

Princeton University: Department of Politics
Spring 2009
Political Systems of the Middle East (POL 364)
Tuesdays and Thursdays: 1:30-2:20
Bldg. and Room: Frist 234
Amaney Jamal
e-mail: ajamal@princeton.edu
Home Page: www.princeton.edu/~ajamal
Office: 241 Corwin Hall
Office Hours: (TH 2:30-4:30)

Course Description and Objectives:

This course offers students an overview of modern Middle Eastern politics. It will first provide a detailed historical analysis outlining the conditions that shape the formation and consolidation of authoritarian rule in modern Middle Eastern states. We will explore the political economy of the region, Islamic politics, state-society relations, and other topics as probable explanatory variables to authoritarian persistence. Through careful examination of case studies, the course will also explore the impact of authoritarian rule on the political economy, civil societies, and opposition movements in the region. Is the Middle East caught in a vicious cycle of authoritarianism? We will investigate this question as we examine current trends in political liberalization in the region and elsewhere in the world. Do current efforts pave the way to democratization? Or are they employed as tools to reinforce and legitimate authoritarian rule in the region?

The objectives of this course are multifaceted. First, the course is designed to give students a more nuanced and complete understanding of the Middle East, its states, and peoples. Second, the course will compare political development trends in the Middle East to similar experiences in other parts of the developing world. Throughout the term, key explanatory variables for political development elsewhere in the world will be scrutinized against a Middle Eastern context. Third, the course will supply students with the pertinent theoretical and empirical evidence necessary to make critical and analytical arguments about the Middle East in comparative perspective.

Course Requirements:

- **Two 7-10 page analytical papers: 25% each.**
- **In-Class Midterm: 25%**
- **Precept participation: 25%**

Required Texts (for Purchase at Princeton University Store):

- The Contemporary Middle East. Westview Press, 2006.
- Cleveland, William. *History of the Modern Middle East (2nd ed.)* Boulder: Westview Press, 2000.
- Esposito, John. *Islam and Politics (4th ed.)* Syracuse: Syracuse university Press, 1984.
- Richards, Alan and John Waterbury. *A Political Economy of the Middle East (3rd ed.)* Boulder: Westview Press, 1996.

All Text books available on reserves: Firestone library

All other readings on e-reserve: Access through Blackboard.

Part I. The Middle East in Global Context

Week I: Introduction and History Pre-WWI (Feb 3 & 5)

A. Introduction to the Region and the Ottoman Empire:

Rdgs:

Esposito: 3-32; Cleveland: 37-102.

B. European Colonialism and the Middle East:

Rdgs:

Cleveland: 103-132; The Contemporary Middle East (TCME): 1-25.

Week II: Emergence of Nation States and Nationalism (Feb 10 & 12)

A. Drawing or Making States? The Nation-State System of the Modern Day Middle East:

Rdgs:

Esposito: 62-136.

B. Arab Nationalism and State Formation:

Rdgs:

Cleveland 133-170; TCME: 27-40.

Week III: Britain and the Aftermath of WWI (Feb 17 & 19)

A. The Colonial Empires Fall:

Rdgs:

Cleveland: 171-237.

B. The State of Israel:

Rdgs:

Cleveland 239-271, 345-367; TCME: 41-117.

Week IV: State Consolidations (Feb 24 & 26)

8

A. Coup d'états and Revolutionary Movements:

Rdgs:

Cleveland: 273-344.

B. Cold War Politics and the Middle East:

Rdgs:

Selections from: *The Middle East and the United States: A Historical and Political Reassessment*. (ed) Lesch, David. Read pieces by Peter Hahn, Richard Parker, David Lesch, and Malik Mufti. (e-reserves)

Part II: The Middle East and the legitimacy of Nation-States:

Week V: Regime Types (March 3 & 5)

A. The Consolidation of Authoritarianism:

Rdgs:

Cleveland: 369-421.

Bellin, Eva. "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: A Comparative Perspective," *Comparative Politics*, vol. 36, no. 2, pp. 139-157. Jan, 2004. (e-reserves)

Angrist Penner, Michele. "Party Systems and Regime Formation in the Modern Middle East: Explaining Turkish Exceptionalism." *Comparative Politics*, vol. 36, no. 2, pp. 228-249, Jan 2004. (e-reserves)

B. Monarchical Rule:

Rdgs:

Cleveland: 451-472; TCME: 185-198.

Anderson, Lisa. "Absolutism and the Resilience of Monarchy in the Middle East," *Political Science Quarterly*. Spring 1991. (e-reserves)

Ghabra, Shafeeq. "Kuwait and the Dynamics of Socio-Economic Change," *Middle East Journal*. Summer 1997. (e-reserves)

Herb, Michael. "Princes and Parliaments in the Arab World," *The Middle East Journal*, vol. 58, no. 3, pp. 367-384, summer 2004. (e-reserves)

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

Week VI: Pan Arabism and Islamism: Reality or Ideology (March 10 & 12)

A. Overview:

Rdgs:

Esposito: 137-227.

B. Islamic Nationalism and Pan-Islam:

Rdgs:

Esposito: 227-260; Cleveland: 423-450; TCME: 131-157.

Moustafa, Tamir. "Conflict and Cooperation Between the State and Religious Institutions in Contemporary Egypt," *IJMES*. February, 2000, pgs. 3-22. (e-reserve)

Ghobashy, Mona. "The Metamorphous of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers," *IJMES*, vol. 37, no. 3, pp. 373-395, Aug 2005. (e-reserves)

*****First Paper Due**

Week VII: Spring Break (March 17 & 19)

Part III: The Middle East and its Economies:

Week VIII: Late Development (March 24 & 25):

A. Plagued with Late Development?

Rdgs:

Richards and Waterbury: 44-69.

Shaban, Radwan, Ragui Assaad and Sulayman Al-Qudsi. "The Challenge of Unemployment in the Arab Region," *International Labour Review*, Vol. 134, No. 1, pp. 63-81, 1995. (e-reserves).

Cammett, Melani. "Defensive Integration and Late Developers: The Gulf Cooperation Council and the Arab Maghreb Union." *Global Governance* 5, no. 3 (July-September 1999): 379-402. (e-reserves)

Overview: Creating 100 Million Jobs for a Fast-Growing Work Force. World Bank.2003.

[http://Inweb18.worldbank.org/mna/mena.nsf/Attachments/EmploymentOverview/\\$File/Employment-overview.pdf](http://Inweb18.worldbank.org/mna/mena.nsf/Attachments/EmploymentOverview/$File/Employment-overview.pdf) (Course Tools)

Overview: World Bank on Investment, 2003.

[http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/mna/mena.nsf/Attachments/Trade+Report/\\$File/trade-overview.pdf](http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/mna/mena.nsf/Attachments/Trade+Report/$File/trade-overview.pdf) (Course Tools)

B. Economic Conditions and Political Development:

Rdgs:

Richards and Waterbury: 71-143.

Luciani, Giacomo. "Economic Foundation of Democracy And Authoritarianism," *Arab Studies Quarterly*. November 1999. (e-reserve)

Week IX: The State and Economy (March 31 & 2)

A. The Rentier State:

Rdgs:

Richards and Waterbury: 179-210

Kuran, Timur. "Why the Middle East is Economically Underdeveloped: Historical Mechanisms of Institutional Stagnation," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 18, No. 3 Summer 2004, pgs. 71-90. (e-reserves)

Bahgat, Gawdat. "Managing Dependence: American-Saudi Relations," *Arab Studies Quarterly*. Winter 2001, pg-1-11. (e-reserves)

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

B. Other "State-Sponsored" Economic Initiatives:

Rdgs:

Richards and Waterbury: 211-263; 325-361.

Anderson, Lisa. *The State and Social Transformation in Tunisia and Libya, 1830-1980*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986, pgs. 225-269. (e-reserves)

Part IV: The Middle East And Political Development:

Week X: Modernization, Secularism and Islam (April 7 & 9)

A. The Crisis of the “Isms” and the Emergence of Political Islam:

Rdgs:

Esposito: 260-308; TCME: 231-242.

Halliday, Fred. “The Politics of ‘Islam’-A Second Look,” *British Journal of Political Science*. July 1995. (e-reserves)

Deeb, Lara. *Hizballah: A Primer*. *Middle East Report Online* July 31, 2006.
<http://www.merip.org/mero/mero073106.html> (Course Tools)

Tugal, Cihan. “The Appeal of Islamic Politics: Ritual and Dialogue in a Poor District of Turkey,” *The Sociological Quarterly*. Vol. 47, no. 2, Spring 2006, pgs. 245-273. (e-reserves)

B. Midterm Exam

Part V: The Middle East and Current Trends

Week XI: Political Liberalization and Democratization (April 14 & 16)

A. Political Liberalization:

Rdgs:

Brynen, Korany and Noble (BKN): 3-55 and 261-306. (e-reserves)

Weiner, Myron. “Political Change: Asia, Africa, and the Middle East,” in *Understanding Political Development*. Weiner, Myron and Samuel Huntington (eds.) Illinois: Waveland Press, 1987, pgs 33-64. (e-reserves)

Rustow, Dankwart. “Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model,” *Comparative Politics*. 2:3, 1970 (e-reserves)

B. Authoritarian Legitimacy Through Elections:

Rdgs:

Robinson, Glenn. “Defensive Democratization in Jordan,” *IJMES*. August, 1998, pgs. 387-410. (e-reserves)

Langhor, Vickie. “Of Islamists and Ballot Boxes: Rethinking the Relationship between Islamists and Electoral Politics,” *IJMES*. November 2001, pgs. 591-610. (e-reserves)

Lust-Okar, Ellen, and Amaney Jamal. "Rulers and Rules: Reassessing the Influence of Regime Type on Electoral Law Formation," *Comparative Political Studies*. April, 2002. (e-reserves)

Pripstein Posusney, Marsha. "Multi-Party Elections in the Arab World: Institutional Engineering and Oppositional Strategies," *Studies in Comparative and International Development*, Vol. 36, no. 4, winter 2002, pgs. 34-62. (e-reserves)

Schwedler, Jillian. "Democratization, Inclusion and the Moderation of Islamist Parties," *Development*. Volume 50, no. 1, March 2007, pgs. 56-61. (e-reserves)

Week XII: The Middle East and its Citizens and Prospects for Democracy (April 21 & 23)

A. Civil Society and Political Culture:

Rdgs:

Norton, Augustus. (ed) *Civil Society in the Middle East (volume one)*. Introduction: Augustus Norton, pgs. 1-25. (e-reserves)

BKN: Anderson. Lisa. "Democracy in the Arab World: A Critique of the Political Culture Approach" Pg. 77-92. (e-reserves)

Tessler, Mark, "Islam and Democracy in the Middle East: The Impact of Religious Orientations on Attitudes toward Democracy in Four Arab Countries," *Comparative Politics*, April, 2002. (e-reserves)

Wedeen, Lisa. "Acting 'As If': Symbolic Politics and Social Control in Syria," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40, July 1998, pgs. 503-523. (e-reserves)

Cavatora, Francesco. "Civil Society, Democracy Promotion and Islamism on the Southern Shores of the Mediterranean," *Mediterranean Politics*. Jan, 2008. (e-reserves)

B. Prospects for Democracy: Against the Odds?

Rdgs:

Huntington, Samuel. "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs*. Summer, 1993. (e-reserves)

Ross, Michael. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics*. April 2001. (e-reserves)

Anderson, Lisa. "Peace and Democracy in the Middle East: The Constraints of Soft Budgets," *Journal of International Affairs*. Summer 1985. (e-reserves)

Roy, Sara. "The Case for Post-Cold-War US Foreign Assistance: Some Concluding Thoughts," *Middle East Policy*. January 1997. (e-reserves)

Jamal, Amaney. "The Prospects of Democracy and Economic Reform in the Arab World," *Perspectives on Politics*. Vol. 3, no. 3. September 2005, pgs. 545-547. (e-reserves)

Gause, Greg. "Can Democracy Stop Terrorism," *Foreign Affairs* 2005, pgs. 62-76. (e-reserves)

Holger Albrecht and Oliver Schlumberger. "'Waiting for Godot': Regime Change without Democratization in the Middle East," *International Political Science Review/Revue Internationale de Science Politique*, vol. 25, no. 4, pp. 371-392, Oct 2004. (e-reserves)

Week XIII: April 28 & April 30th

A. Iraq and its Strategic Significance:

TCM: 159-184; 243-270.

Diamond, Larry. "What Went Wrong in Iraq," *Foreign Affairs*. Vol. 83, no 5. September/October 2004, pgs. 34-56. (e-reserves)

Diamond, Larry. "Iraq and Democracy, The Lessons Learned," *Current History*, vol. 105, no. 687, pp. 34-39, Jan 2006. (e-reserves)

Smith, Tony. "Was Iraq a Fool's Errand," *Foreign Affairs*. Volume 83, no. 6. November/December, 2004. pgs. 130-133. (e-reserves)

Cole, Juan. "A 'Shiite Crescent'? The Regional Impact of the Iraq War." *Current History* 105, no. 687 Jan, 2006: 20-26.(e-reserves)

Dodge, Toby. "Iraq: The Contradictions of Exogenous State-Building in Historical Perspective," *Third World Quarterly* 27. Feb, 2006, pages 187-200. (e-reserves)

B. Whiter Peace and Democratic Reversals

Cleveland: 473-548.

Brownlee, Jason. "The Decline of Pluralism in Mubarak's Egypt," *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 13, no. 4, October 2002. Pgs. 6-14. (e-reserves)

Pletka, Danielle. "America's Mixed Message on Arab Democracy," *The Financial Times*. June 30, 2005. (Course Tools)

Ottaway, Martina. "Promoting Democracy in the Middle East: Problems with US Credibility, 2003. (Course Tools)

Final paper due: MAY 12, 2009