

MMES-316: Public Opinion and Political Behavior in the Middle East

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Office hours: MW 9:00am-11:00am EST

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Course description

This course introduces students to the empirical study of Middle East and North African politics and society. Increasingly, policymakers, journalists, and experts are using new sources of data to analyze regional politics. The sources of protest and revolution, the determinants of electoral behavior, the appeal of political Islam, and the salience of identity are all questions that are amenable to data-driven analysis. In recent years, the amount of available data and the rise of publicly-available tools for collecting, analyzing, and visualizing these data have increased significantly. With a few clicks, students can now analyze the nature of support for Islamist parties across and within countries, explore the use of social media in mobilizing citizens for protest, and investigate the relationship between ethnic and communal identity and patterns of distributive politics. This course will introduce students to these tools and the principles behind their use in the context of the contemporary Middle East and North Africa. It will encourage students to combine insights from social and political theory with the methodologies of quantitative social science to probe some of the biggest questions animating the contemporary politics of the region.

Objectives

- Develop research skills, including the ability to identify, collect, and analyze data and the ability to communicate research findings;
- Critically evaluate social scientific research and popular or press accounts of Middle East and North African politics;
- Write a scientific research paper with application to Middle East and North African politics and give constructive feedback to others' work.

Prerequisites

This course assumes some prior knowledge of and training in technical aspects of quantitative research methods. Prerequisites include a prior statistics course at Yale (i.e., S&DS-101, S&DS-230). Programming experience in R is strongly recommended, but students with minimal experience working with R may enroll with permission of the instructor. A previous course in Middle East and North African politics or society is also strongly recommended (i.e., PLSC-396, MMES-121, MMES-456).

Class schedule

Week	Day	Date	Title
1	Tues	2 Feb	Introduction and overview
1	Thurs	4 Feb	Why study public opinion and political behavior in the Middle East?
2	Tues	9 Feb	What—and where—“is” the Middle East?
2	Thurs	11 Feb	Conceptualizations of public opinion
3	Tues	16 Feb	Measuring public opinion
3	Thurs	18 Feb	Public opinion in comparative perspective
4	Tues	23 Feb	Understanding political behavior
4	Thurs	25 Feb	Political behavior: Measurement
5	Tues	2 Mar	Data collection and analysis in authoritarian regimes
5	Thurs	4 Mar	Data and “the state” in the Middle East
6	Tues	9 Mar	No class (Break day)
6	Thurs	11 Mar	Electoral systems and rules
7	Tues	16 Mar	Electoral institutions
7	Thurs	18 Mar	Turnout and voter behavior
8	Tues	23 Mar	Party politics and systems
8	Thurs	25 Mar	Guest speaker: MENA EMB official
9	Tues	30 Mar	Party organizations
9	Thurs	1 Apr	The ‘Arab Spring’ and its aftermath
10	Tues	6 Apr	Activism and revolution
10	Thurs	8 Apr	No class (Break day)
11	Tues	13 Apr	The logic of protest
11	Thurs	15 Apr	Guest Speaker: State Department INR/OPN
12	Tues	20 Apr	Measuring religion and religiosity
12	Thurs	22 Apr	Political Islam
13	Tues	27 Apr	Democracy, class, and ideological cleavages
13	Thurs	29 Apr	Conceptualizing and measuring identity
14	Tues	4 May	Tribal politics and tribal identity
14	Thurs	6 May	Sectarianism and communal identity

Course requirements

Your grade will be based on the following items:

[1] Problem sets (5): **25%**

There will be five (5) problem sets throughout the semester. Each problem set will cover a different set of concepts. Questions will require students to analyze and answer questions about a particular dataset. Problem sets will be released approximately one week before the due date (likely after 5pm on the previous Friday). Students must submit responses and their corresponding R code online.

[2] Report (1): **20%**

In order to prepare students for the final paper, students will work collaboratively (in pairs) on a report halfway through the semester. The report will be assigned approximately three weeks in advance and will require original data analysis. Generally, each report should include a description of the data, a set of hypotheses, a statistical test of the hypothesis, and one or more visualizations of the results. We will discuss the assignment in greater detail later in the course.

[3] Report response (1): **5%**

Each student will be required to respond to and review another report. These responses are designed to teach students how to provide constructive feedback to their peers. Responses should be between 750-1,000 words.

[4] Final paper outline: **5%**

No later than one week before final papers are due, students are required to submit an outline of their final paper (not less than 750 words). Students are encouraged to include elements of the final draft in this version for feedback.

[5] Final paper: **30%**

Each student will be required to write a final paper on a topic of their choosing (3,500 words). Final papers should include an introduction, a review of the literature, a set of testable hypotheses, a description of the data, results, and a conclusion. More information about the final paper will be provided later in the semester.

[6] Class participation and attendance: **15%**

Attendance at each class meeting is mandatory. Students are required to read between two (2) and three (3) chapters or articles before each meeting.

Assignment schedule

Week	Day	Date	Assignment	Percent
3	Fri	19 Feb	Problem set 1	5
5	Fri	5 Mar	Problem set 2	5
6	Fri	12 Mar	Problem set 3	5
8	Fri	26 Mar	Problem set 4	5
9	Fri	2 Apr	Report 1	20
10	Mon	12 Apr	Report 1 Response	5
11	Fri	16 Apr	Problem set 5	5
13	Fri	30 Apr	Final paper outline	5
+	Fri	14 May	Final paper	30

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	93-100%	A-	90-92%
B+	87-89%	B	83-86%	B-	80-82%
C+	77-79%	C	73-76%	C-	70-72%
D+	67-69%	D	63-66%	D-	60-62%
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 e-mail. The e-mail 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 week. Any dispute must be sent not later than two weeks after receiving the grade. Disputes submitted after this time will not be accepted.

Course policies and procedures

Attendance

This class will be taught synchronously over Zoom every Tuesday and Thursday from 9:00am to 10:15am. Please note that there will be no class on Tuesday, March 9, and Thursday, April 8. Because this is a seminar class, 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 weeks of class (i.e., by Friday, February 12) or at least a week prior so we can make alternative arrangements if necessary. Unexcused absences may result in a reduction of your class participation and attendance grade.

Academic integrity

Yale College [Undergraduate Regulations](#) define academic dishonesty as: “Cheating on examinations; plagiarism; unauthorized sharing of materials, answers, or sources; improper acknowledgment of sources in essays; the use of a single essay in more than one course except in academically appropriate circumstances and with the prior explicit permission of the instructors; and other means by which a student may create, submit, or take credit for work that is not the student’s own.” Please familiarize yourself with these policies. Students are also encouraged to consult the Poorvu Center for Teaching and Learning’s writing resources, particularly on [“Using sources.”](#)

Collaboration

Problem sets, reports, and final papers 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 coding, computer programming, and data analysis, there is a clear distinction between permissible collaboration and unacceptable copying or plagiarism. Problem sets and reports are designed to allow you to reach your own understanding of the problem and discover a solution. Conversations with myself and your classmates are acceptable. But when writing code and responses to problem set, report, and final paper questions, these conversations are no longer appropriate. The code and your responses must be your own work. Under no circumstances should you copy code. Incorporating someone else’s code into your work in any form is plagiarism. Sharing code in digital form is especially prohibited: you should not e-mail your code to anyone. Please take this policy seriously. It supplements (and does not replace) the Yale College [Undergraduate Regulations](#) described above. If you have any questions, please consult me before submitting your work.

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 two (2) 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 e-mail immediately. A doctor’s note, or note from a dean, may be requested. Please familiarize yourself with the university’s policies for [incomplete work](#).

Course communication

In this class, we will use e-mail, Canvas, and a Slack workspace to communicate. The [course website](#) contains the syllabus and course readings and is accessible via Canvas. Important announcements and updates will be communicated via e-mail. We will also use a Slack workspace to discuss various day-to-day aspects of the course. Our Slack workspace will include channels for announcements, problem sets and assignments, asynchronous discussion of course materials, and other miscellaneous topics that pertain to the course.

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

To the best of your availability, avoid sending last-minute e-mails 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.

Commitment to an inclusive learning environment

Yale University 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 university Title IX Coordinator, [Stephanie Spangler](#), or any of the university [Title IX coordinators](#). You may also report an incident to me. I am required to notify the Title IX coordinator about the basic facts of the incident, though you may choose to request confidentiality from the University.

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 Accessibility Services (SAS) will be appropriately accommodated. Students should inform me and SAS as soon as possible of their needs. If you have not yet contacted SAS but have a temporary health condition or permanent disability that requires accommodation, please do so during the first week of the course. These accommodations are established through an interactive process that includes you, me, and SAS. The primary mission of [Student Accessibility Services \(SAS\)](#) is “to facilitate individual accommodations for all students with disabilities throughout the entire University, and by so doing, work to remove physical and attitudinal barriers, which may prevent their full participation in the University community.”

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 technical detail that appears in each reading, but you should read each piece carefully. Reading 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 contact the [Academic Strategies Program](#) at the Poorvu Center for Teaching and Learning. The mission of the Academic Strategies Program is “to help all Yale undergraduates become active, empowered learners in their academic lives at Yale.” I am always here to help should you have any questions.

Resources for using R

In this course, we will use [R](#), a programming language and free software environment for statistical computing and graphics. We will also use [RStudio](#), a code editor and development environment that allows you to work with data using R. Both are free and available for download on your personal computers.

According to the [New York Times](#), R is:

“...the name of a popular programming language used by a growing number of data analysts inside corporations and academia. It is becoming their lingua franca partly because data mining has entered a golden age, whether being used to set ad prices, find new drugs more quickly or fine-tune financial models. Companies as diverse as Google, Pfizer, Merck, Bank of America, the InterContinental Hotels Group and Shell use it.”

R can be difficult to work with and the learning curve is steep. In the long run, however, it will prepare you for advanced coursework and graduate-level training and will provide you with a valuable and transferable skill. Previous programming experience in R is strongly recommended for this course. Students who have not worked with R may enroll in the course with permission of the instructor. All students are encouraged to familiarize themselves with R before the course begins.

If you are new to R, I recommend the following courses on [DataCamp](#): “Introduction to R,” “Introduction to the Tidyverse,” “Introduction to Data in R,” “Data Manipulation with dplyr,” and “Analyzing Election and Polling Data in R.” Here are a few additional resources to help you get started.

- Imai, K. (2017). *Quantitative Social Science: An Introduction*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Long, J. J. and Teetor, P. (2019). *R Cookbook*. O’Reilly Media, Inc., Newton, MA, 2nd edition. Available online at <https://rc2e.com/>.
- Chang, W. (2018). *R Graphics Cookbook*. O’Reilly Media, Inc., Newton, MA, 2nd edition. Available online at <https://r-graphics.org/>.
- Healy, K. (2018). *Data Visualization: A Practical Introduction*. Princeton University Press, Princeton. Available online at <https://socviz.co/>.
- Wilke, C. O. (2019). *Fundamentals of Data Visualization*. O’Reilly Media, Inc., Newton, MA. Available online at <https://clauswilke.com/dataviz/>.
- Tom Short’s [R Reference Card](#).
- Shidan C. Murphy’s [R Instructor App](#).

Course materials and schedule

2 Feb – Introduction and overview

- [1] Read the syllabus!

Part 1. Foundations

4 Feb – Why study public opinion and political behavior in the Middle East?

- [1] Pellicer, M. and Wegner, E. (2018). Quantitative Research in MENA Political Science. In Clark, J. A. and Cavatorta, F., editors, *Political Science Research in the Middle East and North Africa: Methodological and Ethical Challenges*, pages 187–196. Oxford University Press, Oxford. <http://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190882969.003.0016>
- [2] Benstead, L. J. (2018). Survey Research in the Arab World: Challenges and Opportunities. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 51(3):535–542. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096518000112>

9 Feb – What—and where—“is” the Middle East?

- [1] Amanat, A. (2012). Introduction: Is there a Middle East? Problematizing a Virtual Space. In Bonine, M. E., Amanat, A., and Gasper, M. E., editors, *Is There a Middle East?: The Evolution of a Geopolitical Concept*, pages 1–7. Stanford University Press, Palo Alto. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780804782654-005>
- [2] Wedeen, L. (2016). Scientific Knowledge, Liberalism and Empire: American Political Science in the Modern Middle East. In Shami, S. K., Shami, S., and Miller-Idriss, C., editors, *Middle East Studies for the New Millennium: Infrastructures of Knowledge*, pages 31–81. New York University Press, New York. <http://doi.org/10.18574/nyu/9781479827787.003.0002>

11 Feb – Conceptualizations of public opinion

- [1] Chapter 1 (“Introduction”) in Key, V. O. (1961). *Public Opinion and American Democracy*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.
- [2] Converse, P. E. (1987). Changing Conceptions of Public Opinion in the Political Process. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 51:S12–S24 https://doi.org/10.1093/poq/51.4_part_2.s12
- [3] Chapter 1 (“Polling and the Public”) and Chapter 2 (“The Problem of Nonattitudes”) in Asher, H. (2016). *Polling and the Public: What Every Citizen Should Know*. CQ Press, Thousand Oaks, 9th edition. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781506352404>

16 Feb – Measuring public opinion

- [1] Chapter 3 (“Techniques of opinion expression and measurement”) in Herbst, S. (1993). *Numbered Voices: How Opinion Polling Has Shaped American Politics*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- [2] Chapter 4 (“Problems of measurement: Accuracy”) and Chapter 5 (“Problems of measurement: Precision”) in Shively, W. (2017). *The Craft of Political Research*. Routledge, London, 10th edition. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315269559>

18 Feb – Public opinion in comparative perspective

- [1] Jamal, A. A. and Tessler, M. A. (2008). The Democracy Barometers (Part II): Attitudes in the Arab World. *Journal of Democracy*, 19(1):97–110. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2008.0004>
- [2] Chapter 1 (“Introduction”) and Chapter 2 (“The nature of mass beliefs”) in Dalton, R. J. (2019). *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. CQ Press, Washington, DC, 7th edition.

23 Feb – Understanding political behavior

- [1] Bartels, L. M. (2010). The Study of Electoral Behavior. In Leighley, J. E., editor, *The Oxford Handbook of American Elections and Political Behavior*, pages 239–261. Oxford University Press, Oxford. <http://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199235476.003.0014>
- [2] Niemi, R. G., Weisberg, H. F., and Kimball, D. C. (2010). The Study of Voting and Elections. In Niemi, R. G., Weisberg, H. F., and Kimball, D. C., editors, *Controversies in Voting Behavior*, pages 1–22. CQ Press, Washington, DC, 5th edition.

25 Feb – Political behavior: Measurement

- [1] Bartels, L. M. (1998). Where the Ducks Are: Voting Power in a Party System. In Geer, J. G., editor, *Politicians and Party Politics*, pages 43–79. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.
- [2] Dalton, R. J. and Wattenberg, M. P. (1993). The Not So Simple Act of Voting. In Finifter, A. W., editor, *Political Science: The State of the Discipline II*, pages 193–218. American Political Science Association, Washington.

2 Mar – Data collection and analysis in authoritarian regimes

- [1] Carlitz, R. D. and McLellan, R. (2020). Open Data from Authoritarian Regimes: New Opportunities, New Challenges. *Perspectives on Politics*, pages 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592720001346>
- [2] Greenwald, D. B. (2019). Political Science Research in Settings of Intractable Conflict. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 52(03):498–502. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096519000234>

4 Mar – Data and “the state” in the Middle East

- [1] Anderson, L. (1987). The State in the Middle East and North Africa. *Comparative Politics*, 20(1):1–18.
- [2] Schwedler, J. and Clark, J. A. (2018). Encountering the Mukhabarat State. In Clark, J. A. and Cavatorta, F., editors, *Political Science Research in the Middle East and North Africa: Methodological and Ethical Challenges*, pages 23–34. Oxford University Press, Oxford. <http://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190882969.003.0002>

Part 2. Elections and voter behavior

9 Mar – No class (Break day)

11 Mar – Electoral systems and rules

- [1] Lust, E. (2014). Elections. In Lynch, M., editor, *The Arab Uprisings Explained: New Contentious Politics in the Middle East*, pages 218–245. Columbia University Press, New York. <https://doi.org/10.7312/lync15884-012>
- [2] Lust-Okar, E. and Jamal, A. A. (2002). Rulers and Rules: Reassessing the Influence of Regime Type on Electoral Law Formation. *Comparative Political Studies*, 35(3):337–366. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414002035003004>
- [3] Posusney, M. P. (1998). Behind the Ballot Box: Electoral Engineering in the Arab World. *Middle East Report*, (209):12–42. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3012726>

16 Mar – Electoral institutions

- [1] Brownlee, J. (2011). Executive Elections in the Arab World: When and How Do They Matter? *Comparative Political Studies*, 44(7):807–828. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414011402034>
- [2] Bush, S. S. and Gao, E. (2017). Small Tribes, Big Gains: The Strategic Uses of Gender Quotas in the Middle East. *Comparative Politics*, 49(2):149–167. <https://doi.org/10.5129/001041517820201323>

18 Mar – Turnout and voter behavior

- [1] de Miguel, C., Jamal, A. A., and Tessler, M. (2015). Elections in the Arab World: Why Do Citizens Turn Out? *Comparative Political Studies*, 48(11):1355–1388. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414015574877>
- [2] Berman, C. E. and Nugent, E. R. (2019). Regionalism in New Democracies: The Authoritarian Origins of Voter–Party Linkages. *Political Research Quarterly*, pages 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912919862363>

23 Mar – Party politics and systems

- [1] Lust, E. and Waldner, D. (2016). Parties in Transitional Democracies: Authoritarian Legacies and Post-Authoritarian Challenges in the Middle East and North Africa. In Bermeo, N. and Yashar, D. J., editors, *Parties, Movements, and Democracy in the Developing World*, pages 157–189. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316661581.006>
- [2] Aydogan, A. (2020). Party Systems and Ideological Cleavages in the Middle East and North Africa. *Party Politics*, pages 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068819894299>

25 Mar – Guest speaker: MENA EMB official

- [1] TBD.

30 Mar – Party organizations

- [1] Chapter 7 (“Political orientation and Ba’th Party participation”) in Blaydes, L. (2018). *State of Repression: Iraq under Saddam Hussein*. Princeton University Press, Princeton. <https://doi.org/10.23943/9781400890323-010>
- [2] García-Rivero, C. and Kotzé, H. (2007). Electoral Support for Islamic Parties in the Middle East and North Africa. *Party Politics*, 13(5):611–636. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068807080088>

Part 3. Contentious politics and revolution

1 Apr – The ‘Arab Spring’ and its aftermath

- [1] Brownlee, J., Masoud, T., and Reynolds, A. (2013). Why the Modest Harvest? *Journal of Democracy*, 24(4):29–44. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2013.0061>
- [2] Diwan, I. (2013). Understanding Revolution in the Middle East: The Central Role of the Middle Class. *Middle East Development Journal*, 05(01):1350004–1–1350004–30. <https://doi.org/10.1142/S1793812013500041>

6 Apr – Activism and revolution

- [1] Beissinger, M. R., Jamal, A. A., and Mazur, K. (2015). Explaining Divergent Revolutionary Coalitions: Regime Strategies and the Structuring of Participation in the Tunisian and Egyptian Revolutions. *Comparative Politics*, 48(1):1–24. <https://doi.org/10.5129/001041515816075132>
- [2] Lawrence, A. K. (2017). Repression and Activism among the Arab Spring’s First Movers: Evidence from Morocco’s February 20th Movement. *British Journal of Political Science*, 47(3):699–718. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0007123415000733>

8 Apr – No class (Break day)

13 Apr – The logic of protest

- [1] Berman, C. E. (2020). Policing the Organizational Threat in Morocco: Protest and Public Violence in Liberal Autocracies. *American Journal of Political Science*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12565>
- [2] Ketchley, N. and Barrie, C. (2020). Fridays of Revolution: Focal Days and Mass Protest in Egypt and Tunisia. *Political Research Quarterly*, 73(2):308–324. <https://doi.org/10.31219/osf.io/8cjg2>
- [3] Zeira, Y. (2019). From the Schools to the Streets: Education and Anti-Regime Resistance in the West Bank. *Comparative Political Studies*, 52(8):1131–1168. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414018806539>

15 Apr – Guest Speaker: State Department INR/OPN

- [1] TBD.

Part 4. Religion and religiosity

20 Apr – Measuring religion and religiosity

- [1] Finke, R. and Bader, C. D. (2017). Introduction: The Art and Science of Studying Religion. In Finke, R. and Bader, C. D., editors, *Faithful Measures: New Methods in the Measurement of Religion*, pages 1–20. New York University Press, New York. <https://doi.org/10.18574/nyu/9781479875214.003.0001>
- [2] Hoffman, M. and Jamal, A. (2014). Religion in the Arab Spring: Between Two Competing Narratives. *The Journal of Politics*, 76(3):593–606. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022381614000152>

22 Apr – Political Islam

- [1] Chapter 5 (“God, Mammon, and Transition”) in Masoud, T. (2014). *Counting Islam: Religion, Class, and Elections in Egypt*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511842610.008>
- [2] Brooke, S. and Ketchley, N. (2018). Social and Institutional Origins of Political Islam. *American Political Science Review*, 112(2):376–394. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0003055417000636>

27 Apr – Democracy, class, and ideological cleavages

- [1] Ciftci, S. (2013). Secular-Islamist Cleavage, Values, and Support for Democracy and Shari’a in the Arab World. *Political Research Quarterly*, 66(4):781–793. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912912470759>
- [2] Pellicer, M. and Wegner, E. (2014). Socio-economic Voter Profile and Motives for Islamist Support in Morocco. *Party Politics*, 20(1):116–133. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068811436043>

Part 5. Identity

29 Apr – Conceptualizing and measuring identity

- [1] Chapter 1 (“Identity as a variable”) and Chapter 2 (“Conceptualizing and measuring ethnic identity”) in Abdelal, R., Herrera, Y. M., Johnston, A. I., and McDermott, R., editors (2009). *Measuring Identity: A Guide for Social Scientists*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511810909.003>
- [2] Brubaker, R. and Cooper, F. (2000). Beyond “Identity”. *Theory and Society*, 29(1):1–47. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1007068714468>

4 May – Tribal politics and tribal identity

- [1] Buttorff, G. (2015). Coordination Failure and the Politics of Tribes: Jordanian Elections under SNTV. *Electoral Studies*, 40:45–55. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2015.06.011>
- [2] Chapter 4 (“Practicing piety, summoning groups: Disorder as control”) in Wedeen, L. (2008). *Peripheral Visions: Publics, Power, and Performance in Yemen*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago. <https://doi.org/10.9783/9780812290127.212>
- [3] Gao, E. (2016). Tribal Mobilization, Fragmented Groups, and Public Goods Provision in Jordan. *Comparative Political Studies*, 49(10):1372–1403. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414015621075>

6 May – Sectarianism and communal identity

- [1] Mazur, K. (2019). State Networks and Intra-Ethnic Group Variation in the 2011 Syrian Uprising. *Comparative Political Studies*, 52(7):995–1027. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414018806536>
- [2] Cammett, M. and Issar, S. (2010). Bricks and Mortar Clientelism: Sectarianism and the Logics of Welfare Allocation in Lebanon. *World Politics*, 62(3):381–421. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0043887110000080>
- [3] Hoffman, M. (2020). Religion, Sectarianism, and Democracy: Theory and Evidence from Lebanon. *Political Behavior*, 42(4):1169–1200. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-019-09538-9>