

Fall 2022 / Monday, Wednesday, & Friday, 1:25pm-2:15pm ET (updated August 15, 2022)

## PLSC-497: Politics of the Contemporary Middle East and North Africa

Daniel L. Tavana  
Assistant Professor of Political Science  
Pennsylvania State University

Department of Political Science  
228 Pond Laboratory  
University Park, Pennsylvania 16802

Email: [tavana@psu.edu](mailto:tavana@psu.edu)  
Website: <http://www.danieltavana.com>

Office hours: MW 10:30am-12:00pm ET  
<https://calendly.com/danieltavana>

### Course description

This course introduces students to questions and debates concerning the contemporary politics of the Middle East and North Africa. For decades, the region has occupied the imagination of policymakers, journalists, and scholars. What explains the persistence of forms of authoritarian rule? Do elections, civil society organizations, and public opinion matter? How do religious, tribal, and other collective identities organize political and social life? Does oil play a role in economic inequality and underdevelopment? Why do ordinary people mobilize and protest for political change? Over the course of the semester, students will learn to think critically about these and other questions animating the contemporary politics of the Middle East and North Africa. Students will use insights from social and political theory to evaluate empirical trends in politics, society, and economics in the region. We will explore the major concepts and theories political scientists use to study phenomena such as the state, regimes, religion, identity, and popular protest. By adopting an approach that is both critical and comparative, students will develop an understanding of the region's politics grounded in its underlying social and political dynamics.

## Objectives and learning outcomes

- Develop a sophisticated understanding of the contemporary politics of the region grounded in interdisciplinary approaches to the study of politics, society, economics, law, and history.
- Critically evaluate social scientific research and popular or press accounts of the contemporary politics of the region.
- Understand current political developments in at least one country in the region.
- Strengthen your ability to use the tools of comparative social science to answer key questions and debates concerning the contemporary politics of the region.
- Effectively communicate your ideas, reflections, and research findings to different audiences in different formats.

## Prerequisites

There are no formal prerequisites to enroll in this course. However, since we will read some more advanced work from political science, it will help to have some background in political science, comparative politics, and/or international relations. Similarly, previous coursework in Middle East and/or North African politics, history, or society is recommended, but not required. With a little bit of curiosity and hard work, you can succeed in this class even if you have not taken any previous coursework in political science or the Middle East and/or North Africa.

## Country expertise

At the beginning of the semester, students will be assigned one country in the Middle East or North Africa. Throughout the semester, students are expected to 1) learn basic facts about their assigned country's government, politics, society, and economy and 2) follow important developments in their assigned country by reading various English-language local and international news sources. At the start of each class, country experts may be called on to summarize recent developments in their country. If something important or newsworthy happens in your country, you can expect to be asked about it in class. To help you prepare, you may want to consider setting up a [Google Alert](#) for your country (i.e., "Iran," "Saudi Arabia," or "Egypt").

## Class schedule

Week	Day	Date	Theme
1	Mon	22 Aug	Introduction & course overview
1	Wed	24 Aug	“What” & “Where” is the Middle East?
1	Fri	26 Aug	The origins of Islam
2	Mon	29 Aug	The Ottoman Empire
2	Wed	31 Aug	Orientalism ( <b>Map quiz 1</b> )
2	Fri	2 Sep	Discussion
3	Mon	5 Sep	<b>No class (Labor Day)</b>
3	Wed	7 Sep	European intervention & the mandate system
3	Fri	9 Sep	Discussion
4	Mon	12 Sep	Arab Nationalism & national liberation ( <b>Map quiz 2</b> )
4	Wed	14 Sep	Republics & monarchies
4	Fri	16 Sep	Discussion
5	Mon	19 Sep	Repression & control under authoritarianism
5	Wed	21 Sep	The persistence of authoritarian rule
5	Fri	23 Sep	Discussion
6	Mon	26 Sep	The political economy of state-building
6	Wed	28 Sep	Oil & the rentier state
6	Fri	30 Sep	<b>Guest lecture: TBD</b>
7	Mon	3 Oct	State-building, displacement, & dispossession
7	Wed	5 Oct	The 1967 & 1973 Wars ( <b>Policy memo due</b> )
7	Fri	7 Oct	Discussion
8	Mon	10 Oct	The Lebanese Civil War
8	Wed	12 Oct	The Iranian Revolution
8	Fri	14 Oct	Discussion
9	Mon	17 Oct	Political liberalization after the Cold War
9	Wed	19 Oct	<b>Midterm exam review</b>
9	Fri	21 Oct	<b>Midterm exam</b>
10	Mon	24 Oct	Political parties & elections
10	Wed	26 Oct	Public opinion
10	Fri	28 Oct	Discussion
11	Mon	31 Oct	Religion, the Sahwa, & Islamic reform
11	Wed	2 Nov	The Muslim Brotherhood
11	Fri	4 Nov	<b>Guest lecture: TBD</b>
12	Mon	7 Nov	The Arab Spring ( <b>Final paper prospectus due</b> )
12	Wed	9 Nov	Revolution & resistance after the Arab Spring
12	Fri	11 Nov	Discussion
13	Mon	14 Nov	Women & Islam
13	Wed	16 Nov	Identity politics ( <b>Congressional testimony due</b> )
13	Fri	18 Nov	Discussion
14	Mon	28 Nov	The U.S. invasion of Iraq & the Islamic State
14	Wed	30 Nov	The rise of the Arab Gulf states
14	Fri	2 Dec	<b>No class</b>
15	Mon	5 Dec	Discussion
15	Wed	7 Dec	Final paper workshop
15	Fri	9 Dec	What next? The future of MENA ( <b>Final paper due</b> )

## Course requirements

Your grade will be based on the following items:

1. Map quizzes (2): **10%**

There will be two (2) map quizzes early in the semester. These map quizzes will assess students' knowledge of the region's geography, including names of countries, capital and important cities, and other physical landmarks. The first map quiz will cover the entire region. The second map quiz will ask students to select two (2) countries (one of them must be the country you were assigned as a country expert) and identify five (5) cities and physical landmarks in each.

2. Policy memo (1): **10%**

Students will work in assigned pairs and write one (1) policy memo (between 800 and 1,000 words) on a topic of their choosing. Students will write the policy memo as a policy advisor to the President of the United States. Policy memos will assess students' ability to describe and summarize an important policy problem, present a range of policy options, and recommend a course of action. Additional details will be provided between three (3) to four (4) weeks before the assignment is due. Students are strongly encouraged, but not required, to submit a short proposal or summary of their memo not later than one (1) week before the assignment is due.

3. Midterm examination (1): **25%**

One (1) in-class midterm examination will be held to evaluate students' understanding of key concepts, theories, and significant historical and political events from the first half of the course. Material will be drawn from readings, lectures, and class discussion. Additional details will be provided approximately two (2) weeks before the exam.

4. Congressional testimony (1): **10%**

Students will write one (1) congressional testimony (between 1,200 and 1,500 words) on a topic of their choosing, provided it is in some way related to the Middle East or North African country they were assigned at the beginning of the semester. Students will write their testimony as an expert witness for the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Congressional testimonies will assess students' ability to clearly and concisely describe a policy problem or an ongoing or unfolding political crisis or event in the country they were assigned at the beginning of the semester. Students are expected to consult at least five (5) secondary sources not included in this syllabus. Additional details will be provided between three (3) to four (4) weeks before the assignment is due. Students are strongly encouraged, but not required, to submit a short proposal or summary of their memo not later than one (1) week before the assignment is due.

5. Final paper (1): **25%** / Prospectus (1): **5%**

Students will write one (1) final paper (between 4,000 and 5,000 words) on a topic of their choosing. The paper should address a social scientific research question related to a topic we will cover over the course of the semester. Students are expected to consult at least ten (10) primary and/or secondary sources not included in this syllabus. You are required to submit one (1) prospectus approximately four (4) weeks before the paper is due. The prospectus should include the following: a draft title, the main research question or topic, any ideas about the information you will need to write the paper, a brief description of the proposed methodology, and a preliminary bibliography. The prospectus is designed to encourage you to think about the paper ahead of time and for me to provide you written feedback. Additional details will be provided shortly after the midterm examination.

## 6. Participation, attendance, and readings: **15%**

Attendance at each class meeting is mandatory. Each week, students will be responsible for reading between two (2) and five (5) articles or book chapters (approximately 100 pages). Our course meetings are designed to supplement—not substitute—material from the readings. Though we will not have time to go over each reading in detail each week, you are expected to know the main ideas and arguments covered in each reading.

Students are expected to complete all of a given week's readings before the first class meeting held that week. To ensure that students are keeping up with the readings, we will use Perusall, an application integrated with Canvas that will allow you to respond to the readings, pose questions, and share your own ideas and reflections as you read. Each week, one (1) reading will be selected as the **PERUSALL** reading (see "Course materials and schedule" below). There are a total of twelve (12) Perusall readings throughout the semester. The Perusall reading will be uploaded to Canvas at least one week before the week's first class meeting. You will have until the beginning of the week's last class meeting to annotate the reading before comments are closed. **You are required to annotate at least ten (10) throughout the semester. These annotations will count toward your participation grade.**

For example, the first Perusall reading is in Week 2 (Said, Edward W., 1979, *Orientalism*, New York: Vintage, pp. 1-28 in "Introduction."). Comments will open on 22 August (one week before the week's first class meeting on 29 August). You will have until 2 September at 1:25pm, the beginning of the week's last class meeting, to annotate the reading before comments are closed.

### Assignment schedule

Week	Day	Date	Assignment	Percent
2	Wed	31 Aug	Map quiz (1)	5
4	Mon	12 Sep	Map quiz (2)	5
7	Wed	5 Oct	Policy memo	10
9	Fri	21 Oct	Midterm exam	25
12	Mon	7 Nov	Final paper prospectus	5
13	Wed	16 Nov	Congressional testimony	10
15	Wed	9 Dec	Final paper	25

### Grading

All assignments will be graded on a 100 point scale. All letter grades (including the final course grade) will be calculated using the following scale:

	A	100-93%	A-	92-90%	
B+	89-87%	B	86-83%	B-	82-80%
C+	79-77%	C	76-70%		
	D	69-60%			
	F	<60%			

If you would like to dispute the grade you receive on an assignment, you must wait at least two (2) full days after you receive your grade to submit a grade dispute. If you plan to dispute your grade, you must do so in writing via email. The email must contain a detailed explanation for each item

you think was incorrectly marked. Where applicable, you must reference specific passages in course readings and explain your logic. I will then review the dispute and issue a decision within one (1) week. Any dispute must be sent not later than two (2) weeks after receiving the grade. Disputes submitted after this time will not be accepted.

## Reference material

To assist your learning and supplement course readings, I recommend consulting the following textbooks and reference materials. These books can provide you with useful historical context and additional information about specific countries, events, processes, and people. The books are being held on reserve at the Common Services desk located on the first floor of the Pattee-Paterno Library.

- Angrist, Michele Penner. 2010. *Politics & Society in the Contemporary Middle East*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Cleveland, William L. and Martin Bunton. 2016. *A History of the Modern Middle East*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Gelvin, James L. 2020. *The Modern Middle East: A History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lust, Ellen. 2020. *The Middle East*. Thousand Oaks: CQ Press. Available at the Dickinson School of Law Library in the Lewis Katz Building.
- Lynch, Marc. 2014. *The Arab Uprisings Explained*. New York: Columbia University Press. [Access online](#).
- Owen, Roger. 2004. *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*. London: Routledge. [Access online](#).

## Course policies and procedures

### Attendance

This class will be taught in-person every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday from 1:25pm to 2:15pm ET. Please note that there will be no class on Monday, September 5, and Friday, December 2. Attendance is required at each meeting. If you cannot attend class due to an extracurricular activity, athletic event, or religious holiday, please notify me in the first two (2) weeks of class or at least a week prior so we can make alternative arrangements if necessary. Unexcused absences will result in a reduction of your class participation and attendance grade.

### Course communication

We will use two different platforms for the course: Canvas and a Slack workspace.

1. Canvas: The course website ([psu.instructure.com/courses/2212615](https://psu.instructure.com/courses/2212615)) contains the syllabus, course readings, and the Perusall app.
2. Slack: We will use a Slack workspace ([psumenapoliticsf22.slack.com](https://psumenapoliticsf22.slack.com)) to discuss various day-to-day aspects of the course. The workspace has four channels:
  - **#announcements**: All class announcements will be posted here (i.e., if there is a change to the syllabus).
  - **#general**: This channel is for general discussion about course material. Participation in this channel is treated similar to class participation (i.e., if you do not feel comfortable asking a question or commenting in class, you are welcome to do so here).

- **#assignments:** This channel is for discussion and questions about specific course assignments.
- **#music:** At the beginning of each class, I will play a song from the region. I'll post links to the songs here. You are welcome to share some of your own favorite songs as well.

If you have a quick or non-substantive question about the course, Slack is the best way to reach me. I typically respond to Slack messages quickly, but if you do not hear back from me within 48 hours, please follow up with a reminder. You may also reach me via email. Students are encouraged to read Laura Portwood-Stacer's article on email communication: "[How to Email Your Professor \(without being annoying AF\)](#)."

To the best of your ability, avoid sending last-minute messages or emails prior to assignment due dates. I may not be able to help you. Please familiarize yourself with important dates, add them to your calendars, and give yourself enough time to work on course assignments. I realize this may not always be possible. If you have questions about course material or your performance, please make an appointment to speak with me during office hours. If you cannot meet during office hours, appointments can be made during weekdays with some notice.

### Deadlines, late assignments, and incomplete grades

Unless otherwise noted, assignments must be submitted by 11:59pm EST on the date they are due. Late assignments will face a ten (10) point penalty for each day late without a prior extension. If you have a personal problem that precludes you from completing coursework on time, please send me an email immediately. A doctor's note, or note from a dean, may be requested. Please familiarize yourself with the university's policies for [incomplete work](#).

### Laptops, mobile devices and technology

You may use your laptop to take notes during class meetings. Laptops can be a useful learning tool, but they can also distract you (and others). Before the start of class, please silence your mobile devices, disable notifications, and close applications that will prevent you from participating actively during class meetings. Audio and video recording devices are prohibited unless previously approved by Student Disability Resources (SDR) in advance. This will encourage the development of a learning environment conducive to the free and open exchange of ideas without fear that student and faculty contributions will be reproduced or distributed without consent. This policy applies to class meetings, office hours, and other informal or group meetings outside of scheduled class meetings.

### Collaboration

Course assignments present many opportunities to work together and share ideas. Students are encouraged to collaborate and consult readings and resources not included on this syllabus. However, as with any course that includes written assignments, there is a clear distinction between permissible collaboration and unacceptable copying or plagiarism. Written assignments and examinations are designed to allow you to reach your own understanding of the question or problem and discover a solution. Conversations with your professor(s), instructional staff, and classmates are acceptable. But when writing and completing assignments, these conversations are no longer appropriate. The writing you submit must be your own work. Please take this policy seriously. It supplements (and does not replace) the Penn State [Code of Conduct](#) described below. If you have any questions, please speak with me before submitting your work.

## Reading and studying

Students are expected to complete the assigned readings before each class meeting and to contribute to class discussions. Students are not expected to understand every theoretical or technical detail that appears in each reading, but you should read each piece carefully. Reading academic or scientific articles can be difficult. The following guides present different approaches that will help you identify the main ideas, key concepts, and central arguments in each reading.

- [“How to Read Political Science: A Guide in Four Steps,”](#) by Amelia Hoover Green
- [“How to Read a \(Quantitative\) Journal Article,”](#) by Greta Krippner
- [“Reading and Understanding Political Science,”](#) by Leanne C. Powner
- [“Reading a Journal Article,”](#) by Chad Raymond
- [“How to Read in College,”](#) by Timothy Burke
- [“Beyond the Abstract: Reading for Meaning in Academia,”](#) by Jessica Calarco

You may also want to consult this Vox guide on how to study smarter: [“Re-reading is inefficient. Here are 8 tips for studying smarter.”](#) For more information, please consult the university’s [learning resources](#).

## Inclement weather

According to [updated university guidance](#) for students, faculty and staff, “In the event that normal operations at a Penn State location are disrupted due to snow or other weather or emergency conditions, individuals are urged to avoid coming to campus, if possible, and those who must visit campus should remain alert and avoid sections of campus that may be covered in snow or ice.” Class cancellations will be dealt with on a case-by-case basis. Please note that in the event class is cancelled, in-person meetings cannot be moved to synchronous remote meetings.

## Academic integrity

The Penn State [Code of Conduct](#) defines academic integrity as: “the pursuit of scholarly activity in an open, honest and responsible manner. Academic integrity is a basic guiding principle for all academic activity at The Pennsylvania State University, and all members of the University community are expected to act in accordance with this principle. Consistent with this expectation, students should act with personal integrity, respect other students’ dignity, rights and property, and help create and maintain an environment in which all can succeed through the fruits of their efforts.”

Violations of academic integrity “include, but are not limited to, copying, plagiarism, fabrication of information or citations, facilitation of acts of academic dishonesty by others, unauthorized possession of examinations, submitting work of another person or work previously used without informing the instructor, and tampering with the academic work of other students.” Please familiarize yourself with these policies. Students are strongly encouraged to consult the College of the Liberal Arts’ [academic integrity resources](#).

## Commitment to an equitable & inclusive learning environment

Penn State adheres to the philosophy that all community members should enjoy a learning environment free from harassment, sexual misconduct, discrimination, or violence of any kind. If you encounter sexual harassment, sexual misconduct, sexual assault, or discrimination based on race, color, religion, age, national origin, ancestry, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, or disability, please contact the [Office of Educational Equity](#) or the [Office of Sexual Misconduct Prevention and Response](#).

## Counseling & psychological services

Many students at Penn State face personal, emotional, or psychological challenges or difficulties that may interfere with their academic progress, emotional well-being, or social or professional development. [Counseling & Psychological Services \(CAPS\)](#) offers students a variety of confidential services provided by trained staff who welcome all students and embrace an approach grounded in an understanding of different cultural and religious backgrounds and a respect for differences in race, color, religion, age, national origin, ancestry, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, and disability. CAPS services include wellness and self-help options; group, individual, and couples counseling; crisis intervention; psychiatric services; virtual services; and community education and outreach services for the University community. If you need [immediate support](#) you may call CAPS at +1 814 863 0395 (M-F, 8:00am-5:00pm), call the Penn State Crisis Line at +1 877 229 6400 (24/7), or text “LIONS” to the Crisis Text Line at 741741 (24/7).

## Disability accommodation & accessibility services

I am committed to ensuring your experience in this class is an enjoyable one. Students with disabilities that have been documented by Student Disability Resources (SDR) will be appropriately accommodated. The primary mission of [Student Disability Resources \(SDR\)](#) is to “explore individualized reasonable accommodations for equal access and full participation in academic pursuits; seek interactions with peers or study space; connect with on- and off-campus resources; and promote disability as an important aspect of diversity.” In order to receive consideration for reasonable accommodation, students should inform SDR as soon as possible of their needs. If you have not yet contacted SDR but have a temporary health condition or permanent disability that requires accommodation, please do so during the first week of the course. Currently, students can choose either in-person or virtual appointments with SDR staff. Please call SDR at +1 814 863 1807 to schedule an appointment or email [upsdr@psu.edu](mailto:upsdr@psu.edu) with any questions. SDR will provide you with a letter that will describe the accommodations I will be able to make. You must follow this process for every semester that you request reasonable accommodation.

## Course materials and schedule

**Week 1. Introduction & course overview**

22 Aug – Introduction & course overview

24 Aug – “What” & “where” is the Middle East?

26 Aug – The origins of Islam

Required reading - **52 pages**:

- ① Read the syllabus!
- ② Adelson, Roger. 2012. “British and U.S. Use and Misuse of the Term ‘Middle East.’” In *Is There a Middle East?: The Evolution of a Geopolitical Concept*, eds. Michael E. Bonine, Abbas Amanat, and Michael Ezekiel Gasper. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, pp. 36-55.
- ③ Aslan, Reza. 2005. *No God but God: The Origins, Evolution, and Future of Islam*. New York: Random House, pp. xxiii-xxiv in “Chronology of Key Events” and pp. 267-272 in “Glossary.”
- ④ Blanchard, Christopher M. 2009. *Islam: Sunnis and Shiites*. Washington: Congressional Research Service, pp. 1-6. [LINK](#).
- ⑤ Khalil, Osamah F. 2016. *America’s Dream Palace: Middle East Expertise and the Rise of the National Security State*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp. 4-8 in “Introduction.”
- ⑥ Lapidus, Ira. 2002. *A History of Islamic Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 18-30 in “The Life of the Prophet.”

**Week 2: The Ottoman Empire & Orientalism**

29 Aug – The Ottoman Empire

31 Aug – Orientalism (**Map quiz 1**)

2 Sep – Discussion

Required reading - **107 pages**:

- ① Said, Edward W. 1979. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage, pp. 1-28 in “Introduction.” **PE-RUSALL**
- ② Anderson, Betty S. 2016. *A History of the Modern Middle East: Rulers, Rebels and Rogues*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, pp. 59-106 in “Reform and Rebellion: The Ottoman Empire, Egypt and Qajar Iran in the 19th Century.”
- ③ Hourani, Albert. 2003. *A History of the Arab Peoples*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, pp. 209-230 in “The Ottoman Empire.”
- ④ Lockman, Zachary. 2009. *Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 182-190 in “Said’s *Orientalism*: A Book and its Aftermath.”

**Week 3: Colonialism**

5 Sep – **No class (Labor Day)**

7 Sep – European intervention & the mandate system

9 Sep – Discussion

Required reading - **129 pages**:

- ① Fromkin, David. 1991. "How the Modern Middle East Map Came to be Drawn." *Smithsonian*, 22, pp. 132-148. **PERUSALL**
- ② Hourani, Albert. 1983. *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 34-66 in "First Views of Europe."
- ③ Hourani, Albert. 2003. *A History of the Arab Peoples*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, pp. 279-298 in "European Empires and Dominant Elites" and skim pp. 315-332 in "The Climax of European Power (1914-1939)."
- ④ Lawrence, Adria. 2013. *Imperial Rule and the Politics of Nationalism: Anti-Colonial Protest in the French Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 50-90 in "Indigènes into Frenchmen? Seeking Political Equality in Morocco and Algeria."

### Week 4: State formation & political regimes

12 Sep – Arab Nationalism & national liberation (**Map quiz 2**)

14 Sep – Republics & monarchies

16 Sep – Discussion

Required reading - **102 pages**:

- ① Lust-Okar, Ellen and Amaney Ahmad Jamal. 2002. "Rulers and Rules: Reassessing the Influence of Regime Type on Electoral Law Formation." *Comparative Political Studies* 35(3), pp. 337-366. **PERUSALL**
- ② Blaydes, Lisa. 2017. "State Building in the Middle East." *Annual Review of Political Science* 20, pp. 487-504.
- ③ Herb, Michael. 2004. "Princes and Parliaments in the Arab World." *The Middle East Journal* 58(3), pp. 367-384.
- ④ Migdal, Joel S. 1988. *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and Capacity in the Third World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 52-73, 80-89, 93-96 in "The Weakening of Patterns of Social Control."

### Week 5: Authoritarian rule

19 Sep – Repression & control under authoritarianism

21 Sep – The persistence of authoritarian rule

23 Sep – Discussion

Required reading - **97 pages**:

- ① Diamond, Larry. 2010. "Why are there no Arab Democracies?" *Journal of Democracy* 21(1), pp. 93-104. **PERUSALL**
- ② Bellin, Eva. 2004. "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective." *Comparative Politics* 36(2), pp. 139-157.
- ③ Fish, M. Steven. 2002. "Islam and Authoritarianism." *World Politics* 55(1), pp. 4-37.
- ④ Nugent, Elizabeth R. 2020. *After Repression: How Polarization Derails Democratic Transition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 59-90 in "The Historical Origins of Authoritarian Repression."

### Week 6: Economic (under)development

26 Sep – The political economy of state-building  
 28 Sep – Oil & the rentier state  
 30 Sep – **Guest lecture: TBD**

Required reading - **94 pages**:

- ① Ross, Michael L. 2001. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* 53(3), pp. 325-361. **PERUSALL**
- ② Kuran, Timur. 2004. "Why the Middle East is Economically Underdeveloped: Historical Mechanisms of Institutional Stagnation." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18(3), pp. 71-90.
- ③ Lust, Ellen. 2009. "Competitive Clientelism in the Middle East." *Journal of Democracy* 20(3), pp. 122-135.
- ④ Schwarz, Rolf. 2008. "The Political Economy of State-formation in the Arab Middle East: Rentier States, Economic Reform, and Democratization." *Review of International Political Economy* 15(4), pp. 599-621.

### Week 7: Israel & Palestine

3 Oct – State-building, displacement, & dispossession  
 5 Oct – The 1967 & 1973 Wars (**Policy memo due**)  
 7 Oct – Discussion

Required reading - **85 pages**:

- ① Gade, Emily Kalah. 2020. "Social Isolation and Repertoires of Resistance." *American Political Science Review* 114(2), pp. 309-325. **PERUSALL**
- ② Beinen, Joel and Lisa Hajjar. 2014. "Palestine, Israel and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Primer." *Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP)*, pp. 1-16. [LINK](#).
- ③ Jamal, Amaney. 2009. *Barriers to Democracy: The Other Side of Social Capital in Palestine and the Arab World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 1-20 in "Introduction: Democratic Outcomes and Associational Life."
- ④ Pearlman, Wendy. 2011. *Violence, Nonviolence, and the Palestinian National Movement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 62-93 in "Roots and Rise of the Palestine Liberation Organization, 1949-1987."

### Week 8: War & revolution

10 Oct – The Lebanese Civil War  
 12 Oct – The Iranian Revolution  
 14 Oct – Discussion

Required reading - **102 pages**:

- ① Moaddel, Mansoor. 1992. "Ideology as Episodic Discourse: The Case of the Iranian Revolution." *American Sociological Review* 57(3), pp. 353-379. **PERUSALL**
- ② Abrahamian, Ervand. 2009. "The Crowd in the Iranian Revolution." *Radical History Review* 105, pp. 13-38.
- ③ Cammett, Melani. 2014. *Compassionate Communalism: Welfare and Sectarianism in Lebanon*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pp. 58-84 in "Political Mobilization Strategies and In-Group Competition among Sectarian Parties."

- ④ Khalaf, Samir. 2002. *Civil and Uncivil Violence in Lebanon: A History of the Internationalization of Communal Conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 1-22 in “On Proxy Wars and Surrogate Victims.”

### Week 9: Political liberalization & civil society

- 17 Oct – Political liberalization  
 19 Oct – **Midterm exam review**  
 21 Oct – **Midterm exam**

Required reading - **44 pages**:

- ① Anderson, Lisa. 1995. “Democracy in the Arab World: A Critique of the Political Culture Approach.” In *Political Liberalization and Democratization in the Arab World: Comparative Experiences*, eds. Rex Brynen, Bahgat Korany, and Paul Noble. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, pp. 77-92.
- ② Lust, Ellen. 2011. “Missing the Third Wave: Islam, Institutions, and Democracy in the Middle East.” *Studies in Comparative International Development* 46(2), pp. 163-190.

### Week 10: Political participation

- 24 Oct – Political parties & elections  
 26 Oct – Public opinion  
 28 Oct – Discussion

Required reading - **84 pages**:

- ① Lust-Okar, Ellen. 2004. “Divided They Rule: The Management and Manipulation of Political Opposition.” *Comparative Politics* 36(2), pp. 159-179. **PERUSALL**
- ② Gandhi, Jennifer and Ellen Lust-Okar. 2009. “Elections under Authoritarianism.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 12, pp. 403-422.
- ③ Jamal, Amaney A., and Mark A. Tessler. 2008. “The Democracy Barometers (Part II): Attitudes in the Arab World.” *Journal of Democracy* 19(1), pp. 97-110.
- ④ Posusney, Marsha Pripstein. 2002. “Multi-Party Elections in the Arab World: Institutional Engineering and Oppositional Strategies.” *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36(4), pp. 34-62.

### Week 11: Islamism

- 31 Oct – Religion, the Sahwa, & Islamic reform  
 2 Nov – The Muslim Brotherhood  
 4 Nov – **Guest lecture: TBD**

Required reading - **94 pages**:

- ① Schwedler, Jillian. 2011. “Can Islamists Become Moderates? Rethinking the Inclusion-Moderation Hypothesis.” *World Politics* 63(2), pp. 347-376. **PERUSALL**
- ② Cammett, Melani and Pauline Jones Luong. 2014. “Is There an Islamist Political Advantage?” *Annual Review of Political Science* 17, pp. 187-206.

- ③ El-Ghobashy, Mona. 2005. "The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37(3), pp. 373-395.
- ④ Freer, Courtney. 2018. *Rentier Islamism: The Influence of the Muslim Brotherhood in Gulf Monarchies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 13-27 in "No Taxation, No Representation?: Political Opposition in Rentier States and the Origins of Muslim Brotherhood Movements in the Gulf."
- ⑤ Khoury, Philip S., 1983. "Islamic Revivalism and the Crisis of the Secular State in the Arab World." In *Arab Resources: The Transformation of a Society*, ed. Ibrahim Ibrahim. London: Croom Helm, pp. 231-236.

## Week 12: Contentious politics

7 Nov – The Arab Spring (**Final paper prospectus due**)

9 Nov – Revolution & resistance after the Arab Spring

11 Nov – Discussion

Required reading - **78 pages**:

- ① Brownlee, Jason, Tarek Masoud, and Andrew Reynolds. 2015. "From Dynamic Events to Deep Causes: Outcomes and Explanations of the Arab Spring." *Middle East Law and Governance* 7(1), pp. 3-15. **PERUSALL**
- ② Kuran, Timur. 1995. "The Inevitability of Future Revolutionary Surprises." *American Journal of Sociology* 100(6), pp. 1528-1551.
- ③ Pearlman, Wendy. 2013. "Emotions and the Microfoundations of the Arab Uprisings." *Perspectives on Politics* 11(2), pp. 387-409.
- ④ Safi, Michael, Antonio Voce, Frank Hulley-Jones and Lydia McMullan. 2021. "How the Arab Spring Engulfed the Middle East - and Changed the World." *The Guardian*. [LINK](#).
- ⑤ Weyland, Kurt. 2012. "The Arab Spring: Why the Surprising Similarities with the Revolutionary Wave of 1848?" *Perspectives on Politics* 10(4), pp. 917-934.

## Week 13: Gender & identity politics

14 Nov – Women & Islam

16 Nov – Identity politics (**Congressional testimony due**)

18 Nov – Discussion

Required reading - **79 pages**:

- ① Ross, Michael L. 2008. "Oil, Islam, and Women." *American Political Science Review* 102(1), pp. 107-123. **PERUSALL**
- ② Abu-Lughod, Lila. 2002. "Do Muslim women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and its Others." *American Anthropologist* 104(3), pp. 783-790.
- ③ Bush, Sarah Sunn, and Eleanor Gao. 2017. "Small Tribes, Big Gains: The Strategic Uses of Gender Quotas in the Middle East." *Comparative Politics* 49(2): 149-167.
- ④ Makdisi, Ussama. 2008. "Pensée 4: Moving Beyond Orientalist Fantasy, Sectarian Polemic, and Nationalist Denial." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 40(4), pp. 559-560.
- ⑤ Mazur, Kevin. 2019. "State Networks and Intra-Ethnic Group Variation in the 2011 Syrian Uprising." *Comparative Political Studies* 52(7), pp. 995-1027.

## Week 14: Current challenges

28 Nov – The U.S. invasion of Iraq & the Islamic State

30 Nov – The rise of the Arab Gulf states

2 Dec – **No class**

Required reading - **103 pages**:

- ① Razavi, Negar. 2021. “Golden Boys, Bros, and Barbecues: Gendered Occidentalism and the Shaping of US Policy in the Middle East.” *PoLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 44(1): 91-106. **PERUSALL**
- ② Herb, Michael. 1999. *All in the Family: Absolutism, Revolution, and Democracy in Middle Eastern Monarchies*. Albany: State University of New York Press, pp. 67-108 in “The Dynasties: The Al Sabah and the Al Saud.”
- ③ Hinnebusch, Raymond. 2007. “The U.S: Invasion of Iraq: Explanations and Implications.” *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies* 16(3), pp. 209-228.
- ④ Pearlman, Wendy. 2018. “Moral Identity and Protest Cascades in Syria.” *British Journal of Political Science* 48(4), pp. 877-901.

### Week 15: Conclusion

5 Dec – Discussion

7 Dec – Final paper workshop

9 Dec – What next? The future of the Middle East & North Africa (**Final paper due**)

Required reading - **5 pages**:

- ① Biden, Joe. 2022, July 9. “Joe Biden: Why I’m going to Saudi Arabia.” *The New York Times*. [LINK](#).
- ② Jamal, Amaney A. and Michael Robbins. 2022 March/April. “Why Democracy Stalled in the Middle East: Economic Despair and the Triumph of the China Model.” *Foreign Affairs*. [LINK](#).