23, no. 1 (2012): 57-69.

Menaldo, Victor. "The Middle East and North Africa's Resilient Monarchies." *Journal of Politics* 74, no. 3 (2012): 707-722.

Yom, Sean L. and F. Gregory Gause. "Resilient Royals: How Arab Monarchies Hang On." *Journal of Democracy* 23, no. 4 (2012): 74-88.

Additional readings: Regime transitions

Mazen Hassan, Jasmin Lorch & Annette Ranko. "Explaining Divergent Transformation Paths in Tunisia and Egypt: The Role of Inter-Elite Trust." *Mediterranean Politics* 25, no. 5 (2020): 553-578.

Week 3 (Thurs., Feb. 11): Authoritarianism II – The Rentier State and External Influences

Crystal, Jill. *Oil and Politics in the Gulf: Rulers and Merchants in Kuwait and Qatar*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990, chs. 1 and 4.

Ross, Michael. "What Have We Learned about the Resource Curse?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 18 (2015): 239-259.

Smith, Benjamin and David Waldner. *Rethinking the Political Resource Curse*. New York: Elements Series on The Politics of Development, Cambridge University Press, 2021.

Bellin, Eva R. "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective." *Comparative Politics* 36, no. 2 (2004): 139-157.

Yom, Sean. *From Resilience to Revolution: How Foreign Interventions Destabilize the Middle East*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2016, chs. 1-2.

Brownlee, Jason. *Democracy Prevention: The Politics of the U.S.-Egyptian Alliance*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012, Introduction, ch. 1.

Jamal, Amaney A. *Of Empires and Citizens: Pro-American Democracy or No Democracy at All?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012, ch. 1.

Snider, Erin A. "US Democracy Aid and the Authoritarian State: Evidence from Egypt and Morocco." *International Studies Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (2018): 795–808.

Baissa, Daniel and Melani Cammett. "External Support and Persistent Authoritarianism in the Middle East." Unpublished manuscript, Dept. of Government, Harvard University, January 2021.

Additional Readings: The Rentier State Debates

Luciani, Giacomo. "Allocation v. Production States: A Theoretical Framework." In *The Arab State*, edited by Giacomo Luciani. London: Routledge, 1990, ch. 3.

Beblawi, Hazem and Giacomo Luciani, eds. *The Rentier State: Nation, State and Integration in the Arab World*. London: Croom Helm and the Istituto Affari Internazionali, 1987.

Chaudhry, Kiren Aziz. "The Price of Wealth: Business and State in Labor Remittance and Oil Economies." *International Organization* 43, no. 1 (1989): 101-145.

Michael Ross. "Does Oil Hinder democracy?" *World Politics* 53, no. 3 (2001): 325-361.

Michael Herb. "No Representation without Taxation? Rents, Development and Democracy." *Comparative Politics* 37, no. 3 (2005).

Peters, Anne Mariel and Pete W. Moore. "Beyond Boom and Bust: External Rents, Durable Authoritarianism and Institutional Adaptation in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 44 (2009): 256-285.

Smith, Benjamin. "Oil Wealth and Regime Survival in the Developing World." *American Journal of Political Science* 48, no. 2 (2004): 232-246.

Dunning, Thad. *Crude Democracy: Natural Resource Wealth and Political Regimes*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Michael Ross. *The Oil Curse: How Petroleum Wealth Shapes the Development of Nations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012, ch. 3.

Mahdavi, Paasha. "Explaining the Oil Advantage: Effects of Natural Resource Wealth on Incumbent Reelection in Iran." *World Politics* 67, no. 2 (2015): 226–267.

Mahdavi, Paasha. *Power Grab: Political Power Through Extractive Resource Nationalization*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Additional Readings: External Influences

Thompson, Elizabeth. *How the West Stole Democracy from the Arabs: The Arab Congress of 1920 and the Destruction of its Historic Liberal-Islamic Alliance*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2020.

Carothers, Thomas and Marina Ottaway, eds. *Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005.

Bush, Sarah. *The Taming of Democracy Assistance: Why Democracy Promotion Does Not Confront Dictators*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Ahmed, Faisal Z. and Eric D. Werker. "Aid and the Rise and Fall of Conflict in the Muslim World." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 10, no. 2 (2015): 155-186.

Additional Readings: General

Posusney, Marsha Pripstein and Michele Penner Angrist. *Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Regimes and Resistance*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2005.

Makdisi, Samir and Ibrahim Elbadawi, eds. *Democracy in the Arab World: Explaining the Deficit*. London: Routledge, 2010.

Elbadawi, Ibrahim and Samir Makdisi. "Explaining the Democracy Deficit in the Arab World." *Quarterly Review of Economics and Finance* 46 (2007): 813-831.

Quinlivan, James. "Coups-Proofing: Its Practice and Consequences in the Middle East." *International Security* 24, no. 1 (1999): 131-165.

Bellin, Eva. *Stalled Democracy: Capitalists, Labor, and the Paradox of State-Sponsored Development*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002.

Carothers, Thomas. "The End of the Transition Paradigm" *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 1 (2002): 5-21.

Brumberg, Daniel. "Liberalization Versus Democracy: Understanding Arab Political Reform." Middle East Working Paper Series, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, no. 37, April 29, 2003.

Owen, Roger. *The Rise and Fall of Arab Presidents for Life*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2013.

Schlumberger, Oliver, ed. *Debating Arab Authoritarianism*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007.

Brownlee, Jason. "Hereditary Succession in Modern Autocracies." *World Politics* 59, no. 4 (2007): 595-628.

Stacher, Josh. *Adaptable Autocrats: Regime Power in Egypt and Syria*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012.

Albrecht, Holger. "The Myth of Coup-Proofing Risk and Instances of Military Coups D'Etat in the Middle East and North Africa, 1950–2013." *Armed Forces & Society* 41, no. 4 (2014): 659-687.

Heydemann, Steven. "Upgrading Authoritarianism in the Arab World." Washington, D.C. Brookings Institution, no. 13, October 2007.

Heydemann, Steven and Reinhoud Leenders, eds. *Middle East Authoritarianisms: Governance, Contestation and Regime Resilience in Syria and Iran*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013.

Gause, Gregory F. III. "Why Middle East Studies Missed the Arab Spring: The Myth of Authoritarian Stability." *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 4 (2011): 81-90.

Bellin, Eva. "Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring." *Comparative Politics* 44, no. 2 (2011): 127-149.

Cammett, Melani. "Transition Experiences and Relevant Lessons." In *The Middle East Economies in Times of Transition*, edited by Ishac Diwan and Ahmed Galal. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016, pp. 279–308.

Week 4 (Thurs., Feb. 18): Institutions, Parties and Elections

Angrist, Michele Penner. *Party Building in the Modern Middle East*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2006, Introduction (pp. 11-28 only).

Lust-Okar, Ellen. *Structuring Conflict in the Arab World: Incumbents, Opponents, and Institutions*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005, Introduction, ch. 2.

Hinnebusch, Raymond A. "Political Parties in MENA: Their Functions and Development." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 44, no. 2 (2017): 159-175.

Cavatorta, Francesco and Lise Storm. "Do Arabs Not Do Parties? An Exploration and Introduction." In *Political Parties in the Arab World*, edited by Francesco Cavatorta and Lise Storm, eds. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 2018, ch. 1.

Lust-Okar, Ellen. "Elections under Authoritarianism: Preliminary Lessons from Jordan." *Democratization* 3, no. 3 (2006): 456-471.

Brownlee, Jason. *Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, chs. 1 and 4.

Blaydes, Lisa. *Elections and Distributive Politics in Mubarak's Egypt*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, chs. 1, 3 and 4.

Cammett, Melani and Sukriti Issar. "Bricks and Mortar Clientelism: The Political Geography of Welfare in Lebanon." *World Politics* 62, no. 3 (2010): 381-421.

Corstange, Daniel. "Clientelism in Competitive and Uncompetitive Elections." *Comparative Political Studies* 51, no. 1 (2018): 76-104.

Additional Readings: Institutions and Elections Under Authoritarianism and Quasi-Democratic Rule

Brown, Nathan J. *Constitutions in a Non-Constitutional World: Arab Basic Laws and the Prospects for Accountable Government*. Albany, NY: SUNY, 2002.

Lust-Okar, Ellen and Amaney Jamal. "Rulers and Ruled: Reassessing the Influence of Regime Type on Electoral Law Formation." *Comparative Political Studies* 35, no. 3 (2002): 337-366.

Posusney, Marsha Pripstein. "Multi-party elections in the Arab world: Institutional Engineering and Oppositional Strategies." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 6, 4(2002): 34-53.

Ahmed, Amel. "Revolutionary Blind-Spots: The Politics of Electoral System Choice and the Egyptian Transition." *Middle East Law and Governance* 3, nos. 1-2 (2011): 3-12.

Keshavarzian, Arang. "Contestation Without Democracy: Elite Fragmentation in Iran." In *Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Regimes and Resistance*, edited by Marsha Pripstein Posusney and Michele Angrist. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2005.

Sadiki, Larbi. *Rethinking Arab Democratization: Elections without Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Salem, Paul. "Kuwait: Politics in a Participatory Emirate." In *Beyond the Façade: Political Reform in the Arab World*, edited by Marina Ottaway and Julia Choucair-Vizoso. New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2008, pp. 211-230.

Corstange, Daniel. "Vote Trafficking in Lebanon." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 44, no. 3 (2012): 483-505.

Shockley, Bethany and Justin J. Gengler. "Social Identity and Coethnic Voting in the Middle East: Experimental Evidence from Qatar." *Electoral Studies* 67 (2020): 1-13.

Additional Readings: Parties and Courts

Cavatorta, Francesco and Lise Storm, eds. *Political Parties in the Arab World*. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 2018.

Cavatorta, Francesco, Lise Storm, and Valeria Resta, eds. *Routledge Handbook on Political Parties in the Middle East and North Africa*. London: Routledge, 2021.

Baaklini, Abdo, Guilain Deneoux and Robert Springborg. *Legislative Politics in the Arab World: Resurgence of Democratic Institutions*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1999.

Baktiari, Bahman. *Parliamentary Politics in Revolutionary Iran*. Gainesville, FLA: University Press of Florida, 1996.

Brown, Nathan. *The Rule of Law in the Arab World: Courts in Egypt and the Gulf*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Moustafa, Tamir. *The Struggle for Constitutional Power: Law, Politics, and Economic Development in Egypt*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Moustafa, Tamir. "Law Versus the State: The Judicialization of Politics in Egypt." *Law and Social Inquiry* 28, no. 4 (2003): 883-930.

Week 5 (Thurs., Feb. 25): Participation, Public Opinion and the Media

Langhor, Vicky. "Too Much Civil Society, Too Little Politics: The Case of Egypt and the Arab Liberalizers." *Comparative Politics* 36, no. 2 (2004): 181-204.

Jamal, Amaney. *Barriers to Democracy: The Other Side of Social Capital in Palestine and the Arab World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007, chs. 1, 4.

Lisa Wedeen. "The Politics of Deliberation: Qat Chews as Public Spheres in Yemen." *Public Culture* 19, no. 1 (2007): 59-84.

Cammett, Melani, Ishac Diwan, and Irina Vartanova. "Insecurity and Political Values in the Arab World." *Democratization* 27, no. 5 (2020): 699-716.

Pan, Jennifer and Alexandra A. Siegel "How Saudi Crackdowns Fail to Silence Online Dissent." *American Political Science Review* 114, no. 1 (2020): 109-125.

Siegel, Alexandra, Joshua A Tucker, Jonathan Nagler, and Richard Bonneau. "Tweeting Beyond Tahrir: Ideological Diversity and Political Intolerance in Egyptian Twitter Networks." *World Politics* (forthcoming 2021).

Jones, Calvert W. "New Approaches to Citizen-Building: Shifting Needs, Goals, and Outcomes." *Comparative Political Studies* 51, no. 2 (2018):165-196.

Nyhan, Brendan and Thomas Zeitzoff. "Conspiracy and Misperception Belief in the Middle East and North Africa." *The Journal of Politics* 80, no. 4 (2018): 1400-1404.

Additional readings

Albrecht, Holger. "The Nature of Political Participation." In *Political Participation in the Middle East*, edited by Ellen Lust-Okar and Zerhouni. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2008, pp. 15-32.

Singerman, Diane. *Avenues of Participation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995, Introduction, ch. 4.

Bayat, Asef. *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change Politics*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010, Introduction, ch. 3.

Wiktorowicz, Quintan. "Civil Society as Social Control: State Power in Jordan." *Comparative Politics* 33, no. 1 (2000): 43-61.

Jamal, Amaney A., Robert Keohane, David Romney, Dustin Tingley. "Anti-Americanism and Anti-Interventionism in Arabic Twitter Discourses." *Perspectives on Politics* 13, no. 1 (2015): 55-73.

Freelon Deen, Marc Lynch, and Sean Aday. "Online Fragmentation in Wartime: A Longitudinal Analysis of Tweets about Syria, 2011–2013." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 659, no. 1 (2014):166-179.

Isani, Muftaba Ali. "Methodological Problems of Using Arabic-Language Twitter as a Gauge for Arab Attitudes Toward Politics and Society." *Contemporary Review of the Middle East* (2020): 1-14.

Tessler, Mark. "Islam and Democracy in the Middle East: The Impact of Religious Orientation on Attitudes toward Democracy in Four Arab Countries." *Comparative Politics* 34, no. 3 (2002): 337–354.

Ciftci, Sabri. "Modernization, Islam, or Social Capital: What Explains Attitudes toward Democracy in the Muslim World?" *Comparative Political Studies* 43, no. 11 (2010): 1442–1470.

Hoffman, Michael. "Religion, Sectarianism, and Democracy: Theory and Evidence from Lebanon." *Political Behavior* 42 (2020): 1169–1200.

Benstead, Lindsay J. "Why Do Some Arab Citizens See Democracy as Unsuitable for Their Country?" *Democratization* 22, no. 7 (2015): 1183–1208.

Spierings, Niels. "Trust and Tolerance across the Middle East and North Africa: A Comparative Perspective on the Impact of the Arab Uprisings." *Politics and Governance* 5, no. 2 (2017): 4–15.

Mzaheri, Nimah and Steve L. Monroe. "No Arab Bourgeoisie, No Democracy? The Entrepreneurial Middle Class and Democratic Attitudes since the Arab Spring." *Comparative Politics* 50, no. 4 (2018): 523–550.

Week 6 (Thurs., March 4): Mobilization and revolution

Laryssa Chomiak. "The Making of a Revolution in Tunisia." *Middle East Law and Governance* 3, nos. 1-2 (2011): 68-83.

Pearlman, Wendy. "Moral Identity and Protest Cascades in Syria." *British Journal of Political Science* 48, no. 4 (2018): 877-901.

Mazur, Kevin. "State Networks and Intra-Ethnic Group Variation in the 2011 Syrian Uprising." *Comparative Political Studies* 52, no. 7 (2019): 995-1027.

Lawrence, Adria. "Repression and Activism Among the Arab Spring's First Movers: Morocco's (Almost) Revolutionaries." *British Journal of Political Science* 47, no. 3 (2016): 699-718.

Jost, John T. et al. "How Social Media Facilitates Political Protest: Information, Motivation, and Social Networks." *Political Psychology* 39 (2018): 85-118.

Bishara, Dina. "The Politics of Ignoring: Protest Dynamics in Late Mubarak Egypt." *Perspectives on Politics* 13, no. 4 (2015): 958-975.

Dana M. Moss. "Repression, Response, and Contained Escalation under Liberalized Authoritarianism in Jordan." *Mobilization* 19, no. 3 (2014): 261-286.

Berman, Chantal E. "Policing the Organizational Threat in Morocco: Protest and Public Violence in Liberal Autocracies." *American Journal of Political Science* (2020).

Additional Readings

Kuran, Timur. "Sparks and Prairie Fires: A Theory of Unanticipated Revolution." *World Politics* 61, no. 1 (1989): 41-74.

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Thurs., April 15: No seminar meeting (Harvard wellness day)

Week 12 (Thurs., April 22): Migration (and in-class presentations on research projects)

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Camarena, Kara Ross and Nils Hagerdal. "When Do Displaced Persons Return? Postwar Migration among Christians in Mount Lebanon." *American Journal of Political Science* 64, no. 2 (2020): 223-239.

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