Comprehensive exam reading list

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I plan to situate my research in the burgeoning new field of INGO research, started by Clifford Bob in the mid-2000s. This literature seeks to open the "black box" of INGO behavior and explain variation in these organizations' success. Recent works have posited that INGOs are effective because of their internal management and organizational structures (Wong 2012), their connections to IGOs (Tallberg et al. 2012), their position in networks of other INGOs (Carpenter 2014, Murdie 2013), or the institutional regulatory and legal environments of their home nations (Stroup 2012). However, little research has looked at the effects of host countries on NGO effectiveness, especially host countries with hybrid regimes where seemingly democratic institutions work in unexpected ways. My work will fill this gap.

This reading list reflects my plan to (1) research the role of transnational and foreign-based advocacy and human rights NGOs operating in authoritarian and hybrid regimes and (2) determine their effectiveness in influencing institutional reform. Given my regional expertise and the ongoing revolutionary upheaval, I plan on focusing the bulk of my research on regimes in the Middle East, but I also plan on comparatively testing my hypotheses on China, a non-Middle Eastern hybrid regime that also engages with civil society in counterintuitive ways.

The theoretical foundation for my research combines disciplinary literature from political science and economics, in particular institutional analysis and international relations. This list includes canonical books and articles on political institutions and civil society in international relations, as well as recent empirical work on the effects of global civil society on particular advocacy and human rights activities in nondemocratic regimes (such as election monitoring, human rights shaming, and postrevolutionary advocacy).

Main theoretic questions

Primary analytic question: What explains the variability in the ability of transnational non-state actors and global civil society to influence policy in hybrid regimes?

- Autocratic institutions

    - How can we best explain the emergence and persistence of semi-democratic institutions—such as a civil society sector—in hybrid regimes?
    - How do seemingly democratic institutions (elections, parliaments, bureaucratic insulation, civil society) operate under authoritarian and hybrid regimes (with emphasis on the Middle East)?

- The global third sector

    - How does global civil society influence policy reforms?
    - How do third sector advocacy organizations influence policy reforms?

More specific theoretic questions

- Why do autocrats allow local and international NGOs to exist and operate? Do these organizations actually wield power? What determines that power?
- Why do autocrats allow INGOs to exist and operate? Do these organizations actually wield power? What determines that power?
- How do foreign INGOs operate in authoritarian regimes? What changes (if any) do they make to be more palatable to the host country?
- How does foreign funding and support affect the effectiveness of INGOs operating in authoritarian regimes?

Main policy questions

- What are the determinants of INGO political power in authoritarian regimes?
- Can global civil society improve governance in autocracies? Should it?
- Are there policies or strategies than can improve and enhance INGO activities in autocracies without falling afoul of the autocrats?

Autocratic institutions

How can we best explain the emergence and persistence of semi-democratic institutions in hybrid regimes?

Paul J. DiMaggio and Walter W. Powell, "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields," *American Sociological Review* 48, no. 2 (April 1983): 147–60.

Avner Greif and David D. Laitin, "A Theory of Endogenous Institutional Change," *American Political Science Review* 98, no. 4 (November 2004): 633–52.

Jack Knight, *Institutions and Social Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), chap. 4–5.

Timur Kuran, *Private Truths, Public Lies: The Social Consequences of Preference Falsification* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995).

Timur Kuran, "Why the Middle East Is Economically Underdeveloped: Historical Mechanisms of Institutional Stagnation," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18, no. 3 (Summer 2004): 71–90.

Timur Kuran, *The Long Divergence: How Islamic Law Held Back the Middle East* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

Margaret Levi and Victor Menaldo, "The New Economic Institutionalism in Historical Perspective," in *Handbook of Comparative Political Institutions*, ed. Jennifer Gandhi and Rubén Ruiz-Rufino (London: Routledge, Forthcoming).

Robert C. Lieberman, "Ideas, Institutions, and Political Order: Explaining Political Change," *American Political Science Review* 96, no. 4 (December 2002): 697–712.

Douglass C. North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Elinor Ostrom, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Paul Pierson, "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics," *American Political Science Review* 94, no. 2 (June 2000): 251–67.

Jean-Philippe Platteau, *Institutions, Social Norms, and Economic Development* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 2000).

Kellee S. Tsai, "Adaptive Informal Institutions and Endogenous Institutional Change in China," *World Politics* 59, no. 1 (October 2006): 116–41.

How do seemingly democratic institutions (elections, parliaments, bureaucratic insulation, civil society) operate under authoritarian and hybrid regimes?

Nabil Abd al-Fattah and Sarah Ben Néfissa, "Arab NGOs: Advocacy and the 'Globalized' Debate on Democracy in the Arab World," in *NGOs and Governance in the Arab World*, ed. Sarah Ben Néfissa et al. (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2005), 361–66.

Eva Bellin, *Stalled Democracy: Capital, Labor, and the Paradox of State-Sponsored Development* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2002).

Eva Bellin, "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective," *Comparative Politics* 36, no. 2 (January 2004): 139–57.

Lisa Blaydes, *Elections and Distributive Politics in Mubarak's Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Jason Brownlee, *Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Jason Brownlee, *Democracy Prevention: The Politics of the U.S.-Egyptian Alliance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Daniel Brumberg, "Democratization in the Arab World? The Trap of Liberalized Autocracy," *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 4 (October 2002): 56–68.

Sheila Carapico, "Foreign Aid for Promoting Democracy in the Arab World," *Middle East Journal* 56, no. 3 (Summer 2002): 379–95.

Thomas Carothers, "The End of the Transition Paradigm," *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 1 (January 2002): 5–21.

Guilain Denoeux, "Promoting Democracy and Governance in the Arab World," in *NGOs and Governance in the Arab World*, ed. Sarah Ben Néfissa et al. (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2005), 69–99.

Jennifer Gandhi and Adam Przeworski, "Cooperation, Cooptation, and Rebellion Under Dictatorships," *Economics & Politics* 18, no. 1 (March 2006): 1–26.

Jennifer Gandhi and Adam Przeworski, "Authoritarian Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats," *Comparative Political Studies* 40, no. 11 (November 2007): 1279–1301.

Viviane Fouad, Ref'atNadia, and Samir Murcos, "From Inertia to Movement: A Study of the Conflict over the NGO Law in Egypt," in *NGOs and Governance in the Arab World*, ed. Sarah Ben Néfissa et al. (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2005), 101–122.

Axel Hadenius and Jan Teorell, *Authoritarian Regimes: Stability, Change, and Pathways Toward Democracy, 1972–2002*, Working Paper (Helen Kellogg Institute, November 2006).

Marc Morjé Howard and Philip G. Roessler, "Liberalizing Outcomes in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes," *American Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 2 (April 2006): 365–81.

Amaney Jamal, *Barriers to Democracy: The Other Side of Social Capital in Palestine and the Arab World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Edmund Malesky, Paul Schuler, and Anh Tran, "The Adverse Effects of Sunshine: A Field Experiment on Legislative Transparency in an Authoritarian Assembly," *American Political Science Review* 106, no. 4 (November 2012): 762–86.

Mohsen Marzouk, "The Associative Phenomenon in the Arab World: Engine of Democratisation or Witness to the Crisis?" in *NGOs, States, and Donors: Too Close for Comfort*, ed. David Hulme and Michael Edwards (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997), 191–201.

Sarah Ben Néfissa, "NGOs and Governance in the Arab World: A Question of Democracy," in *NGOs and Governance in the Arab World*, ed. Sarah Ben Néfissa et al. (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2005), 1–18.

Nicola Pratt, "Hegemony and Counter-Hegemony in Egypt: Advocacy NGOs, Civil Society, and the State," in *NGOs and Governance in the Arab World*, ed. Sarah Ben Néfissa et al. (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2005), 123–50.

Sa'idMuhammad Al-Sayyid, "Civil Versus Political Culture in NGOs," in *NGOs and Governance in the Arab World*, ed. Sarah Ben Néfissa et al. (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2005), 55–68.

Joshua Stacher, *Adaptable Autocrats: Regime Power in Egypt and Syria* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012).

Anthony J. Spires, "Lessons from Abroad: Foreign Influences on China's Emerging Civil Society," *The China Journal* 68 (July 2012): 125–46.

Milan W. Svolik, "Power Sharing and Leadership Dynamics in Authoritarian Regimes," *American Journal of Political Science* 53, no. 2 (April 2009): 477–94.

Jessica Chen Weiss, "Authoritarian Signaling, Mass Audiences, and Nationalist Protest in China," *International Organization* 67, no. 1 (Winter 2013): 1–35.

Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, "Beyond Democratization: Political Change in the Arab World," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 27, no. 3 (September 1994): 507–09.

Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, *Mobilizing Islam: Religion, Activism, and Political Change in Egypt* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

Ronald Wintrobe, "The Tinpot and the Totalitarian: An Economic Theory of Dictatorship," *American Political Science Review* 84, no. 3 (September 1990): 849–72.

The global third sector

How do non-state actors influence domestic policy reforms?

Thomas J. Biersteker and Rodney Bruce Hall, "Private Authority as Global Governance," in *The Emergence of Private Authority in Global Governance*, ed. Rodney Bruce Hall and Thomas J. Biersteker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 203–22.

Tim Büthe, "Governance Through Private Authority? Non-State Actors in World Politics," *Journal of International Affairs* 58, no. 1 (Fall 2004): 281–90.

Tim Büthe and Walter Mattli, *The New Global Rulers: The Privatization of Regulation in the World Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

Leon Gordenker and Thomas G. Weiss, "Introduction," in *NGOs, the UN, and Global Governance*, ed. Thomas G. Weiss and Leon Gordenker (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1996), 17–47.

Rodney Bruce Hall and Thomas J. Biersteker, "The Emergence of Private Authority in the International System," in *The Emergence of Private Authority in Global Governance*, ed. Rodney Bruce Hall and Thomas J. Biersteker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 3–22.

Fred Halliday, "The Romance of Non-State Actors," in *Non-State Actors in World Politics*, ed. Daphné Josselin and William Wallace (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 21–37.

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Judith G. Kelley, *Ethnic Politics in Europe: The Power of Norms and Incentives* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

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Judith G. Kelley, "International Influences on Elections in New Multiparty States," *Annual Review of Political Science* 15 (2012): 203–20.

Judith G. Kelley, *Monitoring Democracy: When International Election Observation Works, and Why It Often Fails* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, "Realism and Complex Interdependence," in *Power and Interdependence*, 3rd ed. (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 2001), 20–32.

Ronnie D. Lipschutz and Cathleen Fogel, "'Regulation for the Rest of Us?' Global Civil Society and the Privatization of Transnational Regulation," in *The Emergence of Private Authority in Global Governance*, ed. Rodney Bruce Hall and Thomas J. Biersteker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 115–40.

Carlos Milani, "Non-Governmental Organizations in Global Governance," in *NGOs and Governance in the Arab World*, ed. Sarah Ben Néfissa et al. (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2005), 19–37.

Thomas Risse, "Transnational Actors and World Politics," in *Handbook of International Relations*, ed. Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth A. Simmons, 1st ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2002), 255–74.

Dani Rodrik, *The Globalization Paradox: Democracy and the Future of the World Economy* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2011).

Anne-Marie Slaughter, *A New World Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

Kendall W. Stiles, *Civil Society by Design: Donors, NGOs, and the Intermestic Development Circle in Bangladesh* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002).

Caroline Thomas, *Global Governance, Development and Human Security: The Challenge of Poverty and Inequality* (London: Pluto Press, 2000).

How do third sector advocacy organizations influence policy reforms?

Colin M. Barry, K. Chad Clay, and Michael E. Flynn, "Avoiding the Spotlight: Human Rights Shaming and Foreign Direct Investment," *International Studies Quarterly* 57 (2013): 532–44.

Colin M. Barry et al., "Choosing the Best House in a Bad Neighborhood: Location Strategies of Human Rights INGOs in the Non-Western World," *International Studies Quarterly* (2015).

Clifford Bob, *The Marketing of Rebellion: Insurgents, Media, and International Activism* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

R. Charli Carpenter, "Setting the Advocacy Agenda: Theorizing Issue Emergence and Nonemergence in Transnational Advocacy Networks," *International Studies Quarterly* 51, no. 1 (March 2007): 99–120.

R. Charli Carpenter, *Lost Causes: Agenda-Setting and Agenda-Vetting in Global Issue Networks* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014).

Alexander Cooley and James Ron, "The NGO Scramble: Organizational Insecurity and the Political Economy of Transnational Action," *International Security* 27, no. 1 (Summer 2002): 5–39.

William DeMars, *NGOs and Transnational Networks: Wild Cards in World Politics* (London: Pluto Press, 2005).

Sieglinde Gränzer, "Changing Discourse: Transnational Advocacy Networks in Tunisia and Morocco," in *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change*, ed. Thomas Risse, Stephen Ropp, and Kathryn Sikkink (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 109–133.

Mary Kay Gugerty and Aseem Prakash, "Conclusions and Future Research: Rethinking Advocacy Organizations," in *Advocacy Organizations and Collective Action*, ed. Aseem Prakash and Mary Kay Gugerty (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 295–307.

Sarah L. Henderson, "Shaping Civic Adovcacy: International and Domestic Policies Toward Russia's NGO Sector," in *Advocacy Organizations and Collective Action*, ed. Aseem Prakash and Mary Kay Gugerty (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 252–79.

David Hulme and Michael Edwards, "NGOs, States, and Donors: An Overview," in *NGOs, States, and Donors: Too Close for Comfort*, ed. David Hulme and Michael Edwards (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997), 3–22.

Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998).

Amanda M. Murdie and David R. Davis, "Shaming and Blaming: Using Events Data to Assess the Impact of Human Rights INGOs," *International Studies Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (March 2012): 1–16.

Amanda Murdie, "Scrambling for Contact: The Determinants of Inter-NGO Cooperation in Non-Western Countries," *Review of International Organizations* (October 2013): 1–23.

Amanda Murdie, "The Ties That Bind: A Network Analysis of Human Rights International Nongovernmental Organizations," *British Journal of Political Science* (September 2013): 1–27.

Aseem Prakash and Mary Kay Gugerty, "Advocacy Organizations and Collective Action: An Introduction," in *Advocacy Organizations and Collective Action*, ed. Aseem Prakash and Mary Kay Gugerty (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1–28.

Richard Price, "Transnational Civil Society and Advocacy in World Politics," *World Politics* 55, no. 4 (July 2003): 579–606.

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Sarah S. Stroup, *Borders Among Activists* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2012).

Sidney Tarrow, "Transnational Politics: Contention and Institutions in International Politics," *Annual Review of Political Science* 4 (2001): 1–20.

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Wendy H. Wong, *Internal Affairs: How the Structure of NGOs Transforms Human Rights* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012).