

W 4445y Politics of the Middle East and North Africa

Spring 2009
TR 10:35-11:50 am
323 Milbank Hall

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Précis

This course explores the comparative politics of the Middle East and North Africa. The focus is on the interaction between governments and social groups within countries in the region, defined as 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 development of postcolonial states, the geopolitics of oil wealth, and the Iranian revolution of 1978-79. Part III analyzes contemporary processes such as the politics of economic restructuring, the politics of religion, the changing faces of authoritarianism in the Arab world, the diverse forms of citizen activism across the region, and the political impact of new media.

As a course in comparative politics, the dominant focus 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.

Prior knowledge of Middle East politics is welcome, but not assumed. Prior coursework in political science is required; the course assumes familiarity with general political science concepts and theories. Undergraduates should have taken **more than one** political science class at the 1000- and 3000-levels; SIPA students should have taken at least one of the other 4000-level regional politics courses.

Requirements

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|---------------------------------|------------|
| ❖ Map Quiz | <i>10%</i> |
| ❖ First expository essay | <i>20%</i> |
| ❖ Second expository essay | <i>30%</i> |
| ❖ Third, cumulative final essay | <i>40%</i> |

Attendance is naturally mandatory, but not recorded. Please be on time for every lecture; class starts promptly at 10:35 am. Lecture slides are not posted on Courseworks. You should read the first two-three texts associated with each lecture *before* attending the lecture.

The **map quiz** is worth 10% of your grade and will be administered in class on **Tuesday, February 3**. You will be asked to locate 10 countries on a blank map, and to name the capitals of five countries. *There is no make-up quiz*. If you do not sit for the quiz, you forfeit 10% of your course grade.

All **written work** for the course is designed to sharpen your analytical writing skills through mastering the form of the expository essay. The three essays 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. No outside reading or research is required for the essays, only careful, critical analysis of course readings (both required and recommended).

The due dates for the three essays are noted on the course schedule below. Requests for extensions must be made 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.

Required Texts

The 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.

- ❖ William Cleveland and Martin Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East, 4th Edition* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2009)
- ❖ Alan Richards and John Waterbury, *A Political Economy of the Middle East, 3rd Edition* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2007)

Policy on Late Essays

Late essays will be downgraded one-third of a letter grade (e.g. from a B to a B-) if submitted after noon 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 **three** days after the due date will not be accepted. The due date for the third and final essay corresponds to the final exam date and is non-negotiable.

Policy on Auditing the Course

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

Course Schedule

January 20: Introduction, Course Overview

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 idem, *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.
- ❖ David W. Lesch, Ed., *The Middle East and the United States: A Historical and Political Reassessment, 4th Edition* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2007).
- ❖ 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).
- ❖ Michael Latham, *Modernization as Ideology: American Social Science and “Nation Building” in the Kennedy Era* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000)

January 22: Middle East Politics Today: Some Salient Dynamics

- ❖ Hassan Fatah, “The Middle East Baby Boom,” *American Demographics* 24 (September 2002): 55-60.
- ❖ Jason Deparle, “Fearful of Restive Foreign Labor, Dubai Focuses on Reforms,” *New York Times*, August 6, 2007.
- ❖ Robert Worth, “Rising Inflation Creates Unease in Middle East,” *New York Times*, February 25, 2008.
- ❖ “Turkey: A Narrow Scrape for Democracy,” *Economist*, July 31, 2008.
- ❖ Ramin Mostaghim and Borzou Daragahi, “Iran Merchants Protest New Levy,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 13, 2008.
- ❖ Anthony Shadid, “Attacks Further Split Arab Rulers, People,” *The Washington Post*, January 4, 2009.

January 27: A Framework for Understanding Middle East Politics

- ❖ Richards and Waterbury, *A Political Economy of the Middle East*, Preface & ch. 1, skim ch. 2.

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

January 29: The Middle East under Ottoman Rule

- ❖ William Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, skim ch. 3, read chs. 4, 5, 8.
- ❖ James Gelvin, “Constitutionalism” in idem, *The Modern Middle East: A History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 139-146.
- ❖ 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.

Recommended:

- ❖ Charles Kurzman, *Democracy Denied, 1905-1915: Intellectuals and the Fate of Democracy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008)

February 3-5: British and French Colonialism and Struggles for Independence

- ❖ Cleveland, pp. 157-70 & ch. 12.
- ❖ Julia Clancy-Smith, “The Shaykh and his Daughter: Coping in Colonial Algeria,” in Edmund Burke III ed., *Struggle and Survival in the Modern Middle East* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 145-163.
- ❖ 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.

In-class Map Quiz, Tuesday February 3

February 10: The Rise of Nationalisms, the Building of States: Israel

- ❖ Cleveland, ch. 13.
- ❖ Abdullah Schleifer, “Izz al-Din al-Qassam: Preacher and Mujahid,” in Edmund Burke III, ed., *Struggle and Survival in the Modern Middle East* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 164-78.

Recommended:

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

February 12: 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.
- ❖ Cleveland, chs. 10 & 14.

Recommended:

- ❖ Mark Gasiorowski, "The 1953 Coup d'Etat in Iran," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (May 1987): 261-286.
- ❖ 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

February 17: 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.
- ❖ 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}

February 19: 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.
- ❖ Richards and Waterbury, *A Political Economy of the Middle East* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), ch. 3.

- ❖ Michael Herb, “No Representation without Taxation? Rents, Development, and Democracy,” *Comparative Politics* (April 2005): 297-316.
- ❖ 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.

Recommended:

- ❖ Gwenn Okruhlik, “Rentier Wealth, Unruly Law, and the Rise of Opposition: The Political Economy of Oil States,” *Comparative Politics* 31:3 (April 1999).
- ❖ Camilla Sandbakken, “The limits to democracy posed by oil rentier states: The cases of Algeria, Nigeria and Libya,” *Democratization* 13:1 (February 2006): 135-152.

February 24-26: 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).
- ❖ Fariba Adelkhah, *Being Modern in Iran* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), ch. 4 (“The Story of an Election”)

Recommended:

- ❖ Charles Kurzman, *The Unthinkable Revolution in Iran* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004)
- ❖ 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)

Essay 1 due in class, Thursday February 26

March 3-5: The Politics of Economic Reform

- ❖ Alan Richards and John Waterbury, *A Political Economy of the Middle East* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2007), chs. 8 &9.
- ❖ 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.
- ❖ 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.

Part III. Contemporary Political Dynamics

March 10-12: The Politics of Liberalization I: Culture or Structure?

- ❖ 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.
- ❖ *The Economist*, “Cultural Explanations: The Man in the Baghdad Café,” November 9, 1996.
- ❖ 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.

March 16-20 Spring Break

March 24-26: The Politics of Liberalization 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.
- ❖ Marsha Pripstein Posusney, “Multi-Party Elections in the Arab World,” *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36:4 (Winter 2002): 34-62.
- ❖ Thomas Carothers, “Is Gradualism Possible? Choosing a Strategy for Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Paper No. 39 (June 2003).
- ❖ 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.

Recommended:

- ❖ Quintan Wiktorowicz, “Civil Society as Social Control: State Power in Jordan,” *Comparative Politics* 33:1 (October 2000): 43-61.
- ❖ 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.
- ❖ Holger Albrecht and Oliver Schlumberger, “Waiting for Godot”: Regime Change Without Democratization in the Middle East,” *International Political Science Review* 25:4 (2004): 371-92.
- ❖ 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).
- ❖ “Democratization in the Muslim World: Changing Patterns of Power and Authority,” Special issue of *Democratization* (June 2006).
- ❖ “Promoting Democracy Abroad,” Special issue of *Democratization* (August 2005).

March 31: Religion and Politics I: Concepts

- ❖ Richards and Waterbury, *A Political Economy of the Middle East*, ch. 14.
- ❖ Kenneth Wald et al, "Making Sense of Religion in Political Life," *Annual Review of Political Science* (2005): 121-43.
- ❖ Guilain Denoex, "The Forgotten Swamp: Navigating Political Islam," *Middle East Policy* 9:2 (June 2002): 56-81.
- ❖ Charles Kurzman, "Bin Laden and Other Thoroughly Modern Muslims," *Contexts* (fall/winter 2002): 13-20.

April 2, 7 & 9: Religion and Politics II: Political Context and the Turn to Violence

- ❖ 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.
- ❖ Khalil Shikaki, "The Palestinian Elections: Sweeping Victory, Uncertain Mandate," *Journal of Democracy* 17:3 (July 2006): 116-130.
- ❖ 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.
- ❖ Charles Tilly, "Terror, Terrorism, Terrorists," *Sociological Theory* 22 (2004): 5-13.
- ❖ Stathis Kalyvas, "Wanton and Senseless? The Logic of Massacres in Algeria," *Rationality and Society* 11 (1999): 243-285.
- ❖ Robert Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* 97 (2003): 343-61.
- ❖ 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)

- ❖ 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)
- ❖ 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), chapter 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.
- ❖ Judith Palmer Harik, "Between Islam and the System: Sources and Implications of Popular Support for Lebanon's Hizballah," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (March 1996): 41-67

April 14-16: The Diverse Forms of Citizen Activism

- ❖ 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.
- ❖ 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.
- ❖ Mehrdad Mashayekhi, “The Revival of the Student Movement in Post-Revolutionary Iran,” *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 15 (Winter 2001): 283-313.
- ❖ Fred Lawson, “Repertoires of Contention in Contemporary Bahrain,” in Quintan Wiktorowicz, Ed., *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*, 89-111.

Essay 2 due in class, Thursday April 16

Recommended:

- ❖ Amaney Jamal, *Barriers to Democracy: the Other Side of Social Capital in Palestine and the Arab World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).
- ❖ Ellen Lust-Okar and Saloua Zerhouni, Eds., *Political Participation in the Middle East* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2008).
- ❖ Gwenn Okruhlik, “Making Conversation Permissible: Islamism and Reform in Saudi Arabia,” in Wiktorowicz, Ed., *Islamic Activism*, 250-69.
- ❖ Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, “Interests, Ideas, and Islamist Outreach in Egypt,” in Wiktorowicz, Ed., *Islamic Activism*, 231-249.
- ❖ Lara Deeb, *An Enchanted Modern: Gender and Public Piety in Shi’i Lebanon* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).
- ❖ Mary Ann Tétreault, *Stories of Democracy: Politics and Society in Contemporary Kuwait* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).
- ❖ 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).
- ❖ Elham Gheytanchi, “Civil Society in Iran: Politics of Motherhood and the Public Sphere,” *International Sociology* 16:4 (December 2001): 557-576.
- ❖ 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.
- ❖ Sandra Halperin, "The Post Cold-War Political Topography of the Middle East: Prospects for Democracy," *Third World Quarterly* 26:7 (October 2005): 1135-1156.
- ❖ 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.

April 21-April 23: New Media, New Politics?

- ❖ Augustus Richard Norton, "The New Media, Civic Pluralism, and the Struggle for Political Reform," in Dale Eickelman and Jon Anderson, Eds., *New Media in the Muslim World: The Emerging Public Sphere* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 19-32.
- ❖ Marc Lynch, *Voices of the New Arab Public: Iraq, al-Jazeera, and Middle East Politics Today* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), selections.
- ❖ Shanthi Kalathil, *Open Networks, Closed Regimes: The Impact of the Internet on Authoritarian Rule* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2003), ch. 5.
- ❖ Babak Rahimi and Elham Gheytnchi, "Iran's Reformists and Activists: Internet Exploiters," *Middle East Policy* 15 (Spring 2008): 46-59.

Recommended:

- ❖ Philip Seib, Ed., *New Media and the New Middle East* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

April 28-30: The Experience of Iraq

- ❖ Phebe Marr, "Iraq's New Political Map," *United States Institute of Peace Special Report* (January 2007): 1-23.
- ❖ Eric Davis, "Rebuilding a non-Sectarian Iraq," *Strategic Insights VI* (December 2007): 1-11.

- ❖ Mark Tessler et al, “What do Iraqis Want?” *Journal of Democracy* (January 2006): 38-50.

Recommended:

- ❖ Phebe Marr, *The Modern History of Iraq, 2nd Edition* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2004).
- ❖ Eric Davis, *Memories of State: Politics, History, and Collective Identity in Modern Iraq* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).
- ❖ Charles Tripp, *A History of Iraq, 2nd Edition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- ❖ Anthony Shadid, *Night Draws Near: Iraq's People in the Shadow of America's War* (New York: Henry Holt, 2005).

Final essay due Tuesday, May 12 @ noon

Note: 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.
