

**POL479/POL2418 – Selected Topics in Middle East Politics,
Department of Political Science
Fall 2017, Wednesdays 5-7pm,
Location: SS 1078.**

Course Title: *Authoritarianism and Protest Politics in the Middle East*

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Office Hours: Wednesdays, 2-4 pm.

Course Description: This course sets out to understand the challenges facing protest politics in the unsettled but still resiliently authoritarian Middle East region.

The course is divided into two parts. The first section focuses on the question of authoritarian resilience or, in the language of social movement theory, the restricted, if shifting, nature of political opportunities. It will begin by critiquing some of the more prevalent 'essentialist' approaches to the study of the Middle East and encourage the use of approaches that incorporate 'middle-range' theoretical insights from political economy, comparative politics, and comparative history. This will be followed by an examination of several country case studies of historical processes of state formation in the region. The following three weeks then examine the factors that have contributed to the resilience of authoritarian rule: regime management of the coercive apparatus, regime management of the political incorporation of economic and political elites, and regime management of the political incorporation of popular forces.

The second part of the course begins with two class workshops on 'social movement theory' as applied to the Middle East. These workshops will provide a testing ground for the short papers that you will be asked to submit the following week. The last four weeks of the course revolve around student presentation of their research paper proposals. Classes will be designed as a workshop, aimed at providing constructive feedback to the student presenter as to how their arguments and analysis for their papers can be enhanced. Ideally, depending upon your own choices of protest movements, each week will be devoted to seminars that focus on the same country or group of countries with similar regime types.

Course Readings: There is one required text for undergraduate students and two required texts for graduate students. The majority of the rest of the courses readings can be found in short-term loan in Robarts Library or its on-line electronic catalogue (for journal articles).

(Required for both undergraduate and graduate students) Quinton Wiktorowicz (ed.), *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*, Indiana University Press, 2004.

(Required for graduate students only) Joel Beinin and Frederick Vairel (eds.), *Social Movements, Mobilization and Contestation in the Middle East and North Africa*, Stanford University Press, 2013.

Course Requirements:

- Readings – undergraduate students are required to read at least three readings per week; graduate students, more!
- 10% for class participation. This evaluation will be based upon both the degree of participation in class discussions (5%) as well as the quality of participation (5%) – the latter indicated by evidence of whether students have done their readings. ***Although the formal reading for the course takes place during the first eight weeks of the course, the participation mark will be based on participation (and attendance!) throughout the whole course.***
- 15% for up to three in-class oral presentations of articles on the reading list (the number will depend upon the size of the class). The presentation should be 10 minutes in length (no longer!) and follow the following format **rigorously**: (i) present the analytical question that the article is asking and the thesis that the article proposes, and (ii) provide a well-organized summary of the argumentation used to support the thesis (the bulk of the presentation).
- 15% for three thematic analytical article summaries (3 pages double spaced, 11 point font) – 5% each:
 - Undergraduate Students – are required to write three thematic analytical summaries. Each summary – to be based upon **TWO** articles in any given week between week 2 and week 6 - must focus on common analytical themes that cross-cut these articles. Each analytical summary assignment is due one week after the readings have been discussed in class.
 - Graduate Students – are also required write three analytical summaries. Each summary – to be based upon **THREE** articles in any given week between week 2 and week 6 - must focus on the common analytical themes that cross-cut these articles. Each analytical summary assignment is due one week after the readings have been discussed in class.
- 20% for a 5 page/12 pt font short paper on social movement theory, due on **November 15th (in class and/or via email by the start of the class)**. Students are asked to answer the following:

“What is social movement theory, what advantages are derived from its application to the Middle East, and does it provide comprehensive causal explanations for the dynamics of collective action in the region?”

- Undergraduate Students – must base their answer to these question on the reading of Quinton Wiktorowicz (ed.), *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*, Indiana University Press, 2004.
- Graduate Students – must base their answer to these questions on the readings of both (i) Quinton Wiktorowicz (ed.), *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*, Indiana University Press, 2004, and (ii) (eds.), Joel Beinin and Frederick Vairel, *Social Movements, Mobilization and Contestation in the Middle East and North Africa*, Stanford University Press, 2013.
- 40% for a final paper - 5% of which will be based upon a crisp and concise 10 minute class seminar presentation of the (i) framework and (ii) main arguments of the paper. All papers are due without exception on **Monday, December 11th at 5pm (papers can be submitted via email to kingston@chass.utoronto.ca).**

Paper Requirements:

1. Undergraduate papers are to be up to 20 pages/11 pt font; graduate papers are to be up to 25 pages, 11 pt font.
2. I will be asking each student to provide me with two short lists – (i) one of their top three preferences of protest actors, (ii) the other of their top three preferences of (ii) country focus. Please hand these in, at the latest, ***by the beginning of the fourth class (October 4th)***. I will then assign topics – hopefully, your top choices! - and draw up a seminar roster. Graduate students should be prepared to present their seminars early in the process, even if their research papers are only in embryonic form.
3. Topics and thesis statements will be worked out in consultation with the professor but, by and large, I am expecting students to apply some aspect of the ‘social movement theory’ framework to their seminars and research papers.
4. Students will also be expected to integrate – in a significant way - into their research papers insights from the first half of the course on the political context and/or “political opportunity structures” within which their respective protest politics case study operates.
5. I am expecting students to consult with me early on in the term - and often if needs be - about the exact topic of the paper, an appropriate bibliography and, once the

research is underway, the precise question and thesis that the research paper will pursue.

7. **Late Penalties:** .5% of the final mark in the course per day of the assignment that is late.

8. **Plagiarism:** Every year, students are caught for plagiarism. This is defined by the University of Toronto's Code of Behavior on Academic Matters as "the wrongful appropriation and purloining, and publication as one's own, of the ideas, or the expression of the ideas...of another". Please do not even think of doing this. The penalties are severe. For more information, please see <http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>.

Accessibility Needs: The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility for those students that require it. If you require accommodation or have any accessibility concerns, please let me know, email disability.services@utoronto.ca or visit <http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility>.

Section One – Authoritarian Origins and Dynamics in the Middle East (Article Presentations):

1. Introduction (Wednesday, September 13th):

What have the events surrounding the various Arab Springs of 2011 taught political scientists interested in the Middle East about the nature of authoritarianism in the region? Can authoritarian regime resilience be understood without reference to the social forces that lie 'beneath' (and did political scientists interested in the region miss this!)?

Bellin, Eva; and Lust, Ellen; and Lynch, Marc; "Responses to Howard and Walters" in *Perspectives on Politics*, 12, 2, June 2014, p. 409-416.

2. Avoiding 'Essentialisms': Debating Theories of Authoritarian Resilience in the Middle East (Wednesday, September 20th).

What theoretical approaches to the study of politics in the Middle East does each of these authors critique? What theoretical approaches does each of these authors prioritize? Are all of these approaches mutually exclusive?

(Required for all) Zubaida, Sami, "The Nation State in the Middle East" in *Islam, the People, and the State*, 1989, p. 121-145.

Bromley, Simon, "Rethinking Middle East Politics", in *Rethinking Middle East Politics*, 1994, pp. 86-114.

Brownlee, Jason, Massoud, Tareq, and Reynolds, Andrew, ""Theorizing the Arab Spring" and "Lineages of Repression", in (eds.) Brownlee, Massoud, and Reynolds, *The Arab Spring: Pathways of Repression and Reform*, 2015. p. 40-64.

Brumberg, Daniel, "Theories of Transition" in (Ed.) Marc Lynch, *The Arab Uprisings Explained: New Contentious Politics in the Middle East*, 2014, pp. 29-54.

Hanieh, Adam, *Lineages of Revolt: Issues of Contemporary Capitalism in the Middle East*, 1-15.

Wedeen, Lisa, "Practicing Piety, Summoning Groups: Disorder as Control", in *Publics, Power, and Performance in Yemen*, 2008, pp. 148-185 (a constructivist approach to political analysis).

3. State Formation and Authoritarian Regime Consolidation in Historical Perspective (Wednesday, September 27th):

What general factors have driven processes of authoritarian state formation in the Middle East? What are the key factors that have complicated these processes in the Middle East region and led to the emergence of diverse authoritarian trajectories and institutional profiles?

- **Undergraduate student** – please read both required articles and at least one of the case studies in either category of more 'effective' or 'less effective' case studies of political incorporation and state formation.
- **Graduate students** - please read both required articles and at least one case study within each of the categories of 'more effective' and less effective' cases of political incorporation and state formation.

(Required) Anderson, Lisa, *The State and Social Transformation in Tunisia and Libya, 1830-1980*, 1986, p. 3-35.

(Required) Waldner, David, "State-Building and the Origins of Institutional Profiles" in *State-Building and Late Development*, 1999, p. 19-49.

(i) *Examples of 'More Effective' Cases of Political Incorporation:*

Anderson, Lisa, *The State and Social Transformation in Tunisia and Libya, 1830-1980*, 1986, p. 135-178 (case study of Tunisian state formation under the French).

Chaudhry, Kiren Aziz, "The National Market Unified" in *The Price of Wealth: Economies and Institutions in the Middle East*, 1997, p. 43-100 (case study of Saudi Arabia).

Tell, Tariq, *The Social and Economic Origins of Monarchy in Jordan*, 2013, p. 83-138.

(ii) *Examples of 'Less Effective' Cases of Political Incorporation:*

Anderson, Lisa, *The State and Social Transformation in Tunisia and Libya, 1830-1980*, 1986, p. 179-222 (case study of Libyan state formation under the Italians).

Migdal, J., "The Egyptian State Attempts to Transform Egyptian Society" in *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World*, 1988, p. 181-205.

Yom, Sean, *From Resilience to Revolution: How Foreign Interventions Destabilize the Middle East*, 2016, p. 98-155 (case study of Iran under the Shah).

4. The Problem of Authoritarian Power-Sharing I: Regime Consolidation and the Management of the Coercive Apparatus (Wednesday, October 4th):

Authoritarian regimes face difficult dilemmas when managing politics 'inside the state', especially with respect to the management of the state's coercive apparatus. When regimes have faltered, for example, many have done so as a result of 'revolts from within the state'. How have Middle Eastern states tried to solve these dilemmas and what have been the consequences for state and regime formation?

Essay Topic Preferences Due Today

(Required) Droz-Vincent, Philippe, "The Military amidst Uprisings and Transitions in the Arab World" in (ed.) Fawaz Gerges, *The New Middle East: Protest and Revolution in the Arab World*, 2014, p. 180-208.

Akca, Ismet, "The Conglomerate of the Turkish Military (OYAK) and the Dynamics of Turkish Capitalism" in (eds.) Zeinab Abul-Magd and Elke Grawert, *Businessmen in Arms: How the Military and Other Armed Groups Profit in the MENA Region*, 2016, p. 69-98.

Baylouni, Anne Marie, "Militarizing Welfare: Neo-Liberalism and Jordanian Policy" in *Middle East Journal*, 62, 2, Spring 2008, p 277-303.

Farozar, H. and Shahi, A, "The Military and the State in Iran: The Economic Rise of the Revolutionary Guards" in *Middle East Journal*, 71:1, Winter 2017, p. 67-86.

Herb, Michael, *All in the Family: Absolutism, Revolution, and Democracy in the Middle Eastern Monarchies*, 1999, p. 21-50 and 235-254.

Kandil, Hazem, "The Long Lull before the Perfect Storm: Revolt in January 2011" in *Soldiers, Spies, and Statesmen: Egypt's Road to Revolt*, 2012, p. 175-220.

Sassoon, Joseph, "The Ba'th Party and the Army" in *Saddam Hussein's Ba'th Party: Inside an Authoritarian Regime*, 2012, p. 129-161.

Seitz, Adam, "Patronage Politics in Transition: Political and Economic Interests of the Yemeni Armed Forces" in (eds.) Zeinab Abul-Magd and Elke Grawert, *Businessmen in Arms: How the Military and Other Armed Groups Profit in the MENA Region*, 2016, p. 135-156.

5. The Problem of Authoritarian Power-Sharing II: Regime Management of the Politics of Elite Incorporation (Wednesday, October 11th):

Authoritarian regimes face an acute dilemma in managing their relationships with powerful social forces. On the one hand, their power is directly linked to the degree to which these social forces are incorporated into their regime networks; on the other hand, their power can also be directly threatened by these processes of socio-political incorporation. How have authoritarian regimes in the Middle East managed these dilemmas?

Baram, Amatzia, "Neo-Tribalism in Iraq: Saddam Hussein's Tribal Policies, 1991-1996" in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 29, 1, 1997, pp. 1-31.

Blaydes, Lisa, "Elections and Elite Management", in *Elections and Distributive Politics in Mubarak's Egypt*, 2010, p. 48-64.

Donati, Caroline, "The Economics of Authoritarian Upgrading in Syria: Liberalization and the Reconfiguration of Economic Networks" in (eds.) Steven Hydemann and Reinoud Leenders, *Middle East Authoritarianisms: Governance, Contestation, and Regime Resilience in Syria and Iran*, 2013, p. 35-60.

Massoud, Tarek, "Clientelism and Class: The Tragedy of Leftists" in *Counting Islam: Religion, Class, and Elections in Egypt*, 2014, p. 45-73.

Pierret, Thomas, "The State Management of Religion in Syria: The End of 'Indirect Rule'", in (eds.) Steven Hydemann and Reinoud Leenders, *Middle East Authoritarianisms: Governance, Contestation, and Regime Resilience in Syria and Iran*, 2013, p. 83-106.

Stacher, Joshua, "Adaptation and Elite Cooptation" in *Adaptable Autocrats: Regime Power in Egypt and Syria*, 2012, p. 79-119.

6. A Third Problem of Authoritarian Control: Regimes and the Management of Popular Forces (Wednesday, October 18th):

Are popular forces always in opposition to authoritarian regimes? What factors help to determine the relationship between regimes and popular forces and how has the management of popular social forces and classes changed over time?

Dowker, Teije Hidde, "Islamic Social Movements and the Syrian Authoritarian Regime: Shifting Patterns of Control and Accommodation" in in (eds.) Steven Hydemann and Reinoud Leenders, *Middle East Authoritarianisms: Governance, Contestation, and Regime Resilience in Syria and Iran*, 2013, pp. 107-124.

Harris, Kevan, "A Martyrs' Welfare State and its Contradictions: Regime Resilience and Limits through the Lens of Social Policy in Iran" in (eds.) Steven Hydemann and Reinoud Leenders, *Middle East Authoritarianisms: Governance, Contestation, and Regime Resilience in Syria and Iran*, 2013, p. 61-82.

Ketchely, Neil, "Manufacturing Dissent" in *Egypt in a Time of Revolution: Contentious Politics and the Arab Spring*, 2017, p. 103-129 (on the Tamarud Movement in Egypt, 2013).

Kingston, Paul, "Minorities, Civil Society, and the State in the Contemporary Middle East - A Framework for Analysis" in (ed) Paul Rowe, *The Routledge Handbook on Minorities in the Middle East*, (forthcoming).

Saleh, Yassin al-Haj, "The Syrian *Shabiha* and Their State" in *The Impossible Revolution: Making Sense of the Syrian Tragedy*, 2017, p. 45-64.

Watts, Nicole, "Characteristics of Coercion: Obstructing Access to Resources" in *Activists in Office: Kurdish Politics and Protests in Turkey*, 2010, p. 94-121.

Wedeen, Lisa, "Killing Politics: Official Rhetoric and Permissible Speech" in *Ambiguities of Domination: the Cult of Personality in Ba'thist Syria*, 1999, p. 32-66.

7. Social Movements in the Middle East – A Workshop on Social Movement Theory. (Wednesday, October 25th):

This class will begin with an analysis of the theoretical roots of classical social movement theory (found in the Wiktorowicz article) before moving on to a critique of some of its concepts (found in the Beinín and Vareil article).

Beinin, J., and Vareil, F., "Introduction: The Middle East and North Africa Beyond Classical Social Movement Theory" in (eds.) Beinin and Vareil, *Social Movements, Mobilization, and Contestation in the Middle East and North Africa*, 2nd Edition, 2013, p. 1-32.

Wiktorowicz, Q., "Introduction: Islamic Activism and Social Movement Theory" in (ed.) Wiktorowicz, *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*, 2004, p. 1-36.

8. Social Movements in the Middle East – A Workshop on Case Studies of Social Movements from the Wiktorowicz Book (Wednesday, November 1st).

In this class, we will listen to a select number of student delivered case studies found in the Wiktorowicz volume before moving on to a class discussion geared towards answering some of the questions for the short essay assignment.

9. Student Paper Presentations (Wednesday, November 15th):

Wiktorowicz Book Review Due Today!

10. Student Paper Presentations (Wednesday, November 22nd):

11. Student Paper Presentations (Wednesday, November 29th):

12. Student Paper Presentations (Wednesday, December 6th):

All Research Papers are to be handed (electronically) by Monday, December 11th at 5pm to my email address: kingston@chass.utoronto.ca