

STATE-BUILDING AND INSTITUTIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA (IR 499)

Spring 2021

Instructor:	Prof. Allison Hartnett	Lecture:	Mondays, 5:00 – 7:50 PM
Office:	Zoom	Student Hours:	Tuesdays 5:00 – 7:00 PM or by appointment

This course introduces key themes in state building and economic development with a focus on South Western Asia (also known as the Middle East) and North Africa. We will use the decolonial term “SWANA” to refer to the region as a geographic unit. The course will engage with theoretical and empirical debates from comparative political economy and historical institutionalism on the role of institutions, preferences, and historical legacies and explore their relevance for region. The course will use comparative analysis to build case knowledge and explore variation between and within SWANA states. The material is designed to be accessible to students from a diverse range of disciplinary backgrounds. Key topics covered include: institutions and development, colonialism and empire, property rights, growth and economic reform, redistribution and inequality, state-business relations, labor markets, and state-society relations. Students will also have the opportunity to choose a country case in which to gain expertise during the course. At the end of this course, students should be able to:

- Critically engage with the literature on state formation and economic development in the region.
- Identify and research an important theoretical question related to the comparative historical political economy of state building in the region.
- Gain expertise in one country case and be able to assess the utility and limitations of these arguments with reference to this case.
- Critically analyze empirical social science research.

Prerequisites:

None.

Anti-Racism, Diversity, and Inclusion:

This classroom is an intellectual community enriched and enhanced by diversity along a number of dimensions, including race, ethnicity and national origins, gender and gender identity, sexuality, class and religion. Your identity shapes your learning, and I am here to facilitate your education. I am developing this course to be in-line with anti-racist pedagogical practice; this is a process and I (we) will inevitably commit some errors along the way. Here are some resources about how to talk about race and other difficult conversations that will arise naturally during discussions of comparative politics theories and cases:

- <https://nmaahc.si.edu/learn/talking-about-race>
- Project Implicit Social Bias test <https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/>
- A compilation of acceptable and unacceptable [terms](#)

For reasons we'll discuss in class, the term Middle East is problematic and is an artifact of British (and later American) military intervention in the region.

Names, Gender: If you have a name and/or pronouns that differ from those in your official USC records, please let me know. If I am mispronouncing your name, please correct me.

Mental Health: If you feel that experiences outside of class are impacting your course performance, please come and talk to me. If you would rather consult someone outside the classroom, USC Counseling and Mental Health (<https://studenthealth.usc.edu/counseling/>) and Academic Counseling (<https://undergrad.usc.edu/services/counseling/>) are great resources.

The Office of Equity and Diversity (OED)/Title IX Compliance(213) 740-5086 works with faculty, staff, visitors, applicants, and students around issues of protected class: equity.usc.edu. Incidents of bias, hate crimes and micro-aggressions can be confidentially reported to: studentaffairs.usc.edu/bias-assessment-response-support.

Discrimination, sexual assault, and harassment are not tolerated by the university. You are encouraged to report any incidents to the Office of Equity and Diversity (<http://equity.usc.edu>) or to the Department of Public Safety (<http://adminopsnet.usc.edu/department/department-public-safety>). This is important for the safety of the whole USC community. Another member of the university community such as a friend, classmate, advisor, or faculty member can help initiate the report, or can initiate the report on behalf of another person. The Center for Women and Men (<http://www.usc.edu/student-affairs/cwm/>) provides 24/7 confidential support, and the sexual assault resource center web page (<http://sarc.usc.edu>) describes reporting options and other resources.

Accommodations: Any student requesting academic accommodations based on a disability is required to register with Disability Services and Programs (DSP) each semester. A letter of verification for approved accommodations can be obtained from DSP. Please be sure the letter is delivered to me as early in the semester as possible. If you have registered accommodations with the Disability Services and Programs Office (<https://dsp.usc.edu/>), please communicate those to me at your earliest convenience so we can discuss your needs in this course.

For those on or near campus, DSP is located in STU 301 and is open 8:30 a.m.5:00 p.m., Monday through Friday. They can be contacted online or by phone at (213) 740-0776 (Phone), (213) 740-6948 (TDD only), or ability@usc.edu.

Other Support Systems:

A number of USC's schools provide support for students who need help with scholarly writing. Check with your advisor or program staff to find out more. Students whose primary language is not English should check with the American Language Institute (<http://dornsife.usc.edu/ali>), which sponsors courses and workshops specifically for international graduate students. If an officially declared emergency makes travel to campus infeasible, USC Emergency Information (<http://emergency.usc.edu>) will provide safety and other updates, including ways in which instruction will be continued by means of Blackboard, teleconferencing, and other technology.

Representation in Course Materials: I welcome and encourage your suggestions to improve the effectiveness of this course for you personally, as well as for other students. It is my intent that this course serves the needs of students from all backgrounds, and believe that the diversity students bring to our class is a strength and resource. I also acknowledge that the field of political science has historically been written by a small subset of privileged voices, and that a disproportionate number of core readings were authored by white men. I have made explicit choices regarding readings to bring greater balance and diversity in author backgrounds, but also acknowledge that part of my job is teach the prevailing theories in the field. I encourage you to take up the gauntlet of a political scientist and find new and interesting ways of critiquing the canon with new perspectives, data, and theories.

A Note on Academic Integrity: Honest, open inquiry is the foundation of academia, and novel research

should be in dialogue with an established body of literature. Acknowledging your interlocutor is key. If you use ideas, text, or data from any source that is not your own, you must cite it. Essays written for this course may not be submitted for another course without the explicit consent of myself and the other instructor.

Please visit the university's Writing Center website (<https://dornsife.usc.edu/writingcenter/>) to learn about using sources and revisit the university's Academic Integrity Policy (<https://sjacs.usc.edu/students/academic-integrity/>).

Please familiarize yourself with the discussion of plagiarism in SCampus in Section 11, Behavior Violating University Standards (<https://scampus.usc.edu/1100-behavior-violating-university-standards-and-appro>). Other forms of academic dishonesty are equally unacceptable. See additional information in SCampus and university policies on scientific misconduct, (<http://policy.usc.edu/scientific-misconduct>). The University takes plagiarism infractions seriously, and penalties for students caught plagiarizing include suspension, lowered or failing grades, and possible expulsion.

Course Assignments and Grading:

This course has an intensive reading and writing load; the nature of the assignments are to enable students to engage deeply with the material and come away from the course with a fluency in the historical, political, and economic processes that shaped state-building and institutions in SWANA. Your grade will be comprised of four primary components: participation, critical reading responses, a multi-stage writing assignment, and a final presentation. All deadlines are by the end of the day indicated. The breakdown of each as a component of your overall grade is as follows:

- Participation 15%
- Critical Reading Responses 30%
- Writing Assignments 40%
 - Project Proposal (5%, due February 1)
 - Early Draft (10%, due Monday, March 2)
 - Peer Review (5%, due March 15)
 - Final Research Paper (20%, due April 29)
- Research Presentation 15%

Participation:

In keeping with best teaching practices, I can only assess students based on quantifiable assessments. To that end, your participation grade will be comprised of one synchronous component (in-class group debates, 5 percent) and one asynchronous components (Online Discussion, 10 percent). Rubrics will be provided for group debates and discussion forum posts during the first week of class.

- *Group Discussions/Debates (5%):* Some time in each class will be devoted to group debate or discussion related to the topic of the week.
- *Online Discussion (10%):*
 - You should post 10 questions in total over the course of the semester. For weeks that you post, please submit **one critical-thinking question or comment** on the BlackBoard Discussion Board by midnight on Wednesday during Weeks 2 to 15. The post should be related to that week's content. For example,

- * Critical-thinking Question: “I was listening to Masha Gessen’s Getting Curious episode and they discussed the process of autocratic consolidation. How do we measure autocratic consolidation? Is it about political attitudes or institutions? Is it always a long-term process or could it be short lived?”
 - * Critical-thinking Comment: “We studied why some welfare states are more expansive than others in democratic cases, but I noticed that in my country case of Tunisia, the welfare state was more generous and developed even under authoritarianism than some democracies. I looked into welfare states in autocracies and found that the logics we studied and class differ according to the class actors that matter (masses in democracy and elites in autocracy). I do not see how this reconciles with the outcomes that Tunisia saw during and after the Jasmine Revolution.”
 - * at least **5 posts** should include references to the country you select to study over the course of the semester.
- By midnight on Friday during Weeks 2 to 15 you must **respond to two** posts by your colleagues. You should try to answer their question, engage in a discussion based on your own knowledge of other cases/sources, or propose a counter argument to their commentary. Only the first two comments on a post will count for credit (to be sure that every post receives feedback), but you are welcome to post more in the spirit of discussion. You should reply to posts a minimum of 10 times per semester.

Critical Reading Responses: 5 times per term, students will submit a 1-2 page single-spaced reflection on the weeks assigned readings for weeks 2-15. These short pieces are intended to check your engagement with the material and help prepare for class discussions. Your critical reading response should also include one paragraph on the evidence supporting or refuting the theories discussed in your response in the context of a single country case study. Students will submit their chosen country case to the instructor by the beginning of class in week 2; this will be the student’s assigned country case for the semester.

Project Proposal: You will submit a one paragraph description of your proposed research project by February 1. You should describe the topic, your preliminary research question, and a brief description of the types of sources you will use. This project should relate to your country case.

Early Draft Paper: The midterm is designed to be a draft of your final paper. You will write an 5-7 page paper that seeks to answer the research question you identified in your proposal.

Papers should be formatted with double spacing and one-inch margins. Any footnotes should be single spaced and the page count does not include bibliography. Cite your sources according to APA formatting (not MLA) and be consistent! Pro-tip 1: Google Scholar provides citations in multiple formats that you can insert into your bibliography. Pro-tip 2: Use a citation manager like Zotero or Mendeley that will automatically format your in-text citations and create a bibliography for you, saving a lot of time.

Peer Review: After your early drafts are submitted, you will pair up to give peer review comments. You will exchange papers and provide constructive feedback about the argument, evidence, and potential avenues of development for the paper.

Final Research Paper: You will build on your early draft to develop a full 15-20 page research paper that evaluates a core theory from the course.

Research Presentation: Students will present a 10-15 minute slide presentation that discusses the content of your final paper.

Late Assignments: Late assignments will be deducted half a letter grade for each day that it is late. For example, if your work earned a B (83-86 percent), you would get a B- (80-82) after one day late, and C+ (77-79) for the second day late. If you anticipate difficulty with a deadline, please talk to me in advance.

Grading Scale:

Table 1: Numerical Values for Letter Grades

A	93 - 100	B-	80 - 82	D+	67-69
A-	90 - 92	C+	77 - 79	D	63-66
B+	87-89	C	73 - 76	D-	60-62
B	83 - 86	C-	70 - 72	F	<60

(Zoom) Classroom Policies

Attendance and Online Learning: The pandemic has upended our collective and individual lives. Logistically speaking, we are spread across multiple time zones, and I can only mandate attendance for students for whom our course time falls within reasonable learning hours in their time zone, i.e., between 7:00 AM and 10:00 PM.

Attendance for synchronous (real-time) classes is **mandatory**, where mandatory means making a good faith effort to attend every class. The following exceptions are automatically accepted reasons for not attending synchronous class meetings:

1. Lecture or discussion fall outside the hours of 7:00 AM and 10:00 PM in your local time zone (I will circulate a poll to the class, but please also communicate this to me as soon as possible).
 - For these students, I will implement asynchronous attendance by requiring students to watch the class recording and completing an alternative asynchronous activity.
2. Illness
3. Family responsibilities (i.e., taking care of children or dependents)
4. Personal emergencies (illness or death of a loved-one)
5. Religious observance

If these situations or any other emergency should arise, please let me know as soon as possible so we can make alternate arrangements for your coursework.

Camera Policy:

It is my preference that, if practicable, your camera be on during class. That said, I also acknowledge that there are many dynamics at play that make learning environments unequal in remote learning. In the first instance, I encourage the use of virtual backgrounds and earphones/headsets to mitigate privacy concerns. I know that not every computer supports virtual backgrounds, so if you have a need for accommodations on this point, please contact me directly.

Required Readings:

- Our textbook for this course is available as an e-book:
 - Beinin, J., Haddad, B, and Seiklay, S. 2021. “A Critical Political Economy of the Middle East and North Africa.” Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. https://www.ebooks.com/en-us/ebooks/book_display.asp?IID=210146215
- Additional required readings will be posted on Blackboard.
- You may also find it helpful to reference a history text throughout this course. For English-language resources, I recommend one of the following:
 - Anderson, B. S. (2016). *A History of the Modern Middle East: Rulers, Rebels, and Rogues*. United States: Stanford University Press.
 - Martin Bunt, W. L. C. a., L. Cleveland, W. (2010). *A History of the Modern Middle East*.
 - Gelvin, J. L. (2016). *The Modern Middle East: A History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
 - Issawi, C. (2013). *An Economic History of the Middle East and North Africa*. London: Taylor & Francis.
 - Pamuk, ., Owen, E. R. J.(1998). *A History of Middle East Economies in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Additional readings are listed in the course outline and will be made available on Blackboard.

Course Outline Readings are provisional and subject to change at the discretion of the instructor.

PART I: STATE BUILDING UNDER FOREIGN RULE

Week 1: Introduction and Logistics

States, State-Building, and Development in SWANA

- Davison, R. (1960). Where Is the Middle East? *Foreign Affairs*, 38(4), 665-675. doi:10.2307/20029452
- Read 2 of the following:
 - <https://www.dance.nyc/programs/jcomm/blog/2019/02/Middle-Eastern-Arab-Why-That-Matters->
 - <https://www.dailysabah.com/op-ed/2019/10/17/the-fate-of-national-identities-in-the-midd>
 - <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2021/jan/14/rhodes-must-fall-oxford-colonialism-zimbab>
- Select your country case for the semester by next class.

Week 2: Institutions, History, and Development

- North, Douglas. (1991). “Institutions,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 5: 97-112.
- Pamuk, Sevket. (2012). “Political power and institutional change: lessons from the Middle East.” *Economic History of Developing Regions*, 27(1). S41-S56.

Week 3: Ottoman Rule

- Mahoney, James and Thelen, Kathleen, eds. 2015. *Advances in Comparative Historical Analysis*. New York: Cambridge University Press:
 - Pierson, Paul. “Power and Path Dependence.”
- Kuran, Timur. (2010). *The Long Divergence: How Islamic Law Held Back the Middle East*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (*Chapter 1-2*)
- Asli Cansunar. Distributional Consequences of Philanthropic Contributions to Public Goods: Self-Serving Elites in Ottoman Istanbul. *Journal of Politics*.

Week 4: Colonialism, Elites, and Power Politics

- Nunn, Nathan. (2009). “The importance of history for economic development,” *Annual Review of Economics*, 1(1), September 2009, pp. 65-92.
- Hourani, “The Politics of Notables.”
- *Critical Political Economy*, Chapters 2 and 8.

Week 5: Colonial Rule: Property

- Michael Albertus. 2021. *Property Without Rights*. Chapters TBD
- *Critical Political Economy*, Chapter 1.
- Pick one:
 - Jakes, A. 2020. *Egypt Under Occupation*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. Chapter TBD.
 - Fischbach, M. 2000. *State, Society, and Land in Jordan*. Leiden: Brill. Chapter TBD

PART II: DISTRIBUTIONAL POLITICS AND STATE-BUILDING AFTER EMPIRE

Week 6: Decolonization and State-Building

- Migdal, J. 1988. *Strong Societies and Weak States*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1 and 5.
- Albertus, Slater, and Fenner. 2018. “Coercive Distribution”. *Cambridge Elements: Elements in the Politics of Development*, Melani Cammett and Ben Ross Schneider, eds. New York: Cambridge University Press. *Chapter 1 and Section 2.1.4 mandatory, rest recommended.*

Week 7: The Politics of Welfare Expansion

- Ricart-Huguet, Joan. 2020. “Colonial Education, Political Elites, and Regional Political Inequality in Africa” Forthcoming at *Comparative Political Studies*.
- Eibl, Ferdinand (2020). *Social Dictatorships: The Political Economy of the Welfare State in the Middle East and North Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Chapter TBD)
- Harris, Kevan (2017). *A Social Evolution: Politics and the Welfare State in Iran*. Berkeley: University of California Press. (Chapters 2 and 4).

Week 8: Poverty, Inequality, and Redistribution in the Long Term

- Lydia Assouad, Facundo Alveredo, and Thomas Piketty. 2019. “Measuring Inequality in the Middle East 1990-2016: The World’s Most Unequal Region?” *Review of Income and Wealth*, vol.65, p.685-711.
- Rauch, J. E. and S. Kostyshak (2009). “The three Arab Worlds,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 23(3): 165-188.
- Albertus, Slater, and Fenner. 2018. “Coercive Distribution”. *Cambridge Elements: Elements in the Politics of Development*, Melani Cammett and Ben Ross Schneider, eds. New York: Cambridge University Press. **Chapter 1 and Section 2.1.4 mandatory, rest recommended.**

Week 9: Resource-Rich States

- Critical Political Economy, Chapters 3 and 7.
- Read one of the following:
 - Hertog, Steffen. (2010). “Defying the Resource Curse: Explaining Successful State-Owned Enterprises in Rentier States”, *World Politics*, 62 (2): 261-301. OR
 - Menaldo, Victor. *The Institutions Curse: Natural Resources, Politics, and Development*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 4 and 7.

Week 10: States and Scarcity

- Hussein, H., (2018), Tomatoes, tribes, bananas, and Bedouins: a political economy analysis of the shadow state and of the politics of water in Jordan, *Environmental Science and Policy*, Vol. 84, 170-176.
- Waterbury (2013). *The Political Economy of Climate Change in the Arab Region*. Research Paper Series: Arab Human Development Report. New York: UNDP. <https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.363.5511&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

PART III: STATE-SOCIETY RELATIONS AND NEOLIBERALISM

Week 11: Growth, Trade, and Economic Reform

- Hakimian, Hassan and Jeffrey Nugent. (2005). *Trade Policy and Economic Integration in the Middle East and North Africa*. New York: Routledge.
- Xavier Sala-i-Martin and Elsa V. Artadi (2003). *Economic Growth and Investment in the Arab World*, in Peter K. Cornelius (ed.) *The Arab World Competitiveness Report 2002-2003*. Geneva: World Economic Forum.
- Bellin, E. (2004), *The Political-Economic Conundrum: The Affinity of Economic and Political Reform in the Middle East and North Africa*, *Carnegie Papers Middle East Series*, No. 53, November.
- Shehata, S. (2003). *In the Bashas House: The Organizational Culture of Egyptian Public- Sector Enterprise*, *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 35, pp. 103-132

Week 12: State-Business Relations

- P. Evans (1995) *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial transformation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. **Chapters 1 and 4**.
- Murphy, Emma C. (2001), *The State and the Private Sector in North Africa: Seeking Specificity*, *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol.6, No.2, pp.128.
- Moore, P. W. (2002). *Rentier Fiscal Crisis and Regime Stability: Business-State Relations in the Gulf*, *Studies in Comparative International Development* 27(1): 34-56.

Week 13: Cronyism, Clientelism, and Corruption

- Haddad, B. (2004), *The Formation and Development of Economic networks in Syria: Implications for Economic and Fiscal reforms, 1986-2000*, in: Steven Heydemann (ed), *Networks of Privilege in the Middle East, The Politics of Economic Reform Revisited*, (Palgrave/Macmillan, 2004), pp. 35-77.
- Malik, A. and Eibl, F. (2016). "The Politics of Partial Liberalization: Cronyism and Non-Tariff Protection in Mubarak's Egypt." CSAE Working Paper.

Week 14: Informality and Welfare

- Assaad and Krafft (2015). *The Egyptian Labor Market in a Era of Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. **Chapter 2**.
- World Bank (2004), *Unlocking the Employment Potential in the Middle East and North Africa: Toward a New Social Contract*, World Bank: Washington.
- Chen, Martha Alter (2006) "Rethinking the informal economy: linkages with the formal economy and the formal regulatory environment," in *Linking the Formal and Informal Economy: Concepts and Policies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Week 15: SWANA States, before, during, and after the Arab Spring

- Bellin, Eva. "Reconsidering the robustness of authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring." *Comparative Politics* 44.2 (2012): 127-149.
- Malik, Adeel and Awadallah, Bassem, (2013), *The Economics of the Arab Spring*, *World Development*, 45, issue C, p. 296-313.

Week 16: Wrap-Up and Final Presentations