

Politics of the Middle East and North Africa

W4445x, Fall 2011
T/Th 10:35-11:50 am
504 Diana Center

[Mona El-Ghobashy](#)
404 Lehman Hall
Office hours: T& Th, 12-1 &
by appointment
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Teaching Assistants

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This course analyzes the interaction between governments and citizens in the Arab states, Israel, Turkey, and Iran. The course is structured in three parts. Part I reviews defining moments in the political history of the region from the mid-19th century to 1948, including the political structure of the Ottoman Empire, European colonial rule and its legacies, the rise of nationalisms, and the varieties of states that emerged in the interwar period. Part II examines the political economy of state-society relations from 1948-1979, particularly the growth of postcolonial states, the geopolitics of oil wealth, and the Iranian revolution of 1978-79. Part III focuses on contemporary dynamics: the politics of economic restructuring, the politics of religion, and the varieties of citizen activism across the region. We begin and end with the regional uprisings, collectively called “the Arab Spring.” The course analyzes the roots of the uprisings, with an emphasis on the origins and structure of the state in the countries experiencing upheaval as well as those that have staved off popular revolts.

As a course in comparative politics, the emphasis is on political dynamics within countries. Therefore, three significant topics in Middle East politics are not systematically covered: international relations of the Middle East, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and American foreign policy in the Middle East.

This is a course for upper-level undergraduates and graduate students. Prior coursework in political science is **required**; the course assumes knowledge of general political science concepts and theories. Undergraduates must have completed **POLS V1501** (Introduction to Comparative Politics) plus an additional political science course at the 3000 level or higher. M.A. and SIPA students must have completed at least one of the other 4000-level regional politics courses.

Requirements

❖ Map Quiz	5%
❖ First expository essay	25%
❖ Second expository essay	30%
❖ Third, cumulative final essay	40%

Attendance is naturally mandatory, but not recorded. Please be in your seat by 10:30; class starts promptly at 10:35 am. Class handouts are posted on Courseworks but lecture slides are not. You should read the first two-three texts associated with each lecture *before* attending the lecture.

The *map quiz* is worth 5% of your grade and will be administered in class on **Tuesday, September 20**. You will be asked to locate 10 countries on a blank map, and to name the capitals of five countries (but not locate these on the map). *There is no make-up quiz*. If you do not sit for the quiz, you forfeit 5% of your course grade.

All *written work* for the course is designed to sharpen your analytical writing through mastering the form of the expository essay. The three essays are all take-home and require you to compose a thoughtful argument in 1,500-2,000 words in response to a specific question. Essay questions will be distributed at least one week in advance and you will always have a choice of topics. No outside research is required for the essays, only careful, critical analysis of course readings (both required and recommended readings).

When you need more information than that found in course readings, a link has been created for the course containing much material on the Arab Spring, historical uprisings in the region, youth in the Middle East, individual country studies, and leading academic and journalistic resources on Middle East politics. The link is at: <http://www.delicious.com/MENA2011>

To help you plan your semester schedule, due dates for all the essays are indicated on the course schedule below. Requests for extensions must be made in writing at least **one week** in advance of the deadline, and are granted at the discretion of the instructor. No extensions will be granted on the deadline of the third and final essay, which is determined by the University Registrar.

Learning Objectives

At the end of the course you will be able to:

- ❖ Identify key actors and issues in Middle East politics today.
- ❖ Evaluate major theoretical approaches in the field of comparative politics and the sub-field of Middle East politics.
- ❖ Build an effective argument based on cogent reasons and evidence.
- ❖ Recognize the difference between narrative and expository essays, and master the skill of writing an expository essay.

Required Texts

The following two required books for the course have been ordered at **Book Culture** (112th St. btw. Broadway and Amsterdam, 212-865-1588) and also placed on reserve at Lehman Library, International Affairs Building. All other readings are accessible online via Courseworks, both on the reserves list and in a Class Files folder titled 'Readings.'

- ❖ Michele Penner Angrist, Ed., *Politics and Society in the Contemporary Middle East* (Boulder: Lynner Rienner, 2010).
- ❖ William Cleveland and Martin Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East, 4th Edition* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2009).

Late Essays

Late essays will be downgraded one-third of a letter grade (e.g. from a B to a B-) if submitted after 11:50 am on the day they are due, and penalized an additional one-third of a letter grade for each subsequent day late. Essays submitted more than **two** days after the due date will not be accepted.

For example, if an essay is due October 18 and receives a grade of 'B', it will be downgraded as follows if submitted late:

After class on Oct. 18	B-
Oct. 19	C+
Oct. 20	C
Oct. 21	Not accepted

The due date for the third and final essay is the final exam date set by the Registrar and is non-negotiable.

No grade of “Incomplete” will be assigned in this course, so please organize your schedule to hand in all work on time.

Auditing the Course

Due to classroom space constraints this year, unfortunately no auditors will be allowed to sit in on lectures.

Academic Honesty

All students enrolled in this course must adhere to the Barnard College honor code, regardless of their academic affiliation. The honor code states that it is “dishonest to ask for, give, or receive help in examinations or quizzes, to use any papers or books not authorized by the instructor in examinations, or to present oral work or written work which is not entirely our own, unless otherwise approved by the instructor.”

If you have any questions about the Honor Code, please seek guidance from the TAs and instructor.

Course Schedule

September 6: Introduction, Course Overview

For your reference, these are some recommended readings on American engagement with the Middle East:

- ❖ Douglas Little, “A Tale of Four Doctrines: U.S. National Security, the Soviet Threat, and the Middle East,” in Little, *American Orientalism: The United States and the Middle East since 1945* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 117-55.
- ❖ Zachary Lockman, “The American Century,” in idem, *Contending Visions of the Middle East* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 121-47.
- ❖ Timothy Mitchell, “The Middle East in the Past and Future of Social Science,” in David Szanton, Ed., *The Politics of Knowledge: Area Studies and the Disciplines* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).
- ❖ Melani McAlister, *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and U.S. Interests in the Middle East, 1945-2000, 2nd Ed.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).
- ❖ Salim Yaqub, *Containing Arab Nationalism: The Eisenhower Doctrine and the Middle East* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006).
- ❖ Douglas Little, “Mission Impossible: The CIA and the Cult of Covert Action in the Middle East,” *Diplomatic History* 28 (November 2004): 663-701.

September 8: Middle East Politics Today: Some Salient Dynamics

- ❖ Lisa Anderson, “Demystifying the Arab Spring: Parsing the Differences between Tunisia, Egypt, Libya,” *Foreign Affairs* 90 (May-June 2011): 2-7.
- ❖ Vali Nasr, “Showdown in Tehran,” *Foreign Policy*, June 23, 2011.
- ❖ Ellen Knickmeyer, “In Saudi Arabia, an Undercover Revolution,” *Foreign Policy*, June 27, 2011.
- ❖ Daa Hadid, “In Israel protests, a surprise Arab-inspired taste,” *Associated Press*, August 10, 2011.

September 13: A Closer Look at the Arab Spring

- ❖ Mouin Rabbani, “The Arab Revolts: Ten Tentative Observations,” *People’s Power: The Arab World in Revolt* (Heinrich Böll Stiftung, May 2011), pp. 10-13.
- ❖ International Crisis Group (ICG), “Tunisia’s Way,” April 28, 2011 pp. i-iii & 1-12.

- ❖ Mona El-Ghobashy, “The Praxis of the Egyptian Revolution,” *Middle East Report* (Spring 2011), pp. 2-12.
- ❖ Jane Kinninmont, “Bahrain’s Re-Reform Movement,” *Foreign Affairs*, February 28, 2011.
- ❖ Sheila Carapico, “No Exit: Yemen’s Existential Crisis,” *Middle East Report Online*, May 3, 2011.
- ❖ Laryssa Chomiak & John Entelis, “The Making of North Africa’s Intifadas,” *Middle East Report* (Summer 2011), pp. 8-15.
- ❖ ICG, “The Syrian People’s Slow-Motion Revolution,” July 6, 2011.
- ❖ Marc Lynch, “Libya inspires the Arabs,” *Foreign Policy*, August 22, 2011.

September 15: A Framework for Understanding Middle East Politics

- ❖ Robert Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), ch. 1.
- ❖ Michele Penner Angrist, Ed., *Politics and Society in the Contemporary Middle East*, chs. 2, 3, 4.

Part I. Political History of the Middle East and North Africa

September 20: The Middle East under Ottoman Rule

- ❖ Molly Greene, “The Ottoman Experience,” *Daedalus 134* (Spring 2005): 88-99.
- ❖ William Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, chs. 4, 5, 8.
- ❖ James Gelvin, “Constitutionalism” in *The Modern Middle East: A History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 139-146.

Recommended:

- ❖ Karen Barkey, “In the lands of the Ottomans: religion and politics,” in Ira Katznelson and Gareth Stedman Jones, Eds., *Religion and the Political Imagination* (Cambridge University Press, 2010) {E-BOOK in CLIO}
- ❖ Nader Sohrabi, “Global Waves, Local Actors: What the Young Turks Knew about Other Revolutions and Why it Mattered,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (2002): 45-79.

In-class Map Quiz, Tuesday September 20

September 22-27: British and French Colonialism and Struggles for Independence

- ❖ Cleveland, pp. 157-70 & ch. 12.
- ❖ John Ruedy, *Modern Algeria: The Origins and Development of a Nation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), ch. 4.
- ❖ James Onley, "Britain's Native Agents in Arabia and Persia in the Nineteenth Century," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 24:1 (2004): 129-137.
- ❖ Toby Dodge, *Inventing Iraq: The Failure of Nation Building and a History Denied* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 63-100, 131-56.

Recommended:

- ❖ Noga Efrati, "The Other 'Awakening' in Iraq: The Women's Movement in the First Half of the Twentieth Century," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 31 (November 2004): 153-173.

September 29: The Rise of Nationalisms, the Building of States: Israel

- ❖ Cleveland, ch. 13.
- ❖ Ted Swedenburg, "The Role of the Palestinian Peasantry in the Great Revolt (1936-1939)," in Edmund Burke and Ira Lapidus, Eds., *Islam, Politics, and Social Movements* (University of California Press, 1988), pp. 169-203.

Recommended:

- ❖ Charles D. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History with Documents, 6th Edition* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2007).

October 4: No class (attending conference at Notre Dame)

October 6: The Rise of Nationalisms, the Building of States: Turkey and Iran

- ❖ Roger Owen, *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East* (London: Routledge, 2000) {available as an E-BOOK via CLIO}, pp. 22-26.
- ❖ Tolga Köker, "The Establishment of Kemalist Secularism in Turkey," *Middle East Law and Governance* 2 (2010): 17-42.
- ❖ Touraj Atabaki & Erik Zürcher, Eds., *Men of Order: Authoritarian Modernization under Atatürk and Reza Shah* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004), chs. 2 & 6.

Recommended:

- ❖ Ervand Abrahamian, “The 1953 Coup in Iran.” *Science and Society* 65 (Summer 2001): 182-215.
- ❖ Stephen Kinzer, *All the Shah’s Men: An American Coup and the Roots of Middle East Terror* (Hoboken: John Wiley, 2008).

Part II. The Politics of State-Building and Economic Management

October 11: The Politics of State Formation

- ❖ Lisa Anderson, “The State in the Middle East and North Africa,” *Comparative Politics* 20:1 (October 1987): 1-18.
- ❖ Alan Richards and John Waterbury, *A Political Economy of the Middle East*, chapter 7.
- ❖ Roger Owen, *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East* (London: Routledge, 2000), chs. 2 & 3.
- ❖ Cleveland, ch. 19 (Syria and Iraq).

Recommended:

- ❖ Michael Barnett, *Confronting the Costs of War: Military Power, State, and Society in Egypt and Israel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 210-243, {available as an E-BOOK via CLIO}.
- ❖ Steven Heydemann, ed., *War, Institutions, and Social Change in the Middle East* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000) {available as an E-BOOK via CLIO}

October 13: The Political Economy of Oil

- ❖ Hazem Beblawi, “The Rentier State in the Arab World,” in Giacomo Luciani, ed., *The Arab State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 85-98.
- ❖ Michael Herb, “No Representation without Taxation? Rents, Development, and Democracy,” *Comparative Politics* (April 2005): 297-316.
- ❖ Benjamin B. Smith, *Hard Times in the Lands of Plenty: Oil Politics in Iran and Indonesia* (Cornell University Press, 2007), Introduction & ch. 2
- ❖ Timothy Mitchell, “Carbon Democracy,” *Economy and Society* 38 (August 2009): 399-432.

Recommended:

- ❖ Edmund Burke III and Paul Lubeck, “Explaining Social Movements in Two Oil-Exporting States: Divergent Outcomes in Nigeria and Iran,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (October 1987): 643-665.
- ❖ Gwenn Okruhlik, “Rentier Wealth, Unruly Law, and the Rise of Opposition: The Political Economy of Oil States,” *Comparative Politics* 31 (April 1999).
- ❖ Michael Ross, “Does Oil Hinder Democracy?” *World Politics* 53 (2001): 325-61.
- ❖ E. Goldberg, E. Wibbels, E. Mvukiyehe, “Lessons from Strange Cases: Democracy, Development, and the Resource Curse in the US states,” *Comparative Political Studies* 41 (2008): 477-514.

October 18: The Iranian Revolution: Causes and Legacies

- ❖ Cleveland, ch. 20.
- ❖ Theda Skocpol, “Rentier State and Shi’ a Islam in the Iranian Revolution,” *Theory and Society* 11:3 (May 1982): 265-283.
- ❖ Nikki Keddie, “Comments on Skocpol,” *Theory and Society* 11:3 (May 1982): 285-292.
- ❖ Charles Kurzman, “The Qum Protests and the Coming of the Iranian Revolution, 1975 and 1978,” *Social Science History* 27:3 (Fall 2003): 287-325.
- ❖ Arang Keshavarzian, “Elite Fragmentation in Iran: Contestation without Democracy,” in Marsha Pripstein Posusney and Michele Penner Angrist, Eds., *Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Regimes and Resistance* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2005).

Essay 1 due in class, Tuesday October 18

Recommended:

- ❖ Charles Kurzman, *The Unthinkable Revolution in Iran* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).
- ❖ Fariba Adelkhah, *Being Modern in Iran* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), ch. 4 (“The Story of an Election”)
- ❖ Misagh Parsa, *States, Ideologies, and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of Iran, Nicaragua, and the Philippines* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- ❖ John Foran, ed., *A Century of Revolution: Social Movements in Iran* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995)

October 20: The Politics of Economic Reform

- ❖ Alan Richards and John Waterbury, *A Political Economy of the Middle East* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2007), chs. 8 &9.
- ❖ Ziya Önis, “The Political Economy of Turkey’s Justice and Development Party,” in M. Hakan Yavuz, Ed., *The Emergence of a New Turkey: Islam, Democracy, and the AK Parti* (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2006), 207-234.
- ❖ Pete Moore, “What Makes Successful Business Lobbies? Business Associations and The Rentier State in Jordan and Kuwait,” *Comparative Politics* 33:2 (January 2001): 127-147.
- ❖ Gershon Shafir and Yoav Peled, “Economic Liberalization and Peacemaking,” in Shafir and Peled, *Being Israeli: The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 231-59.
- ❖ John Sfakianakis, “The Whales of the Nile: Networks, Businessmen, and Bureaucrats during the Era of Privatization in Egypt,” in Steven Heydemann, Ed., *Networks of Privilege in the Middle East: The Politics of Economic Reform Revisited* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 77-100.

Recommended:

- ❖ Ayse Bugra, “Class, Culture, and State: An Analysis of Interest Representation by Two Turkish Business Associations,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30 (November 1998): 521-539.

Part III. Contemporary Political Dynamics

October 25-27: The Politics of Democratization I: Culture or Structure?

- ❖ *The Economist*, “Cultural Explanations: The Man in the Baghdad Café,” November 9, 1996.
- ❖ Elie Kedourie, *Democracy and Arab Political Culture* (Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1992), 1-11.
- ❖ Michael Hudson, “The Political Culture Approach to Arab Democratization: The Case for Bringing it Back in, Carefully,” in Rex Brynen et al, Eds., *Political Liberalization and Democratization in the Arab World* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1995), 61-76.
- ❖ Lisa Anderson, “Democracy in the Arab World: A Critique of the Political Culture Approach,” in Brynen et al, Eds., *Political Liberalization*, 77-92.
- ❖ Carles Boix, “The Roots of Democracy,” *Policy Review* No. 135 (February/March 2006).

- ❖ Alfred Stepan with Graeme Robertson, “An “Arab” more than “Muslim” Gap,” *Journal of Democracy* 14:3 (July 2003): 30-44.
- ❖ Amaney Jamal and Mark Tessler, “The Arab Aspiration for Democracy,” in Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner, Eds., *How People View Democracy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 129-142.

November 1-3: The Politics of Democratization II: Elite-led, Citizen-inspired, or U.S.-promoted?

- ❖ Glenn Robinson, “Defensive Democratization in Jordan,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30:3 (August 1998): 387-410.
- ❖ Steven Heydemann, “Upgrading Authoritarianism in the Arab World,” (Brookings Institution, 2007), 1-35.
- ❖ Larbi Sadiki, “Popular Uprisings and Arab Democratization,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 32:1 (February 2000): 71-95.
- ❖ Michael Herb, “Emirs and Parliaments in the Gulf,” *Journal of Democracy* (October 2002): 41-47.
- ❖ Sheila Carapico, “Foreign Aid for Promoting Democracy in the Arab World,” *Middle East Journal* (Summer 2002): 379-395.
- ❖ Thomas Carothers, “The End of the Transition Paradigm” *Journal of Democracy* (January 2002): 5-21.

Recommended:

- ❖ Quintan Wiktorowicz, “Civil Society as Social Control: State Power in Jordan,” *Comparative Politics* 33:1 (October 2000): 43-61.
- ❖ James M. Scott and Carrie Steele, “Assisting democrats or resisting dictators? The nature and impact of democracy support by the United States National Endowment for Democracy, 1990-1999,” *Democratization* 12:4 (August 2005): 439-60.
- ❖ Ellen Lust-Okar and Amaney Jamal, “Rulers and Rules: Reassessing the Influence of Regime Type on Electoral Law Formation,” *Comparative Political Studies* 35 (2002): 337-366.
- ❖ Marsha Pripstein Posusney, “Multi-Party Elections in the Arab World,” *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36:4 (Winter 2002): 34-62.
- ❖ Thomas Pierret and Kjetil Selvik, “Limits of “Authoritarian Upgrading” in Syria: Private Welfare, Islamic Charities, and the Rise of the Zayd Movement,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 41 (2009): 595-614.

- ❖ Stephen Knack, “Does Foreign Aid Promote Democracy?” *International Studies Quarterly* 48:1 (March 2004): 251-66.
- ❖ Sonia Cardenas and Andrew Flibbert, “National Human Rights Institutions in the Middle East,” *Middle East Journal* 59:3 (Summer 2005).
- ❖ “Promoting Democracy Abroad,” Special issue of *Democratization* (August 2005).

November 8: No class (Election Day)

November 10: Religion and Politics I: Concepts

- ❖ Angrist, chs. 6&7.
- ❖ Kenneth Wald et al, “Making Sense of Religion in Political Life,” *Annual Review of Political Science* (2005): 121-43.
- ❖ Charles Kurzman, “Bin Laden and Other Thoroughly Modern Muslims,” *Contexts* (fall/winter 2002): 13-20.
- ❖ Guilain Denoeux, “The Forgotten Swamp: Navigating Political Islam,” *Middle East Policy* 9:2 (June 2002): 56-81.

November 15-17: Religion and Politics II: Political Context and the Turn to Violence

Political Context

- ❖ Ezra Kopelowitz, “Religious Politics and Israel’s Ethnic Democracy,” *Israel Studies* 6:3 (Fall 2001): 166-90.
- ❖ Glenn Robinson, “ Hamas as Social Movement,” in Quintan Wiktorowicz, Ed., *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2004), 112-142.
- ❖ Khaled Hroub, “A “New Hamas” through its New Documents,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 35 (Summer 2006): 6-27.
- ❖ Charlez Kurzman & Ijlal Naqvi, “Do Muslims vote Islamic?” *Journal of Democracy* 21 (April 2010): 50-63.
- ❖ Amr Hamzawy & Nathan Brown, “Islamist Parties: A Boon or a Bane for Democracy?” *Journal of Democracy* 19 (July 2008): 49-54.
- ❖ Bassam Tibi, “Islamist Parties: Why they can’t be democratic,” *Journal of Democracy* 19 (July 2008): 43-48.

Essay 2 due in class, Tuesday November 15

The Strategy of Violence

- ❖ Charles Tilly, “Terror, Terrorism, Terrorists,” *Sociological Theory* 22 (2004): 5-13.
- ❖ Robert Pape, “The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism,” *American Political Science Review* 97 (2003): 343-61.
- ❖ Günes Murat Tezcür, “When Democratization Radicalizes: The Kurdish Nationalist Movement in Turkey,” *Journal of Peace Research* 47 (2010): 775-789.
- ❖ Stathis Kalyvas, “Wanton and Senseless? The Logic of Massacres in Algeria,” *Rationality and Society* 11 (1999): 243-285.
- ❖ Ehud Sprinzak, “Three Models of Religious Violence: The Case of Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel,” in Martin Marty and R. Scott Appleby, eds., *Fundamentalisms and the State: Remaking Politics, Economies, and Militance* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 462-90.

Recommended:

- ❖ Augustus Richard Norton, *Hezbollah: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007)
- ❖ Khalil Shikaki, “The Palestinian Elections: Sweeping Victory, Uncertain Mandate,” *Journal of Democracy* 17:3 (July 2006): 116-130.
- ❖ Khaled Hroub, *Hamas: A Beginner’s Guide* (London: Pluto Press, 2006)
- ❖ Shaul Mishal and Avraham Sela, *The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence, and Coexistence* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006)
- ❖ David Rose, “The Gaza Bombshell,” *Vanity Fair* (April 2008).
- ❖ Stathis Kalyvas, “Commitment Problems in Emerging Democracies: the Case of Religious Parties,” *Comparative Politics* (2000).
- ❖ Jillian Schwedler, *Faith in Moderation: Islamist Parties in Jordan and Yemen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- ❖ Robert Freedman, *Contemporary Israel* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2008), ch. 4.
- ❖ Mona El-Ghobashy, “The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37 (August 2005): 373-395.
- ❖ Anthony Shadid, *Legacy of the Prophet: Despots, Democrats, and the New Politics of Islam* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2002).
- ❖ M. Hakan Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

- ❖ Diego Gambetta, ed., *Making Sense of Suicide Missions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006)
- ❖ Mohammed M. Hafez, *Manufacturing Human Bombs: The Making of Palestinian Suicide Bombers* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2006).
- ❖ Mona Harb and Reinoud Leenders, “Know Thy Enemy: Hizbullah, ‘Terrorism’ and the Politics of Perception,” *Third World Quarterly* 26:1 (February 2005): 173-197.

November 22-29: Forms of Citizen Activism
(Thanksgiving November 24)

- ❖ Angrist, Ed., *Politics and Society in the Contemporary Middle East*, ch. 5.
- ❖ Asef Bayat, “Activism and Social Development in the Middle East,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 34:1 (February 2002): 1-28.
- ❖ Joel Migdal, “Civil Society in Israel,” in Migdal, *Through the Lens of Israel: Explorations in State and Society* (State University of New York Press, 2001), 107-122.
- ❖ Valentine Moghadam & Elham Gheytanchi, “Political Opportunities and Strategic Choices: Comparing Feminist Campaigns in Morocco and Iran,” *Mobilization* 15 (2010): 267-88.
- ❖ Tamir Moustafa, “Got Rights? Public Interest Litigation and the Egyptian Human Rights Movement,” in Anthony Chase and Amr Hamzawy, Eds., *Human Rights in the Arab World: Independent Voices* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 153-173.
- ❖ Janine Astrid Clark and Jillian Schwedler, “Who Opened the Window? Women’s Activism in Islamist Parties,” *Comparative Politics* 35:3 (April 2003): 293-312.
- ❖ Nicole Watts, “Activists in Office: Pro-Kurdish Contentious Politics in Turkey,” *Ethnopolitics* 5 (June 2006): 125-144.
- ❖ Susan Waltz, *Human Rights and Reform: Changing the Face of North African Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), chs. 7&8.
- ❖ Fred Lawson, “Repertoires of Contention in Contemporary Bahrain,” in Quintan Wiktorowicz, Ed., *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*, 89-111.

Recommended:

- ❖ Joel Beinin and Frederic Vairel, Eds., *Social Movements, Mobilization, and Contestation in the Middle East and North Africa* (Stanford University Press, 2011).

- ❖ Ellen Lust-Okar and Saloua Zerhouni, Eds., *Political Participation in the Middle East* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2008).
- ❖ Amnesty International, *Challenging Repression: Human Rights Defenders in the Middle East and North Africa* (2008).
- ❖ Amaney Jamal, *Barriers to Democracy: the Other Side of Social Capital in Palestine and the Arab World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).
- ❖ Gwenn Okruhlik, "Making Conversation Permissible: Islamism and Reform in Saudi Arabia," in Wiktorowicz, Ed., *Islamic Activism*, 250-69.
- ❖ Lara Deeb, *An Enchanted Modern: Gender and Public Piety in Shi'i Lebanon* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).
- ❖ Mehrdad Mashayekhi, "The Revival of the Student Movement in Post-Revolutionary Iran," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 15 (Winter 2001): 283-313.
- ❖ Lisa Hajjar, "Human Rights in Israel/Palestine: The History and Politics of a Movement," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 30 (Summer 2001): 21-38.
- ❖ Tamar Hermann, "Do they have a chance? Protest and Political Structure of Opportunities in Israel," *Israel Studies* 1:1 (Spring 1996): 144-170.
- ❖ Mounira Charrad, *States and Women's Rights: The Making of Postcolonial Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).
- ❖ Lisa Wedeen, *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999), ch. 4.
- ❖ Sheila Carapico, *Civil Society in Yemen: The Political Economy of Activism in Modern Arabia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- ❖ Madawi al-Rasheed, *Contesting the Saudi State: Islamic Voices from a New Generation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- ❖ Diane Singerman, *Avenues of Participation: Family, Politics, and Networks in Urban Quarters of Cairo* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).
- ❖ Mahsa Shekarloo, "Iranian Women Take On the Constitution," *Middle East Report Online*, July 21, 2005.
- ❖ Manar Shorbagy, "The Egyptian Movement for Change, Kefaya: Redefining Politics in Egypt," *Public Culture* 19 (2007): 175-196.
- ❖ Yael Yishai, "Civil Society in Transition: Interest Politics in Israel," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 555 (1998): 147-162.

December 1: New Media, New Politics?

- ❖ James Glanz & John Markoff, “Egypt Leaders Found ‘Off’ Switch for Internet,” *New York Times*, February 15, 2011.
- ❖ Marc Lynch, “After Egypt: The Limits and Promise of Online Challenges to the Authoritarian Arab State,” *Perspectives on Politics* 9 (June 2011): 301-310.
- ❖ Philip Howard & Muzammil Hussain, “The Upheavals in Egypt and Tunisia: The Role of Digital Media,” *Journal of Democracy* 22 (July 2011): 35-48.
- ❖ Babak Rahimi and Elham Gheytauchi, “Iran’s Reformists and Activists: Internet Exploiters,” *Middle East Policy* 15 (Spring 2008): 46-59.

Recommended:

- ❖ Jeffrey Ghannam, *Social Media in the Arab World: Leading up to the Uprisings of 2011* (Washington, DC: Center for International Media Assistance, 2011).
- ❖ Marc Lynch, *Voices of the New Arab Public: Iraq, al-Jazeera, and Middle East Politics Today* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006) {E-BOOK via CLIO}
- ❖ Malcolm Gladwell, “Small Change: Why the revolution will not be tweeted,” *The New Yorker*, October 4, 2010.
- ❖ Philip Seib, Ed., *New Media and the New Middle East* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

December 6-8: The Arab Spring Revisited

- ❖ Thomas Carothers, “Think Again: Arab Democracy,” *Foreign Policy*, March 10, 2011.
- ❖ Mouin Rabbani, “The Securitization of Political Rule: Security Domination of Arab Regimes and the Prospects of Democratization,” *People’s Power: The Arab World in Revolt* (Heinrich Böll Stiftung, May 2011), pp. 268-272.
- ❖ Larry Diamond, “A Fourth Wave or False Start? Democracy after the Arab Spring,” *Foreign Affairs*, May 22, 2011.

Final essay due Tuesday, December 20 @ noon

This is the time set by the University Registrar for the final exam in this course. You may submit your essay earlier, but no extensions beyond this date will be granted.
