

**Roots of Stability:
Arab Civil-Military Relations During Times of Political Crisis**

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DEDICATION

To Dan Gillison, David Mincy, and Jacob Herring

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ABSTRACT

Militaries generally play a vital role in the survival of states, neutralizing both domestic and foreign threats. In addition, during moments of political crisis when political institutions and processes break down, militaries play an integral part of a particular regime's survival. Each chapter of this study analyzes a critical component of military decision-making and regime survival in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), and Jordan is the central case study for each chapter. Through the collection of data from interviews with security personnel in Jordan, this study offers an in-depth investigation of civil-military relations in the MENA region. There is a shortage of research on this topic, and this study seeks to fill the gaps in important places in the political science literature. In order to fill these gaps, this study begins by establishing a new and alternative approach to understanding security decision-making called the identity-rationalist model. This new model incorporates notions of identity into cost-benefit analysis. Then the study tests hypotheses on military loyalty, finding that integration of the military into the political economy of a country has the greatest explanatory power for military defection. Finally, this study gives a detailed exploration of Jordanian intelligence services to understand why the institutions are effective at maintaining state stability despite the volatility of the MENA region. Together the three core chapters each contribute to the literature on civil-military relations and understanding the complexity of security forces in the Arab world.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In academic, policy, defense, and even revolutionary circles, an unusual degree of consensus exists around the notion that militaries play a critical role in determining the outcomes of popular uprisings.¹ Indeed, scholars have argued that no institution matters more to a state's survival than the military, and no revolution within a state can succeed without the support or at least acquiescence of its armed forces.² While the comparative politics literature has increasingly recognized Arab militaries as crucial to determining the outcomes of the post-2010 pro-reform movements, scholars have directed less attention to the causal mechanisms associated with military decision-making within a given regime. As a means to investigate military decision-making during periods of political unrest, this study looks at three areas of civil-military relations. First, the study looks at how an individual's identity is incorporated into decision-making during cost-benefit analysis. Second, the study compares military involvement in the political economies of states within the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) and how this impacts loyalty to regimes. Finally, the study assesses the intelligence community in Jordan and why it is an efficient and effective organization as it is a quintessential element for stability in the country.³

This study argues that one of the most important security and political issues concerning the future stability of the region is civil-military relations. To understand defection and stability, this study will assess three problems. First, the study will establish a new and alternative

¹ Hicham Bou Nassif, "A Military Besieged: the Armed Forces, the Police, and the Party in Bin 'Ali's Tunisia, 1987–2011," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 47, no. 01 (2015), p. 66.

² Zoltan Barany, "Comparing the Arab Revolts: The Role of the Military," *Journal of Democracy* 22, no. 4 (2011), p. 28.

³ This study focuses on the question of regime stability, rather than the broader topics of societal or economic stability (although the latter frequently will be pertinent to the former).

theoretical construct for interpreting, analyzing, and understanding civil-military relations. This theoretical construct is called the identity-rationalist model, and it aims to contribute to the understanding of security decision-making by members of the armed forces. Second, the study will assess Arab militaries' integration into the political economy of Jordan, Tunisia, Oman, and Egypt. This will contribute to understanding institutional support for the regimes. Finally, the study will look at the intelligence community's contribution to stability in Jordan. The Jordanian intelligence community is the primary government apparatus that keeps the monarchy in power, making it essential to regime survival and stability of the country. Each chapter analyzes a critical component of military decision-making and regime survival in the MENA region, and Jordan will be the central case study for each chapter. Jordan is the central case study for this research because if other Arab states become more stable, they will likely incorporate elements of Jordan's approach to security. Therefore, it is the most appropriate case on which to focus.

Literature Review and Theory

The military has long been at the center of studies seeking to identify the key factors and stages of political development. Samuel Huntington identifies juntas and coups, military revolts, and military regimes as consistent features of military involvement in political systems throughout Latin America and the Middle East during the 1950s and 1960s.⁴ His focus on political development and "modernization" also led Huntington to examine a number of areas in which civil-military relations could potentially shape political outcomes, including foreign military assistance, the internal structure of the military itself, the social background of officers performing interventions into the political arena, and the more general "politicization of social

⁴ Samuel P Huntington. *Political Order in Changing Societies* (Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 192-194.

forces and institutions.”⁵ Earlier and related works look at civil-military relations in clear theoretical terms. On the one hand, Huntington explores the tension between soldier and statesmen, arguing that civilian control over the military is best achieved through professionalization of the armed forces.⁶ On the other hand, Morris Janowitz offers a “constabulary” model in which military officer corps resemble police forces that organize and apply violence in a manner that allows for tight proximity and control over the society they protect.⁷ Both approaches underscore the centrality of military involvement in, and in many cases control over, political systems.

Preeminent scholars have since added to this research program and identified additional questions concerning the relationship between militaries and political regimes. Alan Dahl argues that in order for a state to be governed democratically, two conditions are required: (1) military and police organizations exist and are subject to civilian control; and (2) the civilians who control the state security apparatus must themselves be subject to the democratic process.⁸ The difficulty of meeting both of these conditions perhaps sheds light on the larger challenges of democratic consolidation and the cultivation of robust civil society observed in recent decades.⁹ Despite these lasting insights on civil-military relations, crucial questions remain over how to interpret and gauge the proper role of armed forces in political affairs. What is the nature of power-sharing arrangements between the military and political leaders in authoritarian states? To

⁵ Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, pp. 192-194.

⁶ Samuel P. Huntington and Morris Janowitz. Reviewed by Eliot A. Cohen “Politics of Civil-Military Relations; The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait” *Foreign Affairs*. September 1997. <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/53283/eliot-a-cohen/the-soldier-and-the-state-the-theory-and-politics-of-civil-milit>.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Robert Alan Dahl. *Democracy and its Critics* (Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 244-245.

⁹ According to Larry Diamond, civil society is conceived as “the realm of organized social life that is voluntary, self-generating, (largely) self-supporting, autonomous from the state, and bound by a legal order or set of shared rules.” See Larry Jay Diamond. “Toward democratic consolidation.” *Journal of democracy* 5, no. 3 (1994), p. 5.

what extent do military leaders require patronage to remain loyal to repressive, nondemocratic regimes? On these topics, consensus in the political science literature remains elusive.

Conventional wisdom in civil-military relations holds that armed forces should remain ideologically detached and physically separate from political institutions. Other perspectives contend that such separations need not be as stark. Rebecca Schiff argues that three partners – the military, political elites, and the citizenry – should aim for a cooperative relationship that may involve separation, but not necessarily require it.¹⁰ This view, known as concordance theory, prioritizes agreement between the three partners on “the social composition of the officer corps, the political decision-making process, recruitment method, and military style.”¹¹ In contrast, James Burk critiques the dominant strands of civil-military relations by pointing out that they either: (a) focus on the matter of protecting democracy and neglect the problem of sustaining democratic value and practice, e.g., Huntington; or (b) focus on the matter of sustaining democratic values and subsequently neglect the problem of protecting the democratic state, e.g., Janowitz.¹² Despite Burk’s sharp analysis of the normative belief that civilian political control of the military is preferable to military control of the state, there remains a larger gap in the literature regarding how militaries behave under authoritarian regimes as well as how states ultimately succeed in transitioning to democracy.

To address civil-military relations within authoritarian and transitional contexts, regional analysis becomes increasingly important. In assessing civil-military relations in South America (Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina) from the late 1960s to the early 1980s, George Philip argues that there are two potential tracks of military-authoritarian rule. The first track concerns

¹⁰ Rebecca L. Schiff “Civil-military relations reconsidered: A theory of concordance.” *Armed Forces & Society* 22, no. 1 (1995), pp. 7-8.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² James Burk. “Theories of democratic civil-military relations.” *Armed Forces & Society* 29, no. 1 (2002), p. 14.

the military elites themselves, who must decide how much repression to apply to the larger society and how much power the military officers should be allowed to acquire.¹³ Following the inevitable splits between ‘hardliners’ and ‘softliners’ on these issues, with the former pushing for greater degrees of repression, Philip avers that the armed forces typically attempt to garner a degree of political acceptability. Thus, the second track deals with the efforts of military elites to establish forms of political legitimacy. To varying degrees, military leaders seek to initiate constitutional reforms, develop political institutions, shape electoral outcomes, and achieve economic growth, or some combination of these tactics.¹⁴ The constant balancing between maintaining systems of repression and earning political legitimacy confronts all military-authoritarian regimes. Yet, the repression/legitimacy approaches to understanding civil-military relations focuses almost exclusively on endogenous political dimensions.

Exogenous factors, such as economic interpretations of military-authoritarianism in Latin America offer an additional and valuable perspective of political unrest. Gordon Richards identifies economic difficulties as a key source of breakdowns of authoritarian regimes in Ecuador (1979), Peru (1980), Argentina (1983), Uruguay (1984), and Brazil (1984).¹⁵ According to Richards, the resurgence of democratic government had less to do with the internal, domestic politics of various countries and more with the economic crises that undermined military regimes.¹⁶ Specifically, Richards contends that the likelihood of regime breakdown is “directly correlated with deviations from real output and inflation from their historic norms, or politically acceptable levels.”¹⁷ Furthermore, authoritarian regimes are more likely to collapse with the

¹³ George Philip, “Military-Authoritarianism in South America: Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina,” *Political Studies*, No. 32 (1984), pp. 17-18.

¹⁴ Philip, pp. 18-19.

¹⁵ Gordon Richards, “Stabilization Crises and the Breakdown of Military Authoritarianism in Latin America,” *Comparative political studies* 18, no. 4 (1986), pp. 449-450.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Richards, p. 450.

occurrence of recession, hyperinflation, balance of payment crises, or exogenous factors, such as global shocks or extreme fluctuations in international markets.¹⁸

Looking at both endogenous and exogenous dynamics within the broader theoretical and empirical work on civil-military relations ultimately constitutes a body of knowledge that can be applied to the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). Whether concerning the degree of professionalization of the armed forces, military detachment from (or penetration into) political systems and institutions, military strategies to repress a population or cultivate political legitimacy, as well as the integration of militaries into states' political economies all bear direct relevance on explaining civil-military relations in the Arab world. In what is becoming a near-consensus view, the decisions made by militaries throughout the 2010-2011 Arab uprisings are seen to have played a crucial role in determining the outcomes of national protest movements.¹⁹ However, roughly five years after the height of the protest period, military decision-making processes remain poorly understood. While previous literature helps to contextualize the conditions under which Arab militaries remain loyal to dictators or support pro-reform movements, the specific policies implemented by regimes under duress lack clear explanation. Still, comparative research offers a strong starting point from which to evaluate the potential causal mechanisms of military decision-making processes vis-à-vis defection and non-defection.

Scholars argue that the level of political institutionalization²⁰ and the number of attempted coups²¹ may help explain and predict military decision-making in domestic politics.

¹⁸ Richards, pp. 450-451.

¹⁹ Robert Springborg, "Arab Militaries," in *The Arab Uprisings Explained: New Contentious Politics in the Middle East*, ed. Marc Lynch (2014), p 142.

²⁰ Derek Lutterbeck, "Arab Uprisings, Armed Forces, and Civil-Military Relations." *Armed Forces & Society* 39, no. 1 (2013): 28-52.

²¹ Holger Albrecht, "The Myth of Coup-proofing Risk and Instances of Military Coups d'état in the Middle East and North Africa, 1950-2013." *Armed Forces & Society* (2014): 1-29.

Analysts also point to post-retirement appointments, financial rewards,²² and comprehensive military economies, or “military, Inc.”²³ as conceivable indicators of political power enjoyed by the armed forces. In addition, research has examined declining military loyalty toward a regime as a consequence of weakened national economies²⁴ as well as potential responses to such decline through the use of domestic coercion or the “buying off” of opposition.²⁵ Examining each of the above areas of research helps to provide context to the investigation of military decision-making during periods of political unrest.

Building upon these approaches, this research design prioritizes military integration into a states’ political economy as a primary determinant of military loyalty toward a regime. Albrecht and Schlumberger correctly observe that Arab authoritarian incumbents suffer from an inherent lack of “democratic” legitimacy.²⁶ The authors are also right to point out that Arab regimes have faced serious economic crises and strong Western expectations of democratization and market-economic reforms, which have contributed to a “structural crisis of legitimacy.”²⁷ However, Albrecht and Schlumberger neglect the specific economic policies and methods of financial co-optation that have been historically utilized by Arab regimes to retain the loyalty of the armed forces and address larger structural crises of legitimacy. Gregory Gause III goes further by identifying the central role that militaries played during the Arab uprisings as well as citing

²² Hicham Bou Nassif, “Wedded to Mubarak: The Second Careers and Financial Rewards of Egypt's Military Elite, 1981–2011.” *The Middle East Journal* 67, no. 4 (2013): 509-530.

²³ Robert Springborg, “Economic Involvements of Militaries.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43, no. 03 (2011): 397-399.

²⁴ Samer Soliman, *The Autumn of Dictatorship: Fiscal Crisis and Political Change in Egypt Under Mubarak*. Stanford University Press, 2011.

²⁵ James Worrall, “Oman: The “Forgotten” Corner of the Arab Spring.” *Middle East Policy* 19, no. 3 (2012): 98-115; see also Marc Valeri, “Domesticating Local Elites. Sheikhs, Walis and State-Building Under Sultan Qaboos,” in *Regionalizing Oman*, pp. 267-277. Springer Netherlands, 2013.

²⁶ Holger Albrecht and Oliver Schlumberger. ““Waiting for Godot”: Regime Change Without Democratization in the Middle East.” *International political science review* 25, no. 4 (2004): 371-392.

²⁷ Albrecht and Schlumberger. ““Waiting for Godot”: Regime Change Without Democratization in the Middle East,” p. 385.

specific economic policies intended to quell dissent, e.g., the late King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia announcing spending plans in 2011 of more than \$100 billion to raise state salaries, cancel planned subsidy cuts, and increase the number of state jobs.²⁸ Such policies are critical to regime co-optation strategies. Yet, Gause III, and the discipline of comparative politics more broadly, still come up short in connecting not just civilian government integration into Arab states' political economies, but military integration as well.

While the issue of military integration into the political economy looks at military loyalty through an institutional lens, this study will also assess individual decision-making through establishing the identity-rationalist model. The dominant modes of the thinking about why members of the military choose to participate in the security services include the rationalist, structuralist, and culturalist paradigms.²⁹ Although rationalism makes the strongest case to understand why individual behave the way they do, it is ultimately insufficient for security analysis because it typically focuses too much on material and physical safety. Rationalism holds that an individual will choose between options to maximize their utility, but the missing piece of this calculation in the academic literature is about identity. A person's identity is at least an equal contributing factor to such decision making, and this study will explore how this operates to fill in the gaps in the literature.

²⁸ F. Gregory Gause III, "Why Middle East Studies Missed the Arab Spring: The Myth Of Authoritarian Stability." *Foreign Aff.* 90 (2011), p. 87.

²⁹ See Peter D. Feaver, *Armed servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations* (Harvard University Press, 2003); Huntington, Samuel P. *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*. Harvard University Press, 1957; Janowitz, Morris. *The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait*. Free Press of Glencoe, 1961; Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books, 1973.

Methodology

Arriving at a better understanding of military loyalty toward a given regime requires the use of appropriate methods to answer the stated research question. A brief survey of the social science literature that addresses the larger goals of conducting effective research, defining key methodological concepts, and exploring the relevant links between them will help to determine this research design's methodological orientation. In their seminal text on social science research, King, Keohane, and Verba argue that scientific research is "designed to make descriptive or explanatory *inferences* on the basis of empirical information about the world."³⁰ The authors distinguish between *descriptive inference*, which uses observations about the world to gain understanding about other unobserved facts; and *causal inference*, which involves learning about causal effects from observed data.³¹ Indeed, the wider focus on causal inference when conducting effective social science research is well documented.³²

Attempting to generate causal inferences is thus directly related to selecting a methodology appropriate to a given research question. Peter Hall explains that the term "methodology" refers to the "means scholars employ to increase confidence that the inferences they make about the social and political world are valid."³³ Like King, Keohane, and Verba, Hall contends causal inferences are in fact the most important variety of inferences and that the "object of a methodology is to increase confidence in assertions that one variable or event (*x*) exerts a causal effect on another (*y*)."³⁴ Of course, assessing the nature of causal relationships,

³⁰ Gary King, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba. *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*. Princeton University Press (1994), p. 7.

³¹ King, Keohane, and Verba (1994), p. 8.

³² Henry E. Brady and David Collier, eds. *Rethinking Social Inquiry: Diverse Tools, Shared Standards*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010; see also James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer. "Comparative Historical Analysis." *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences* (2003): 3-38.

³³ Peter A. Hall, "Aligning Ontology and Methodology in Comparative Research." *Comparative historical analysis in the social sciences* 374 (2003), p. 373.

³⁴ Hall, p. 373.

both in theory building and hypothesis testing, requires scholars to make a number of ontological assumptions about the nature of the social and political world. Here, Hall defines ontology as “the character of the world as it actually is.”³⁵ Moreover, Hall argues “ontology is ultimately crucial to methodology because the appropriateness of a particular set of methods for a given problem turns on assumptions about the nature of the causal relations they are meant to discover.”³⁶

The research questions posed in this study assume that military decision-making plays a central role in regime responses to political unrest. In order to effectively answer the research questions and address their inherent assumptions, this section weighs the benefits and drawbacks of qualitative and quantitative approaches. In articulating the differences between qualitative and quantitative research traditions, Goertz and Mahoney highlight the important distinction between “within-case analysis” and “cross-case analysis.”³⁷ From a qualitative perspective, within-case analysis requires broad knowledge of specific cases, which tends to explain why most qualitative studies have a small N. Furthermore, “within-case analysis involves the use of specific pieces of data or information to make inferences about the individual cases,” which may decisively support or undermine a given theory.³⁸ In contrast, Goertz and Mahoney explain that quantitative analysis applies statistical methods to conduct cross-case analysis, which typically involves an experiment that contrasts subjects who receive a treatment with those who receive the control.³⁹

The ontological assumptions of this proposed study regard military loyalty toward an authoritarian regime as unequivocally tied to either direct benefits (e.g., salaries, career benefits,

³⁵ Hall, p. 374.

³⁶ Hall, p. 374.

³⁷ Gary Goertz and James Mahoney. *A Tale of Two Cultures: Qualitative and Quantitative Research in The Social Sciences*. Princeton University Press, (2012), p. 10.

³⁸ Goertz and Mahoney, pp. 10-11.

³⁹ Ibid.

retirement benefits, privileged access to state institutions, etc.) or indirect benefits (prestige of military service, social status, influence over the distribution of state patronage, etc.). Thus, this project lends itself to a qualitative approach where “necessary” and “sufficient” conditions are explored.⁴⁰ It may be, for example, that in 2011 Bahrain’s oil wealth allowed the regime to disperse benefits to its military and citizens, thereby thwarting pro-reform demonstrations. Yet, such wealth did not (and does not) exist in Egypt, nor would economic conditions alone explain Egypt’s uneven trajectory back to an authoritarian system. In other words, a broad quantitative, statistical analysis of economic conditions in the Middle East from 2010 to 2015 would only tell a limited, albeit potentially important part of the civil-military relations story.

These particular research questions this study seeks to answer requires qualitative methods to assess the causal mechanisms for individual and institutional decision-making. There is a dearth of available current and reliable data, which minimizes the utility of quantitative methods in this circumstance. In addition, the nature of decision-making is a series of dialogues within the self and between people. Scholars typically cannot quantify this process in a systematic or comprehensive way. Considering the relevant factors of this research, an in-depth single case study of Jordan and comparative case studies to other Arab regimes is the preferred methodology. Hall helps to elucidate the logic behind this decision by outlining when scholars should use “regression analysis” versus “systemic process analysis.”⁴¹ In broad terms, Hall contends that standard regression methods will be especially useful when there are a large number of cases that are relatively independent from one another, and the outcomes are dependent on a small set of causal variables that are powerful enough to demonstrate a consistent

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Hall, p. 397.

impact across cases.⁴² In contrast, systemic process analysis allows scholars to investigate complex causal processes (e.g., those that transpire over a longer period of time) and thus enable scholars to produce explanations that “contain more extensive specifications of causal processes.”⁴³ Systemic process analysis may better reveal the internal dynamics of the armed forces, such as culture, history, levels of professionalization, etc., which possibly drive levels of loyalty toward a regime.

As suggested above, conducting quantitative analysis would only partially explain civil-military relations in the Middle East. To address this shortcoming, this research project will assess the following qualitative factors: culture, history, professionalization/politicization of the armed forces, and social connection (addressed in case studies). In addition to a survey of the extant literature on these topics, original interviews with available sources (e.g., retired or non-institutionally affiliated government employees, military personnel, scholars, journalists, members of civil society organizations, etc.) were conducted in the MENA region from August 2016-October 2017.

Among three viable methods to conducting qualitative research as it applies to this specific project, process tracing offers the most promising approach to answering the research question. Mahoney frames process tracing as fundamentally “a case-based methodology that can be applied only with good knowledge of individual cases.”⁴⁴ From this perspective, process tracing can provide insight about the existence of causes, mechanisms, or auxiliary traces of the theory and is therefore capable of effectively supplementing and complimenting the findings of

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Hall, pp. 397-398.

⁴⁴ James Mahoney. “After KKV: The New Methodology of Qualitative Research.” *World Politics* 62, no. 01 (2010), p. 131.

mainstream quantitative analysis.⁴⁵ Similarly, the appeal of nested analysis resides in its ability to combine quantitative and qualitative analysis where scholars may want to perform cross-national analysis that examines not only general patterns but also specific country cases.⁴⁶ However, because nested analysis first requires quantitative analysis as a precondition to any qualitative evaluations, it falls outside of a key goal of this research, which is to prioritize both case-specific and actor-specific dynamics of military loyalty and decision-making.

Triangulation, lastly, provides an additional avenue through which to consider a multi-method approach to answering the stated research question. Yet similar to nested-analysis, triangulation is less effective at recognizing the “big, slow-moving and invisible” causal processes⁴⁷ at work throughout the history of authoritarian regime durability in the Arab world. The institutional learning and adaptation over time has produced the specific skills, such as partial economic liberalization⁴⁸ or variations of liberalized autocracies,⁴⁹ required for autocratic regimes to satisfy the demands of militaries and repress larger civilian populations. Granting attention to the big, slow-moving, and invisible processes at work will help to explain these dynamics. For Pierson, these processes are “incremental” or “cumulative” and change in a variable is continuous but extremely gradual.⁵⁰ Triangulation, then, is problematic for this research design because of its relatively limited focus on a specific phenomenon. According to

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Evan S. Lieberman, “Nested Analysis as a Mixed-Method Strategy for Comparative Research.” *American Political Science Review* 99, no. 03 (2005), p. 450.

⁴⁷ Paul Pierson, “Big, Slow-Moving and Invisible: Macrosocial Processes in the Study of Comparative Politics” in Mahoney and Rueschemeyer, eds. *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 5 (2003), p. 181.

⁴⁸ Samer Soliman, *The Autumn of Dictatorship: Fiscal Crisis and Political Change in Egypt Under Mubarak*.

⁴⁹ Brumberg, Daniel. “The Trap of Liberalized Autocracy.” *Journal of democracy* 13, no. 4 (2002): 56-68.

⁵⁰ Paul Pierson, “Big, Slow-Moving and Invisible: Macrosocial Processes in the Study of Comparative Politics,” p. 181.

John Brewer and Albert Hunter, triangulation aims to “pinpoint the values of a phenomenon more accurately by sighting in on it from different methodological viewpoints.”⁵¹

Each chapter of this study will utilize case studies to build a theory, test hypotheses, or explore a key idea about civil-military relations and security. Chapter One uses an in-depth case study of Jordan to understand individual decision-making and build theory, i.e., the identity-rationalist model. An in-depth case study is ideal to build theory such as this because it elucidates how choices are made, which quantitative data has a limited ability to achieve within the scope of this study. Chapter Two uses comparative case studies to test hypotheses on why militaries defect in the MENA region, and incorporates process tracing to accommodate the small-n sample. Chapter Three also uses an in-depth case study, but this chapter explores and illuminates the quintessential nature of Jordan’s intelligence services to regime survival and stability of the country. The nature of the research and objectives of this study, therefore, make qualitative methods the preferable option.

Interviews

Among a variety of data-collection techniques, this research project conducts and utilizes interviews as a means to gather information on civil-military relations in the MENA region. The interview questions outlined here were intended to generate detailed, holistic descriptions of military involvement in state political economies as well as the specific roles carried out by military leaders during the Arab uprising period of 2010 to 2012. In line with interviewing objectives in political science, these interviews shed light on varying perspectives, unearthed

⁵¹ John Brewer and Albert Hunter. *Foundations of multimethod research: Synthesizing styles*. Sage, (2006), p. 5.

competing interpretations of events, and explored the informal interactions and behaviors of military actors that have been critical to political outcomes during periods of unrest.⁵²

This research design utilized semi-structured (or in-depth) interviews. The purpose of such interviews was to explore the research topic openly and allow respondents to express their ideas and interpretations in their own words.⁵³ Semi-structured interviews are appropriate for this research topic because they seek to identify the processes by which militaries remain loyal to (or defect from) political regimes. Specifically, this research employed a process tracing methodology in which an insight or piece of data provides information about a “context, process, or mechanism, and that contributes to distinctive leverage in causal inference.”⁵⁴ This interview research aims to identify the causal processes that have occurred over time and shaped civil-military loyalty and defection during recent popular uprisings in the Arab world. The following are the questions asked during the interviews:

Interview Questions: Military Officials (Retired or Active Duty)

1. Could you please describe your career trajectory?

Military History and Security Dynamics

2. What is the relationship between the armed forces and the Jordanian government?

Arab Uprisings

3. Could you describe the social and political dynamics in Jordan at the time of the Arab uprisings (2010-2012)?

4. What were the security concerns of the military during this time period?

5. What role did the police forces play at the time of the protests?

Military Benefits

6. What are the main career options for military service members?

7. What post-career benefits are available for retired military service members?

⁵² Diana Kapiszewski, Lauren M. MacLean, and Benjamin L. Read. *Field Research in Political Science: Practices and Principles*. (Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 190.

⁵³ Kristin G. Esterberg, *Qualitative Methods in Social Research* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2002), p 87.

⁵⁴ Brady, Henry E., and David Collier, eds. *Rethinking Social Inquiry: Diverse Tools, Shared Standards* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010), p. 279.

Economic Conditions

8. What role does the military play in Jordan's economy?

Broad Topics and Final Questions

9. Is there anything that you think I've missed?

10. Who else should I talk to?

Respondent Selection

The above semi-structured interview questions were adapted for a number of different respondents. Priority respondents included retired and non-institutionally affiliated members of the Jordanian Armed Forces along with members of the police force, government officials, political party members, academics, journalists, and leaders of NGOs. The goal was to prioritize interviews with respondents directly involved in, or knowledgeable about, the domestic and regional security dynamics in 2010-2012. The sampling techniques for this interview research included two related forms of non-random sampling, reputational and purposive. Reputational sampling required that I interview an initial group of military actors and then ask them to forward my information to additional respondents who may be interested in participating in my study. Purposive sampling, or judgment sampling, is a form of non-random sampling that selects elements of a population according to specific characteristics deemed relevant to the analysis.⁵⁵ Actors with specific knowledge of the security and political dynamics of the Arab uprising period are critical to the stated research objectives.

Practical issues presented important challenges that needed to be overcome. For example, conducting interviews that address security-related topics are always sensitive in the MENA region.⁵⁶ Thus, the semi-structured interview questions here are tailored to investigate relatively

⁵⁵ Layna Mosley, ed. *Interview Research in Political Science* (Cornell University Press, 2013), p. 41.

⁵⁶ It should be noted that because I have a military history, study political science, and research security dynamics, Jordanian citizens often refer to me as a member of the CIA.

broad security and defense topics. No question threatens the standing of the political regime, government, or head of state. Questions concerning corruption are also specifically avoided. Many of the topics were simply intended to address regional themes surrounding the Arab uprisings, the domestic manifestations of protests, and military responses to such protests. National security decisions are never characterized as illegitimate or repressive.⁵⁷ Interviews were not recorded. In order to protect respondent identities and confidentiality, the contents of all interviews were hand written, transcribed, and stored on a secure computer file.

Outline of Dissertation: Chapter One

The first chapter explores the puzzle of military decision-making and behavior in the MENA region on an individual level. Essentially, why do people join the military and support its actions against certain threats? The relevance of this research question rests upon the important characteristics of the region. The Middle East is one of the world's most volatile regions and remains strategically important for the global economy and international security. Regional stability persists as a priority for the international community. This chapter posits that individuals include identity in their cost-benefit analysis on perceived or actual threats, which will impact their behavior. As such, this chapter establishes the identity-rationalist model in which considerations of identity are incorporated into utility maximization calculations in order to explain how militaries behave in relation to society and the polity. On their own, rationalist and identity-centered approaches to civil-military relations are insufficient. Rationalist models

⁵⁷ Given these sensitivities, this study is limited in its ability to describe security dynamics in Jordan and the MENA region. For example, corruption and nepotism are almost certainly significant factors in maintaining the Jordanian regime, but such topics were out of bounds in my interviews. As a result, this study lacks the ability to gauge the relative importance of either corruption or nepotism. Still, I was at all times sensitive to the potential for bias in interviewee responses. I also accorded more weight to responses for some questions than others because of the very real possibility of bias in respondent answers.

overemphasize the material interests that motivate and drive decision-making.⁵⁸ However, culturalist traditions, which recognize the importance of communal identity and values, underemphasize core incentives and disincentives that regimes utilize to maintain military loyalty.

Given this background, this chapter hopes to make two contributions to civil-military relations scholarship. First, the identity-rationalist model advances current theoretical work on civil-military relations by situating identity within a rationalist approach. The identity-rationalist model enhances the current understanding of civil-military relations by combining the most salient aspects of each approach. Along with strategic calculations rooted in material interests, identity remains a quintessential variable for determining how Arab militaries will behave when internal and external security threats exist. At the crux of this new approach is the incorporation of identity into the cost-benefit analysis of the rationalist paradigm. Typically, rationalism looks at individual decision-making as a cost-benefit analysis that assesses material gains and physical security. However, the new approach includes how individuals use the understanding of their own identity into cost-benefit analysis. Second, this chapter presents original data from interviews gathered in Jordan, which contributes to a more holistic and historically-rooted understanding of military decision-making in Jordan and the larger MENA region.

During periods of political crisis like mass protest movements, military personnel must assess and make decisions on a number of security issues. Therefore, this chapter focuses on individual decision-making and how security personnel will use self-interest combined with their own understandings of identity to make decisions. Evaluating decisions at the individual level sheds light on the specific factors security personnel take into account when determining whether

⁵⁸ Peter D. Feaver, *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations* (Harvard University Press, 2003).

or not to engage in certain policies. These factors include considerations of how one's career and livelihood will be affected, threats to personal safety, and one's standing in his or her community. Upon weighing such factors, individual decisions matter because they can escalate to group or collective action aimed at regime removal. For example, if enough individuals resist orders, abrogate allegiances, or actively work against a regime, regime collapse becomes a possibility. Thus, a central goal of this chapter is to elucidate how identity is included into these decision-making processes.

Chapter Two

Chapter Two explores a different aspect of military loyalty at an institutional level as opposed to an individual one. Taking militaries at the national level as the unit of analysis, this chapter poses the following research question: under what conditions do militaries defect from authoritarian regimes? The relevance of this research question lies in the fact that decisions made by militaries throughout the Arab uprisings played an essential role in shaping the outcomes of pro-reform movements.⁵⁹ Arguably, no institution matters more to a state's survival than the military, and no revolution within a state can take root without the support or non-interference of its armed forces.⁶⁰ While the political science literature has increasingly recognized Arab militaries as crucial to determining the outcomes of post-2010 pro-reform movements, scholars have directed less attention to the causal mechanisms associated with military satisfaction within a particular regime. Given this context, this chapter contends that militaries remain loyal or

⁵⁹ Robert Springborg, "Arab Militaries," in *The Arab Uprisings Explained: New Contentious Politics in the Middle East*, ed. Marc Lynch (2014), p 142.

⁶⁰ Zoltan Barany, "Comparing the Arab Revolts: The Role of the Military," *Journal of Democracy* 22, no. 4 (2011), p. 28.

defect primarily due to levels of economic integration, but perceptions of political power also play a role.

The chapter applies established analysis to military integration into the national economies of Jordan, Oman, Egypt, and Tunisia; the cases are used as falsification of the hypotheses because each country has distinct socio-political and economic structure. This chapter utilizes comparative case studies and process tracing conduct a structured comparison of military behavior in Jordan, Oman, Egypt, and Tunisia to address the following hypotheses:

- Hypothesis 1 (Political-Economic School): *If the military is well-integrated into the political economy of the state, then it will be less likely to defect.*
- Hypothesis 2 (Political Power School): *If the military perceives it is losing political power, then it will be more likely to defect.*
- Hypothesis 3 (Military Cleavage School): *If the military lacks internal sectarian cleavages (e.g., ethnic, religious, or class-based differences), then it will be less likely to defect.*

The empirical variation regarding how Arab militaries have either supported or defected from regimes under duress suggests that the overall political and economic status of militaries within a state may impact military decision-making. Policies that indicate high-levels of military involvement in political economies are hypothesized to increase the likelihood of loyalty toward a regime facing protest movements. More broadly, this study aims to empirically test the proposition that the stronger a regime's record of satisfying the economic interests of military personnel, the more likely a military will be to support a regime facing large-scale protests.⁶¹ Although similar arguments have been theorized, few attempts have been made to provide empirical support to such claims.

To that end, this chapter aims to make two scholarly contributions. First, recent theoretical work addressing the importance of military integration into states' economies remains

⁶¹ Barany, p. 29.

underdeveloped. This chapter hopes to articulate the extent to which regimes attempt to ensure military loyalty through material incentives. Second, this chapter offers empirical support to the above proposition through the analysis of original interview data gathered in Jordan. This data elucidates specific regime policies that dramatically boost the material benefits of military service and continued loyalty.

Chapter Three

Arab militaries are critical to determining the outcomes of pro-reform movements, yet scholars have directed less attention at intelligence agencies during periods of crisis. Chapter Three addresses this gap by focusing on the critical role intelligence services play in maintaining national security priorities and state stability. Specifically, this chapter explores how Jordanian intelligence services are effective at safeguarding the regime. The relevance of this topic continues to increase as some observers argue that the US intelligence community's partnership with its Jordanian counterparts has become more important than its relationship with Mossad, Israel's national intelligence agency.⁶² This chapter contends that Jordanian intelligence agencies are effective because of their professionalization (hierarchy, meritocracy, and specialization of subject matters and skillsets). Professionalization also comes from cooperating with and learning from foreign intelligence agencies in Europe, the United States, and other states with highly developed intelligence services. Because of this professionalization, Jordanian intelligence services are able to eliminate effectively threats from domestic tribes and Islamists through appeasing and co-opting leadership, disrupting lines of communication, and neutralizing targets.

⁶² Ken Silverstein, "U.S., Jordan Forge Closer Ties in Covert War on Terrorism," *The Los Angeles Times*, November 11, 2005, p. A1, accessed January 11, 2018, <http://articles.latimes.com/2005/nov/11/world/fg-gid11>; see also Ronen Yitzhak "The War Against Terrorism and For Stability of the Hashemite Regime: Jordanian Intelligence Challenges in the 21st Century." *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence* 29, no. 2 (2016), p. 213.

All of this has been a significant contribution to the relative political and security stability of Jordan.

Chapter Three aims to make two contributions to civil-military relations and security studies scholarship. First, the chapter provides an in-depth, historically-rooted account of the structure of Jordanian intelligence services. This account includes information pertaining to the recruitment and training of intelligence operatives, first-hand information regarding the level of cooperation and rivalry among Jordan's intelligence services, and Jordan's national security priorities. Among others, these priorities consist of border security, terrorist infiltration into Jordan's refugee camps, and identifying, tracking, and neutralizing terrorist sleeping cells in Jordanian territory. Ultimately, this chapter argues that Jordanian intelligence agencies are the primary reason for Jordan's continued political stability because of its efficiency. Moreover, the efficiency of Jordanian Intelligence is connected to how it effectively eliminates threats from tribal dissatisfaction and Islamists. Part of the effectiveness is rooted in King Abdullah II's ability to understand and balance Jordan's tribal composition to maintain security. The analysis of data from this chapter explores the structure and maturation of Jordanian intelligence networks within the context of Jordan's historical development. The chapter then addresses the puzzle of how Jordan's intelligence services are exceptional in their ability to protect the regime and maintain stability in the country.

Conclusion

Arab armed forces continue to play a critical role in regime durability and survival within the region's authoritarian political systems. Yet the specific outcomes of the post-Arab uprising period lack clear explanation. This research project seeks to better explain military decision-

making during the recent periods of political instability. Qualitative analysis in the form of process tracing will ideally shed light on the context-specific decision-making calculations made by militaries over time. The ontological nature of the stated research question assumes that while militaries are primarily concerned with their respective domestic standing, larger regional trends also have an impact on how decisions such as loyalty toward a regime are ultimately made. To more effectively uncover such dynamics, this research utilizes and collects a variety of qualitative data, while also conducting controlled case study comparisons. The literature reviewed helps to reveal the need for both the refinement and expansion of existing theoretical perspectives on civil-military relations in the Arab world. As noted previously, conventional wisdom holds that armed forces should remain ideologically detached and physically separate from political institutions. However, this view lacks direct relevance to Arab authoritarian states where highly centralized regime control over government, unique ideological foundations for legitimacy which often involve Islam, and deeply entrenched networks of patronage and corruption simply preclude traditional conceptions of effective civil-military relations. This study hopes to contribute to the research on civil-military relations in the Middle East and North Africa by offering a new theory on security decision-making (the identity-rationalist model), assessing how economic integration impacts loyalty to regimes, and exploring the causes of efficiency in Jordanian intelligence services.

CHAPTER TWO

THE IDENTITY-RATIONALIST MODEL: INTERPRETING CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN JORDAN AND THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

Introduction

Regarding civil-military relations, the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) remains one of the most complex and difficult regions in the world to understand. Political systems include an assortment of authoritarian regimes from absolute and semi-constitutional monarchies (Morocco, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan) to semi-presidential republics (Egypt and Tunisia). Levels of political repression range from zero tolerance of dissent to relatively open societies that boast democratic means of political participation and representation. From a security standpoint, Arab states are equally diverse. Depending on the country, armed forces, militaries, intelligence services, police forces, and private security firms operate with strong government support or are deliberately undermined by heads of state to minimize threats to the regime. Indeed, the very nature of statehood and autonomy are uniquely blurred across the region. In the cases of Iraq, Syria, Yemen, and Libya, the political and security sectors have broken down to the point where the states have failed or are only minimally functioning. Since the Cold War, international actors, especially the United States, Russia, and Iran, have been incredibly active in the affairs of Arab states and openly contribute arms, money, and training to multiple state and non-state actors. Among experts and ordinary citizens alike, classifying the protracted political and military conflict between Israel and Palestine remains a matter of intense contestation. The diversity of actors, political systems, security apparatuses, and conflicts present daunting challenges for those who strive to understand civil-military relations in the MENA region.

One of the most important security and political questions concerning the future stability of the region relates to civil-military relations. Essentially, why do some Arab militaries defect

while others remain loyal? During periods of political crisis, military personnel can defect by going into exile, resisting or ignoring orders from heads of state, or abrogating allegiances to a regime. This chapter focuses on individual decision-making as opposed to how the military operates as an institution. Evaluating decisions at the individual level sheds light on the specific factors security personnel take into account when determining whether or not to remain loyal. These factors include considerations of how one's career and livelihood will be affected, threats to personal safety, and one's standing in his or her community. Upon weighing such factors, individual decisions matter because they can escalate to group or collective action aimed at regime removal. If enough individuals resist orders, abrogate allegiances, or actively work against a regime, regime collapse becomes a possibility. Thus, a central goal of this chapter is to elucidate the dimensions of individual decision-making that potentially form the basis for larger acts of defection, such as attempting a coup or initiating a civil war.

Typically, scholars examine civil-military relations and individual decision-making through three primary approaches: (1) rationalist approaches analyze strategic action rooted in coalition building, game theory, and bargaining theory; (2) structuralist approaches examine institutions and their organization, procedures, and rules at the domestic, regional, and international levels; and (3) culturalist approaches focus on the subject, often at the individual level, which includes individually held beliefs or shared ideas, attitudes, and interpretations.⁶³ Subsequent sections of this chapter will further define each approach as well as evaluate their respective strengths and weaknesses.

In order to build upon the strengths and address the shortcomings of these approaches, this chapter presents a new and alternative theoretical model that I have developed. I call this

⁶³ David Pion-Berlin, "Introduction," in *Civil-Military Relations in Latin America: New Analytical Perspectives* 2001, edited by David Pion-Berlin, 1-35 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), p. 17.

new theoretical construct the identity-rationalist model. The development of this model stems from an examination of civil-military relations literature, original fieldwork in Jordan, and the use of the case study method.

The identity-rationalist model holds that there is a strategic interaction between self-interest and identity that informs decision-making. Specifically, individuals weigh the potential costs and benefits of their decisions while also considering the impact of the decisions on different aspects of their identity. For the purposes of this chapter, identity is defined as the complex interaction, prioritization, and/or combination of one's internal orientation to the world and external expression of familial, communal, educational, ethnolinguistic, religious, nationalist, and professional backgrounds. Rather than offer a comprehensive discussion of identity in the MENA region, this chapter pursues the more limited objective of demonstrating how and why identity factors into decision-making during periods of political crisis.

This chapter is divided into two main parts. Part I will start by assessing the three main theoretical approaches to studying civil-military relations (i.e., rationalist, structuralist, and culturalist). The chapter then presents the identity-rationalist model as a new way to interpret, analyze, and better understand military decision-making. Following this explication of the identity-rationalist model, the chapter surveys the relevant civil-military relations literature that informs the identity-rationalist model. Part I concludes by explaining how case studies can effectively contribute to theory development. Part II draws upon Jordan as its central case study to develop the identity-rationalist model and demonstrates its utility for analyzing civil-military relations. When developing the model from this case study, Part II also highlights how the identity-rationalist model compliments recent civil-military relations research and fills important gaps in the literature.

Ultimately, this chapter argues that the identity-rationalist model advances our understanding of military decision-making by demonstrating that actors are interest-driven, intentional, account for their identity, and gather the information required to make well-informed decisions during periods of political upheaval. Ideally, scholars will be able to build upon, refine, and challenge the identity-rationalist model to more accurately interpret and analyze military decision-making in the context of global security.

Part I: Theoretical Approaches to Studying Civil-Military Relations

Following the Arab uprisings that began in late 2010, scholars have increasingly identified the role of Arab militaries as critical to understanding the outcomes of widespread protests and regime responses.⁶⁴ While various analytical perspectives have been employed to understand the political dynamics of the Arab uprisings, scholars need to direct attention at developing new approaches to better understand Arab civil-military relations. Recent theoretical approaches are inadequate because they typically focus on the MENA region's resistance to democratization. For instance, scholars examine the presence or lack of strong civil societies and institutions, regime management of economies, income and literacy levels, democratic neighbors, and democratic culture.⁶⁵ These studies clarify important pieces to the democratization puzzle but lack a broader theoretical framework that explains the crucial role that militaries play in safeguarding regimes. Within comparative politics, the division between rationalist, structuralist, and culturalist approaches often inform and guide the answers to such

⁶⁴ Robert Springborg, "Arab Militaries," in *The Arab Uprisings Explained: New Contentious Politics in the Middle East*, ed. Marc Lynch (2014), p 142.

⁶⁵ Eva Bellin, "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in The Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective." *Comparative politics* (2004), p. 141.

questions. These schools of thought offer a viable starting point to interpreting events in the Middle East but inevitably come with limitations.

In broad terms, David Pion-Berlin outlines the approaches in the following manner. The rationalist approach analyzes strategic action, which includes coalition building, game and bargaining theory. Structuralist approaches focus on institutions and their organization and rules at the domestic, regional, and international levels. Culturalist perspectives analyze the subject, often at the individual level, which includes individually held beliefs or shared ideas, attitudes, and interpretations.⁶⁶ Much of civil-military relations scholarship, particularly in Latin America, falls into one (or a combination) of these theoretical camps. Examining the details of each approach helps to elucidate the aspects most relevant to the study of civil-military relations in the MENA region. Although each approach has explanatory power, each one also has weaknesses and deficiencies that limit their application to modern governance in the Arab world.

The rationalist approach is guided by four fundamental assumptions: (1) the individual (or analogue of the individual) is the primary unit of analysis; (2) individuals are considered rational actors and pursue their goals and strategies in a manner that maximizes the likelihood they will achieve their objectives; (3) the aspirations of individuals are basic, mainly consistent, and capable of being ordered; (4) individuals have the ability to accurately interpret situations, recognize other actors and their objectives, and make rational decisions and calculations.⁶⁷

Within a rationalist framework, actors are regarded as more pragmatic than ideological.

Individuals are interest-driven, intentional, and capable of acquiring the necessary information to

⁶⁶ David Pion-Berlin, "Introduction," in *Civil-Military Relations in Latin America: New Analytical Perspectives*, p. 17.

⁶⁷ Wendy Hunter, "Reason, Culture, or Structure? Assessing Civil-Military Dynamics in Brazil." In *Civil-Military Relations in Latin America: New Analytical Perspectives* 2001, edited by David Pion-Berlin, 36-58 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), p. 40; see also Geddes, Barbara. "Uses and Limitations of Rational Choice," in *Latin America in Comparative Perspective: New Approaches to Methods and Analysis*, ed. by Peter H. Smith, 81-108. Boulder: Westview Press, 1995.

make well-informed, deliberate decisions. As such, agency plays a central role in rationalist-oriented research.⁶⁸

Rational choice theory is particularly strong in its attempts to explain the role of regime elites in preventing democratization. Arab dictators have long sought to professionalize militaries without providing the armed forces with meaningful political power.⁶⁹ Other scholars explain that militaries played a dominant role in thwarting political change during the Arab Spring and that the more integrated militaries are into a state's political economy, the more likely it will be to support a regime under duress.⁷⁰ Post-retirement career appointments and benefits also allow a regime to co-opt and preserve the loyalty of military elites.⁷¹ Finally, "coup-proofing," a technique often used to protect against defection, is a central part of many regime strategies to maintain power. Coup-proofing involves creating parallel security institutions, distributing material incentives, and exploiting communal ties. Although widely used, coup-proofing is not always effective.⁷² Research suggests that building parallel security institutions and offering material incentives foster competition and motivate defection within the security apparatus. In contrast, regime exploitation of communal ties mitigates these effects and more reliably ensures military loyalty.⁷³ Stripping the military of political power, integrating the military into a state's economy, offering post-retirement benefits, and coup-proofing reveal the strategies used by

⁶⁸ Hunter, p. 40.

⁶⁹ Kamrava, Mehran. "Military Professionalization and Civil-Military Relations in the Middle East." *Political Science Quarterly* No. 1, 115: 67-92. 2000.

⁷⁰ Zoltan Barany, "Comparing the Arab Revolts: The Role of the Military." *Journal of Democracy*. 2011

⁷¹ Hicham Bou Nassif. "Wedded to Mubarak: The Second Career and Financial Rewards of Egypt's Military Elite from 1981 Till 2011," *The Middle East Journal*, 67, No. 4: 510-530. 2013

⁷² Holger Albrecht. "The Myth of Coup-proofing Risk and Instances of Military Coups d'état in the Middle East and North Africa, 1950–2013." *Armed Forces & Society* (2014): 1-29.

⁷³ Makara, Michael. "Coup-Proofing, Military Defection, and the Arab Spring." *Democracy and Security* 9, no. 4 (2013): 334-359.

regime elites to maintain military loyalty. Similarly, non-elites must make strategic calculations when navigating these strategies in order to maximize utility in repressive environments.

Of the three approaches this chapter examines, rational choice theory provides the greatest theoretical insights pertaining to civil-military relations, particularly because current events demonstrate the applicability of agent-centric models. Jillian Schwedler's work on the inclusion-moderation hypothesis is relevant in this context. As in Schwedler's study of Jordan and Yemen, Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood (*Jamā'at al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn*) attempted to enter mainstream politics in order to achieve its goals.⁷⁴ Rational choice theory elucidates contingency-based arguments and decisions whereby individual actors make calculated decisions to participate in, or refrain from politics. Considerations on whether or not to engage in politics mirror similar evaluations in security sectors. The rationalist approach best explains civil-military relations in the MENA region and why militaries remain loyal because individual decisions regarding defection can carry heavy costs. If identified, regimes punish defectors through execution, exile, arrest, or other purges and individuals must weigh the likelihood of such consequences. However, a key variable is missing in rationalist approaches. Identity adds explanatory power within the rationalist approach/principal-agent model as the costs or benefits of defection affect one's family, tribe, or sect.

Structuralist, or institutional, approaches differ from rational choice theories by prioritizing the "enduring influence of organizational rules, patterns, and traditions on personal behavior."⁷⁵ While recognizing the importance of the social context of politics and the motives of individual actors, institutional approaches insist upon "a more autonomous role for political

⁷⁴ Jillian Schwedler, *Faith in Moderation: Islamist Parties in Jordan and Yemen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

⁷⁵ Pion-Berlin, "Introduction," p. 19; see also James G. March and Johan P. Olsen, "The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life." *American Political Science Review* 78, no. 3 (1983): 734-749.

institutions.”⁷⁶ Historically, such institutions included bureaucratic agencies, legislative bodies, and judiciaries.⁷⁷ The definition of institutions has since expanded to encompass “formal or informal procedures, routines, norms and conventions embedded in the organizational structure of the polity.”⁷⁸ In contrast to rationalist theories, structuralist approaches view institutions not only as forces in their own right, but that they have the power to alter the behavior and decision-making processes of rational actors in ways that extend beyond pure self-interest calculations.⁷⁹ Samuel Huntington’s theory, outlined in *The Soldier and the State*, falls within a structuralist approach to civil-military relations by focusing on the interaction of political actors in the institutional settings of government. Huntington assesses the nonmaterial determinants of behavior, such as identity, norms, beliefs, and ideas. Huntington’s conception of civilian control also stresses the importance of identity and the ideology of professionalism, a focus shared by Morris Janowitz in *The Professional Soldier*.⁸⁰

Structuralism and historical institutionalism are relevant because bureaucracy permeates the daily existence of those who live in the region. Important aspects of one’s life from university to jobs, marriage options and opportunities, domestic freedom of movement, and international travel are controlled in some way by state institutions. Institutions are the extension of autocrats in the region, and the priorities of the autocrat determine the influence of institutions. Yet this is why institutions are not all encompassing in the people’s lives. They only matter when the political leadership want them to matter and can end up being feckless. For

⁷⁶ March and Olsen, “The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life,” p. 738.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Peter Hall and Rosemary Taylor, “Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms,” *Political Studies* 44, no. 5 (1996), p. 938.

⁷⁹ Pion-Berlin, “Introduction,” p. 19

⁸⁰ Peter D. Feaver, *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations* (Harvard University Press, 2003), pp. 10-13; see also Huntington, Samuel P. *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*. Harvard University Press, 1957. Morris Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait*. Free Press of Glencoe, 1961.

instance, a regime may allow the presence of an internationally observed, independent electoral commission to oversee parliamentary or presidential elections. However, international observers and domestic employees may find their work underfunded, limited in mandate, or later discredited by the regime. Examples of autocrats in the MENA region winning presidential elections with more than 95% of the vote are not uncommon. As such, institutions are not autonomous, and the structuralist approach becomes incomplete and misleading.

A key weakness of structuralism is that it fails to fully account for the roles of individual actors during crucial stages of political development. From a rational choice approach, some analysts argue that individual actors and their respective use of technology played a crucial role in shaping the outcomes of pro-reform demonstrations in Egypt and Tunisia⁸¹ and the wider Middle East.⁸² Other scholars disagreed and argued that technology was not a driving factor, and that indeed, the “revolution will not be tweeted.”⁸³

Stemming from the work of Clifford Geertz and James C. Scott, culturalist approaches to researching politics have widely influenced the disciplines of political science, sociology, and anthropology.⁸⁴ As a theoretical approach, culturalism is akin to constructivism in which reality is co-created, reality is what humans make of it, and culture forms preferences. Culturalist theories typically focus on ideas, beliefs, attitudes, and interpretations that affect political behavior.⁸⁵ Wendy Hunter explains that culturalist accounts of Latin American politics often

⁸¹ Philip N. Howard and Muzammil M. Hussain, “The Upheavals in Egypt and Tunisia: The Role of Digital Media,” *Journal of Democracy* (July 2011).

⁸² Philip N. Howard and Muzammil M. Hussain, “What Best Explains Successful Protest Cascades? ICTs and Fuzzy Causes of the Arab Spring,” *International Studies Review* (2013).

⁸³ Jon B. Alterman, “The Revolution Will Not Be Tweeted,” *Washington Quarterly* (2011).

⁸⁴ Pion-Berlin, “Introduction,” p. 19; see also Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York: Basic Books, 1973; James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.

⁸⁵ Pion-Berlin, “Introduction,” p. 20.

refer to “orientations such as elitism, authoritarianism, corporatism, and patrimonialism.”⁸⁶

Hunter outlines how these principles had strong foundations in Spanish Catholicism, which led to Latin American societies becoming hierarchically structured by rank and vertically structured into prominent groups such as the military, the church, and the bureaucracy. Along these lines, militaries that are actively involved in domestic politics and contribute to nation building can be understood through a culturalist lens. That is, tradition and ideals guide military decision-making regarding the degree to which the military plays a direct role in the affairs of the state.⁸⁷

From this approach, political development in the Middle East directly corresponds to a history of kin-based, tribal ties. For example, kin-based models of social and political life explain variation in women’s rights in Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria, which contrasts with the Western class-centered models.⁸⁸ Likewise, Abdellah Hammoudi explains authoritarianism in Morocco through a paradigm of authority that juxtaposes absolute authority and absolute submission, which has its roots in Islamic mysticism.⁸⁹ While culturalism effectively engages the central role that Islam plays in Arab politics, it fails to recognize the centrality of individual actors, as well as the institutions that shape the limits of Islam in politics.

Culturalism has explanatory power because familial and tribal affiliation shape politics and conflict in the MENA region. Concerning Iraq and Syria, recent scholarship routinely identifies sectarian divisions as crucial to understanding conflict dynamics.⁹⁰ It fails as an analytic approach, though, because culturalism is too amorphous. For instance, it is difficult to

⁸⁶ Wendy Hunter, “Reason, Culture, or Structure? Assessing Civil-Military Dynamics in Brazil,” p. 48.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Mounira M. Charrad, *States and Women’s Rights: The Making of Postcolonial Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco* (Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley Press, 2001).

⁸⁹ Abdellah Hammoudi. *Master and Disciple: The Cultural Foundations of Moroccan Authoritarianism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

⁹⁰ Khalil Osman, *Sectarianism in Iraq: The Making of State and Nation Since 1920*. Routledge, 2014; Christopher Philips, “Sectarianism and Conflict in Syria.” *Third World Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (2015): 357-376.

answer the questions of whether or not sectarian divisions drive conflict, or conflict inflames sectarian divisions, or both dynamics intensify each other. Other scholars challenge this line of inquiry entirely and instead point to the manufactured and politicization of sectarianism in Iraq.⁹¹ In either case, culturalism struggles to explain conflict because aspects of culture change slowly over time, while violence can erupt from one day to the next depending on the conflict's spark. Cultural aspects like religion are used in conflict-related discourse by political leaders and even citizens, but actors will often prioritize security, money, and power when necessary, which aligns with rational choice.

In sum, militaries remain loyal or defect based on perceived or actual threats, and identity is a key variable in determining these threats. On their own, rationalist and culturalist approaches to civil-military relations are insufficient. Rationalist approaches overemphasize the material interests that motivate and drive decision-making. However, culturalist approaches, which recognize the importance of communal identity and values, underemphasize core incentives and disincentives that regimes utilize to maintain military loyalty. The identity-rationalist model advances the current understanding of civil-military relations by combining the most salient aspects of each approach. Along with strategic calculations rooted in material interests, identity remains a quintessential variable for determining how Arab militaries will behave when internal and external security threats exist. At the crux of this new model is the incorporation of identity into the cost-benefit analysis of the rationalist approach. Although the rationalist approach has greater explanatory value, one element of the culturalist approach that is applicable to understanding civil-military relations is the role of identity. Typically, rationalism looks at individual decision-making as a cost-benefit analysis that assesses material gains and physical

⁹¹ Tareq Y. Ismael and Max Fuller, "The Disintegration of Iraq: The Manufacturing and Politicization of Sectarianism." *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies* 2, no. 3 (2009): 443-473.

security. However, the new approach will include how individuals use the understanding of their own identity into cost-benefit analysis as well as economic and security concerns.

Identity-Rationalist Model

The rationalist approach best explains civil-military relations in the MENA region and why militaries remain loyal to regimes. However, a key variable is missing in the model. Identity adds explanatory power within the rationalist approach. The following two sections draw upon rational choice, the principal-agent theory, and the security dilemma to illuminate the interaction of self-interest and identity in security-related decision-making. Rational decision-making of this nature becomes especially relevant with respect to civil-military relations. How much power should militaries wield within political systems? How do political leaders determine levels of defense spending, promotions, division of military responsibilities, and national defense priorities? In partial or non-democracies, is the military a threat to the regime itself? These questions speak to how political leaders must balance competing interests. Yet these questions also indicate that identity plays a large role in shaping how much militaries aim to participate in politics and how much political involvement political leaders allow.⁹²

It is important to start with the fundamental assumptions of the identity-rationalist model in order to understand its explanatory power.⁹³ The key assumptions are:

- Individuals are rational actors that will maximize utility in their decisions.
- Civil-military relations is a series of strategic interactions between the military and civilians in which decisions are based on expectations of behavior.
- The process of decision-making is iterative over time as the threat environment changes. Principles and agents must adjust their preferences according to the threat environment.

⁹² Hunter, p. 43.

⁹³ These assumptions build upon elements of Feaver's principle/agent model. See Feaver, pp. 54-58. See also Varshney's understanding of "value rationality." Ashutosh Varshney, "Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict, and Rationality." *Perspectives on Politics* 1, no. 1 (2003), p. 86.

- Identity partially contributes to the individual, group, and state-level understanding of the threat environment.
- Punishments, rewards, and incentives shape actor decision making. An individual, group, and state will assess what punishments, rewards, and incentives are acceptable partially based on their identity.

Therefore, the identity-rationalist model holds that there is a strategic interaction between self-interest and identity that informs decision-making. Specifically, individuals weigh the potential costs and benefits of their decisions while also considering the impact of the decisions on different aspects of their identity. From a positivist perspective, researchers will empirically observe this model's validity in the decision-making processes of individuals, groups, and states based on their statements, declarations, and discussions on why and how they should act. Based on these empirical observations, researchers can then offer predictions on the behavior of individuals, groups, and states during political crises.

Egypt provides a brief example to help elucidate the applicability of the identity-rationalist model. Between 2011-2013, the Egyptian military removed two leaders in quick succession during the Arab Spring because they each threatened the military's position. Following the 2012 election, Mohamed Morsi attempted to remove the power of the military in governance and move the country in an Islamist direction. After considering its options (i.e., the potential punishments, rewards, and incentives of action or inaction), the military intervened to remove Morsi for self-interest and identity reasons.⁹⁴ First, Morsi harmed military interests (privileged economic and political position). Second, Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood would have changed the identity of Egypt away from Arab nationalism and the military's desired

⁹⁴ Some observers argued that Morsi's "moves to entrench Islamic laws and concentrate power in the hands of the Muslim Brotherhood...alienated liberals and secularists." This demonstrates the importance of and competition over Egypt's national identity. See "Egypt Crisis: Army Ousts President Mohammed Morsi." *BBC*, July 4, 2013, accessed June 30, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-23173794>.

identity of “guardians of the revolution” (i.e., neutral on partisan processes).⁹⁵ The identity-rationalist model makes no definitive claims pertaining to Egyptian identity, military identity, or Islamist identity, etc. Instead, the model highlights that identity is incorporated into the decision-making processes of military personnel and institutions.

The identity-rational model builds upon previous theoretical approaches to civil-military relations, primarily the rationalist approach and security dilemma. The rationalist approach operates under the assumptions of rational choice theory. Rational choice holds that individuals have preferences and will choose the option that satisfies their preferences through decisions based on some form of cost-benefit analysis. Recent theoretical and empirical work draw upon rationalist approaches to explain civil-military relations. Peter Feaver’s principal-agent theory connects rational choice and military decision-making by exploring questions of agency relationships, e.g., stockholder-board, employer-employee, voter-politician, or congress-bureaucracy. Specifically, the principal-agent framework analyzes how political or economic actors in a superior position (principals) control the behavior or corresponding actors in subordinate positions (agents).⁹⁶ Strategic interaction and hierarchy are the distinctive features of the principal-agent framework. According to Feaver, interactions between civilians and the military are strategic because the decisions civilians make are contingent upon their expectations of what course of action the military will take, and vice versa. In democracies, these interactions occur in a hierarchical environment because civilians hold privileged positions where mechanisms of authority have legitimacy and durability.⁹⁷ In this setting, military agents choose

⁹⁵ “Egypt’s Military: Guardians of the Revolution No More,” Editorial: *The Guardian*, November 21, 2011, accessed June 30, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/nov/21/egypts-military-guardians-revolution-editorial>.

⁹⁶ Feaver, p. 12.

⁹⁷ Feaver, p. 54.

to either “work” or “shirk;” the former implies military subordination to civilian authority and the latter involves insubordination.⁹⁸

A related paradigm to rational choice within the study of conflict is the security dilemma. As a theoretical approach, the security dilemma gained traction during the Cold War where it provided insights related to how and why states sought to control or neutralize other states.⁹⁹ Initially, scholars applied the security dilemma to interstate war to understand state behavior and conflict dynamics. More recently, the security dilemma has been applied to intrastate war to analyze conflict between state and sub-state actors. Since the mid-1940s, civil war has become the most frequent and deadly form of conflict.¹⁰⁰ Of the 127 post-WWII conflicts recorded in the Correlates of War Project, more than 72% were some form of civil war. Between 1945 and 1992, these conflicts comprised roughly 64% of the total battle deaths and approximately 82% of the nation months at war.¹⁰¹ Under the security dilemma, an actor (individual, group, or state) will maximize security as its preferred outcome, and this causes others to do the same. As each party’s attempt to increase its security reduces the security of other parties, even non-offensive actions invoke a security dilemma. While there is an important difference between predatory versus defensive actions of a state, the security dilemma implies that both state and non-state actors similarly evaluate both actions as threatening.¹⁰²

A distinction exists between means used and ends sought within rational choice and the security dilemma. This distinction originates from Max Weber’s work *Economy and Society*

⁹⁸ Feaver, pp. 58-61.

⁹⁹ Matthew Kirwin, “The Security Dilemma and Conflict in Cote d’Ivoire.” *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 15, no. 1 (2006), p. 43; see also Robert Jervis, “Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma,” *World Politics* 30, no. 2 (1978), p. 169.

¹⁰⁰ T. David Mason and Patrick J. Fett, “How Civil Wars End: A Rational Choice Approach,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 40, no. 4 (1996), p. 546.

¹⁰¹ Ibid; see also David J. Singer and Melvin Small. “Correlates of War Project: International and Civil War Data, 1816-1992 (ICPSR 9905).” *Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research* (1994).

¹⁰² Kirwin, p. 169.

where he outlines the differences between “instrumental rationality” and “value rationality;” the former focuses on efficiency and the latter on outcome. While both of these rationalities are expressions of goal-driven behavior, they differ with respect to the costs of pursuing such behavior.¹⁰³ Instrumental rationality involves a strict cost-benefit calculation where goals are abandoned if the costs of reaching them are too high. Value-rational behavior is a “conscious belief in the value for its own sake of some ethical, aesthetic, religious, or other form of behavior, independently of its prospects of success.”¹⁰⁴ Within the context of the security dilemma, the strategic interaction between self-interest and identity falls under value rationality. Actors seek security and preferences through cost/benefit analysis while incorporating matters of identity at the individual, group, or state level.

Combining identity with rational choice and the security dilemma offers the possibility of a deeper and better understanding of civil-military relations. As stated above, the identity-rationalist model holds that there is a strategic interaction between self-interest and identity that informs decision-making. Because of this strategic interaction, individuals will assess the costs and benefits of their decisions, and part of this consideration will be how the decision impacts their identity. Furthermore, the identity-rationalist model advances scholars’ understanding of civil-military relations because militaries include identity dynamics into their calculations on loyalty or defection. Whether military personnel decide to support or resist a regime directly affects their respective communities, which shapes how an individual reaches a decision. Incorporating a complex notion of instrumental and value rationality, while emphasizing the role

¹⁰³ Varshney, “Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict, and Rationality,” p. 86.

¹⁰⁴ Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. Vol. 1. Univ of California Press, 1978, pp. 24-25.

of identity, creates an opportunity to expand beyond earlier rational choice conceptions of strategic, self-interested decision-making.

Identity

The identity-rationalist model offers a new way to understand and explain the individual decisions of military personnel during periods of political crisis. The model incorporates notions of identity to advance existing rationalist approaches to civil-military relations. As such, this section presents a conception of identity as it functions within the identity-rationalist model. For the purposes of this chapter, identity is defined as the complex interaction, prioritization, and/or combination of one's internal orientation to the world and external expression of familial, communal, educational, ethnolinguistic, religious, nationalist, and professional backgrounds. It is important to note that this chapter has the limited objective of explaining how identity is part of security decision-making as opposed to offering a comprehensive discussion of identity in the MENA region.¹⁰⁵

A number of conceptions of identity at the individual, communal, and national levels inform this chapter's definition of identity. As a useful point of departure, James Fearon argues that scholars typically use "identity" in two distinct but connected senses: social and personal. In the sense of social identity, Fearon explains that identity simply refers to a "social category, a set of persons marked by a label and distinguished by rules deciding membership and (alleged)

¹⁰⁵ As in any region, there are disparate and varied notions of identity in the MENA region, including individual, tribal, religious, and national. This chapter does not presume to understand all of the complex dimensions of identity in the Arab world. Even in the context of this study, respondents offered diverse notions of their own individual and Jordanian identities. However, the vast majority of respondents referenced their forms of identity directly or indirectly as important for understanding how they arrived at decisions during times of political crisis. Therefore, this chapter only makes the limited assertion that identity is quintessential for such calculations without trying to craft a new definition of identity or contribute to the debate on such identities.

characteristic features or attributes.”¹⁰⁶ In the sense of personal identity, “identity is some distinguishing characteristic (or characteristics) that a person takes a special pride in or views as socially consequential but more-or-less unchangeable.”¹⁰⁷ Therefore, identity has two overlapping dimensions. It simultaneously refers to social categories and to elements of an individual’s self-respect and dignity.¹⁰⁸ This chapter largely agrees with Fearon’s notion of identity with one important exception. Rather than remain “more-or-less unchangeable,” personal identities may overlap with group, institutional, or national identities and usually change over the course of time and experience. Shared notions of identity have a profound impact on an individual’s understanding of him or herself and often shape individual decisions and action.

Extending beyond individual or communal notions of identity, arriving at a consensus understanding of identity at the national level is elusive because no one person has the knowledge or power to define a nation’s identity in its entirety. In this context, the identity-rationalist model focuses narrowly on how security personnel characterize their respective work responsibilities and larger commitment to their country’s security, i.e., their professional identity. On this topic, civil-military relations scholarship provides meaningful insights. As noted earlier in this chapter, both Huntington and Janowitz focus on the non-material determinants of military behavior, e.g., identity, norms, beliefs, or ideas. The concept of civilian control of the military is “largely identity-driven and centers on an ideology of professionalism.”¹⁰⁹ For Huntington, “a highly professional officer corps stands ready to carry out the wishes of any civilian group which

¹⁰⁶ James D. Fearon, “What is Identity (As We Now Use the Word).” *Unpublished Manuscript, Stanford University, Stanford, Calif* (1999), p. 2.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Feaver, *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations*, p. 13.

secures legitimate authority within the state.”¹¹⁰ The causal chain for Huntington’s theory proceeds as follows: autonomy leads to professionalization, political neutrality, voluntary subordination, and civilian control of the armed forces.¹¹¹ Once security personnel internalize professionalism as part of their identities, they become amenable to subordination to their civilian counterparts.

The identity-rationalist model argues that actors’ preferences shift depending upon how an individual views her or himself within a community.¹¹² In many Arab countries, tribal affiliation and protecting one’s tribe stands as a foundational responsibility, especially in the context of religious obligation or doctrine. However, it is important to situate this argument in the broader context of identity formation in the MENA region. As Safwan Masri explains, identity stems from the circumstances into which one is born, like a religious identity or nationality.¹¹³ These identities are imposed socially, not biologically, and they become the dominant orienting principle to the world for most communities. Masri would also comment that this identity can go beyond individual desires after he mentioned to a friend that he did not want a Muslim burial. His friend retorted that “the best advice that he could conjure up was for me not to die in Jordan...”¹¹⁴ Although religious identities may structure individual identity in the MENA region, it is misleading to assume that religion’s influence is uniform across and within

¹¹⁰ Huntington, *The Soldier and The State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*, pp. 83-84.

¹¹¹ Ibid; see also Feaver, *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations*, p. 18.

¹¹² Interview questions for this study did not specifically ask participants to describe aspects of their personal or social identity. Rather, identity emerged as an important dimension of decision-making through the course of the interviews and thus led to the development of the identity-rationalist model. In order to test potential hypotheses of the identity-rationalist model, future research should structure interview questions that focus on actors’ preferences when deciding how to act during moments of political crisis or military conflict. Such questions should also ask participants to describe the importance of self-perception within their communities when making decisions during such periods. Subsequent participant responses may provide the necessary data and variation that researchers can then use to determine the validity, accuracy, and generalizability of the identity-rationalist model.

¹¹³ Safwan M. Masri, *Tunisia: An Arab Anomaly* (Columbia University Press, 2017), p. XXII.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

countries or understood the same way by the region's sub-groups. In major cities, Islam's interpretation and practice are very different from Beirut, to Tunis, to Muscat, setting aside Tehran and Jakarta.

Still, even if those living in the MENA region were to agree with Masri's description of religion's effect on identity formation and transformation, there may be disagreement over the characterization of Islam's influence in the "Arab world" – a term which Masri recognizes as rife with complexity and contestation. Masri explains that the "Arab world" is a relatively new concept, disseminated during the Ottoman empire and promulgated by pan-Arab political ideologies in the mid-twentieth century as part of the notion of an "Arab nation."¹¹⁵ Masri rightly contends that "shared modern histories produced an Arab identity that is singular and reductionist and that does not take into account variations in nationality, ethnicity, religion, language, and individuality."¹¹⁶ In academic discourse, then, the "Arab world" most responsibly refers to Arabic-speaking countries rather than describes the identity of a homogenous population.¹¹⁷

In Oman, Marc Valeri interprets the recent revival of communal prejudices in the context of state development. Valeri asserts that "the Omani state, both as a geographical territory and as a scene of ambitions and encounters, has contributed to making an individual aware of his origin, his social class, and his language – in a word, his 'identity.'"¹¹⁸ Essentially, economic competition and difficulties led to frustrations and demands based on identities "or elements of difference" within Omani society. Sultan Qaboos contributed to the growth of these "visible

¹¹⁵ Masri, *Tunisia: An Arab Anomaly*, p. 7.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Marc Valeri, *Oman: Politics and Society in the Qaboos State* (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 225.

differences” and prejudices by legitimizing and allowing the “monopolisation of tribal or ethnic registers to the state’s benefit.”¹¹⁹ The example of Oman shows how notions of individual identity not only play a central role in state formation, but also form the foundation of contested arenas of determining or redefining a country’s national identity.

In articulating complex notions of identity related to Middle East security, fundamental questions arise: What does it mean to be Arab, Muslim, or Jordanian? What does it mean to strongly support, or identify with, or be sympathetic toward anti-Israel, anti-US, or anti-West extremist movements? For those who identify as agents of change, what does it mean to be in favor of political reform? Because identity is socially constructed, there are no simple answers to these questions. In actuality, each of these questions is intensely contested and debated. Yet it remains clear that the ways in which individuals answer such questions have direct consequences for their respective lives. If a Muslim puts his religion above his national identity, he may be targeted by intelligence services as a threat to the survival of the regime. Political and/or religious dissidents or extremists are likely targeted by both regional regimes as well as US and European partners in an effort to combat terrorism, even if violence is not imminent. Political activists may also be silenced, harassed, imprisoned, or killed by authoritarian governments that view political reform as an existential threat that includes the abrogation of the country’s identity.

In plain terms, identity shapes many of the conflict dynamics currently facing the Arab world. While the answers to the above questions are context-specific and highly variable, the issue of identity colors any interpretation of civil-military relations in the MENA region and beyond. This section focuses narrowly on how security experts and personnel define themselves

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

and their respective work within the broader milieu of Arab society. Interview material presented later in this chapter provides ample evidence to demonstrate the importance of communal, religious, nationalist, and professional identities vis-à-vis individual decisions of loyalty and defection.

Literature Review: Security Decision-Making

There is a significant amount of literature that delves into the decision-making of security actors at individual and institutional levels during periods of political crisis. Essentially, this literature evaluates why policy makers, militaries, and governments choose to use force or other policies to quell unrest. Literatures on civil-military relations, the security dilemma, nationalism, and individual leaders all contribute to understanding security decision-making, but a gap still exists in each of the literatures that the identity-rationalist model seeks to fill. For example, existing studies of civil-military relations under authoritarian regimes attempt to explain military decision-making during periods of social instability.¹²⁰ While these studies effectively detail the specific dynamics of countries and cases, there remains a need for further theoretical development that the identity-rationalist model enhances. Each type of literature does not fully incorporate how actors will make security decisions while considering notions of identity. As described above, actors will include their identity when making decisions on security, such as going to war to protect a national identity or to protect those with whom they share an identity.

The literature on civil-military relations expounds decision-making by military personnel, which is an important foundation for the identity-rationalist model. Peter Feaver's principal-agent framework helps to explain military behavior during periods of political crisis. In the

¹²⁰ Zoltan Barany, "Comparing the Arab Revolts: The Role of the Military," *Journal of Democracy* 22, no. 4 (2011): 28-39; Derek Lutterbeck, "Arab Uprisings, Armed Forces, and Civil-Military Relations," *Armed Forces & Society* 39, no. 1 (2013): 28-52.

principal-agent model civilians (principals) contract the military (agents) to defend against foreign and domestic threats. Albrecht and Ohl's recent study of military behavior in Syria, Yemen, and Bahrain successfully builds upon Feaver's principal-agent model. During moments of political crisis, military members can *exit* by remaining in the barracks or fleeing into exile, *resist* by siding with the opposition or initiating a coup, or remain *loyal* to the regime by defending it through the use of force.¹²¹ Albrecht and Ohl disaggregate the military, outline differences in preferences among officers and soldiers, and look at the constraints which operate upon all military actors. The authors argue that high-ranking officers are not only military personnel, but also members of the political elite. As such, military elites decide whether or not to remain loyal based on their expectations for regime change and removing incumbents. In contrast, soldiers view military service as a job, but one where hierarchical control constrains exit or resistance as openings for desertion increase.¹²²

As evidence of these different decision-making processes, Albrecht and Ohl analyze the disparate outcomes in Syria, Yemen, and Bahrain during periods of popular unrest. The authors classify the distinct outcomes under three types of defection: *horizontal defections* (commanders remain loyal while subordinates defect); *vertical defections* (commanders and subordinates within the same unit either defect or remain loyal); and *dual loyalty* (commanders and subordinates remain loyal).¹²³ In Syria, most military commanders remained loyal while large numbers of subordinates defected, largely as individuals (*horizontal defection*). In Yemen, some military commanders and subordinates within the same unit either defected or remained loyal

¹²¹ Holger Albrecht and Dorothy Ohl, "Exit, Resistance, Loyalty: Military Behavior during Unrest in Authoritarian Regimes," *Perspectives on Politics* 14, no. 1 (2016), p. 38.

¹²² Albrecht and Ohl, "Exit, Resistance, Loyalty: Military Behavior during Unrest in Authoritarian Regimes," p. 39.

¹²³ Albrecht and Ohl, p. 40.

(*vertical defection*). Bahrain, in contrast, saw both commanders and soldiers defend the regime (*dual loyalty*).¹²⁴

The principal-agent framework within the rationalist paradigm has a great deal of potential for explaining civil-military relations during political crises. A key strength of the principal-agent framework is that it explores problems of agency and how principals in superior positions control the behavior of agents in subordinate positions. Agency theory emphasizes strategic interaction and punishment during periods of tension and unrest. This approach reveals how civilians anticipate military behavior, how obedience is not guaranteed, and how the probability that civilians will uncover and punish military disobedience shapes interactions.¹²⁵ Albrecht and Ohl correctly point to the varied strategic calculations made by high-ranking officers and soldiers when considering loyalty versus defection. However, there is a lack of attention paid to the importance of identity (tribal, religious, familial) when assessing military behavior during periods of crisis. While Albrecht and Ohl identify self-interest concerns for lower-ranking soldiers (e.g., salary and a limited prospect for professional advancement), they do not expect soldiers' preferences to be linked to considerations about the regime's survival.¹²⁶ Instead, conditions on the ground influence subordinates, including their "emotions, identity, relationship with demonstrators, public discourse, a commander's charisma, and more."¹²⁷ Albrecht and Ohl recognize the potential impact of identity and other nonmaterial factors on the decision-making of lower-ranking soldiers, but choose not to extend this importance to high-ranking officers. This paper attempts to make precisely this extension. Identity influences decision-making at all levels of the military apparatus. Even more, in the larger context of civil-

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Feaver, *Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations*, pp. 13-14.

¹²⁶ Albrecht and Ohl, "Exit, Resistance, Loyalty: Military Behavior during Unrest in Authoritarian Regimes," p. 42.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

military relations, identity tells the principal who needs protecting from whom and determines the direction of the agents.

Based on the principal-agent model in which civilian principals contract military agents to defend against foreign and domestic threats, this study argues that identity plays a quintessential role in the level of agency given up and risk accepted. Actors not only consider the costs and benefits of their decisions, but also how those decisions will affect their wider communities. In this context, identity is a key variable for the outcomes articulated by Albretch and Ohl. Patriotism and nationalism, loyalty to a king or royal family, and sectarian ties all help to explain the outcomes of *exit*, *resistance*, and *loyalty* by commanders and subordinates within authoritarian regimes. Therefore, identity is a critical variable to understanding how individuals will behave during periods of political unrest and who within the military hierarchy will remain loyal. Periods of political instability make decisions of loyalty and defection more acute because the risk of failed or thwarted defections carry the potential consequences of execution, exile, arrest, or other forms of punishment against a defector's community. Identity is connected to these decisions for a wide range of reasons. Lower-ranking soldiers from poorer areas of a country may feel a great sense of pride in military service and representing his or her family or tribe. High-ranking officers may feel that they are guardians of not only a state's physical security, but also its national history, tradition, and honor. During interviews, military personnel rarely emphasize the amount of a paycheck or the array of benefits that accompany military service. Rather, respondents often characterize service in terms of pursuing a calling, taking up a responsibility, and honoring a commitment. These concepts depend upon highly developed, and deeply internalized, notions of identity and self.

There is a significant amount of literature beyond civil-military relations that directly supports the thesis of the identity-rationalist model, even though the authors did not directly apply the paradigm. As identity becomes part of the calculations in the security dilemma and achieving the preferred outcome, salient socio-political issues are better elucidated. Decision-making by political leaders incorporates identity into national security policy, cause/ending of wars, and civil-military relations, which historical examples also demonstrate. Literature supporting the identity-rationalist model comes from works on the security dilemma, nationalism, and leadership.

Examining Cote d'Ivoire, Matthew Kirwin applies the security dilemma to interpreting the state's slide into near civil war in October 2002. Kirwin explains that elites engage in "outbidding" to promote increasingly extreme nationalist positions to garner widespread public support. As in many cases, extreme nationalist rhetoric relies heavily upon notions of identity. Kirwin also points to the importance of international actors as they carefully observe conflict dynamics and gauge threats to their respective cross-border interests. For example, if neighboring states share a sizable ethnic group across a border, both governments may fear spill over from the other state's conflict. For Kirwin, this expanded application of the security dilemma falls under the Stephen Saideman's definition of security, which includes economic, physical, and political security.¹²⁸ This redefinition of the security dilemma allows for its application to a greater number and range of cases where a multiplicity of actors and interests complicate straightforward interpretations of conflict.

¹²⁸ Kirwin, p. 50; see also Stephen Saideman "Is Pandora's Box Half Empty or Half Full? The Limited Virulence of Secessionism and the Domestic Sources of Disintegration," in: David A. Lake and Donald Rothchild (eds.), *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 135.

Other scholars apply the security dilemma to understanding identity issues and conflict in equally creative and rigorous ways. Jennifer Mitzen articulates the concept of ontological security, or security of the self, where individuals routinize relationships with significant others and then become attached to those relationships.¹²⁹ After assessing ontological security at the individual level, Mitzen scales up her argument and applies it to states. Like individuals, states seek the stability of relationships, cooperative or conflictual, where routines become forms of attachment that are either rigid or reflexive.¹³⁰ For Mitzen, such interactions shape and help to explain conflict among states. Other scholars similarly focus on sub-state actors to elucidate state security concerns and state behavior. Applying the security dilemma to the breakup of Yugoslavia and relations between Russia and Ukraine, Barry Posen contends that groups emerging from fallen empires often produce mutual fear and competition. Posen recommends that outsiders pay attention to local groups' strategic views if they wish to understand and perhaps reduce such conflict.¹³¹ Which groups fear for their physical security? What military options remain? For Posen, answering such questions provides windows of opportunity to help groups feel less threatened and minimize violence.¹³² Similarly, Paul Roe scales down the security dilemma to sub-state actors when evaluating the onset of ethnic conflict. The collapse of multi-ethnic states brings with it the absence of a central government and an anarchic environment. As a result, ethnic, religious, and nationalist groups are forced into a type of "self-help situation much like that in the international system."¹³³ Apart from analyzing the onset of conflict, Anders Wivel highlights the difficulty of forming security agreements within the

¹²⁹ Jennifer Mitzen, "Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma," *European Journal of International Relations* 12, no. 3 (2006), p. 341.

¹³⁰ Mitzen, "Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma," p. 343.

¹³¹ Barry R. Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," *Survival* 35, no. 1 (1993) p. 43.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Paul Roe, "The Intrastate Security Dilemma: Ethnic Conflict as a Tragedy?," *Journal of Peace Research* 36, no. 2 (1999), pp. 188-189.

European Union, as issues of identity and influence over priorities affect big and small states differently.¹³⁴

The above applications of the security dilemma to matters of inter and intrastate conflict demonstrate how mutual concern over security issues manifest in diverse ways depending upon the context of the conflict and the actors involved. At individual, group, and state levels, concerns over other actors' security capabilities influence threat perception and response. The above research also shows that notions of identity factor into strategic calculations, sometimes in surprising ways.

Building upon Weber's notions of rationality, Ashutosh Varshney focuses on the nationalism of resistance in ethnic conflict and argues that a combination of instrumental and value rationality better explains ethnic and nationalist behavior.¹³⁵ Varshney contends that rational choice theories are unable to answer fundamental questions in the study of ethnicity and nationalism. Why do ethnic and nationalist movements grow when the cost of participation is high? Why do minorities typically feel a stronger sense of group identity than do majorities? For Varshney, rational choice theories over-emphasize the role of leaders who manipulate ethnicity or national feelings.¹³⁶ Instead, a more productive way to interpret nationalist movements in ethnic conflict is to recognize dignity and self-respect as foundational to nationalism and ethnic behavior. Dedicated to a set of values, resisting nationalists are able to mobilize, sustain action, and endure consequences with very high costs, and can do so for long periods of time.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ Anders Wivel, "The Security Challenge of Small EU Member States: Interests, Identity and the Development of The EU as a Security Actor," *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 43, no. 2 (2005): 393-412.

¹³⁵ Varshney, p. 95.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Varshney, p. 86.

Varshney asserts that the “cost-benefit calculus of such behavior does not work in a way that easily aligns with a standard account of instrumental rationality.”¹³⁸

This view corresponds with social movement and social identity theories that point to mobilization to express identity and protect interests. In literature exploring management dynamics in corporate settings, conventional wisdom holds that interest-based calculations drive stakeholder group action. This interest-based view is consistent with rational choice theory and prioritizes self-interest as the basis for group mobilization. However, recent scholarship challenges this notion and argues that interests do not easily translate into action. Instead, a desire to express identity and self-interests can drive mobilization.¹³⁹ Similar to Varshney’s analysis, interest-based explanations are incomplete for understanding and predicting stakeholder action when groups pursue lost causes or rewards where the benefits are negligible.¹⁴⁰

Contrary to conventional wisdom, Erik Gartzke and Kristian Gleditsch offer evidence that suggests conflict is more likely among states with similar identities and cultural ties; for example, Buddhist states are 2.5 times more likely to go to war with each other, everything else being equal. Moreover, the probability of conflict rises when one group is politically privileged in one state but a minority in another.¹⁴¹ They measured the presence of politically salient transnational ethnic groups through language, religion, and ethnicity. In a dyad where one group is the majority in one state and the second largest ethnic group in other, the two states are more likely to go to war.¹⁴² They state that this demonstrates a “more complex relationship between

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Timothy I. Rowley and Mihnea Moldoveanu, “When Will Stakeholder Groups Act? An Interest-And Identity-Based Model of Stakeholder Group Mobilization,” *Academy of Management Review* 28, no. 2 (2003), p. 204.

¹⁴⁰ Rowley and Moldoveanu, “When Will Stakeholder Groups Act? An Interest-And Identity-Based Model off Stakeholder Group Mobilization,” p. 204.

¹⁴¹ Erik Gartzke and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, “Identity and Conflict: Ties That Bind and Differences That Divide,” *European Journal of International Relations* 12, no. 1 (2006): 53-87.

¹⁴² Gartzke and Gleditsch, “Identity and Conflict: Ties That Bind and Differences That Divide.” p. 74.

cultural similarity and differences than has been suggested by previous studies...,” but the authors do not fully explore the complexity.¹⁴³ Their conclusion, though, indicates that identity is incorporated into security decisions making, even if how is not completely understood.

In addition to separatist conflict and territorial dispute, individual leaders have a significant impact on international relations and are also important for establishing the intersection of identity and security. Daniel Byman and Kenneth Pollack lament the lack of attention afforded to the role of personalities, the importance of personal idiosyncrasies, and human error in the study of international relations. The authors explain that political scientists typically focus on the anarchic system, domestic politics, and institutional factors more than individual leaders. For some international relations theorists, a number of specific objections render the study of individuals moot.¹⁴⁴ In contrast to these trends, Byman and Pollack argue that the goals, abilities, and faults of individuals are essential to the “intentions, capabilities, and strategies of a state.”¹⁴⁵ Comparing Saddam Hussein and Hafiz al-Asad, Byman and Pollack contend that evaluating the personalities of the two dictators foreshadows, to a considerable extent, the course of despotic regimes. In the Middle East, where states are uniquely beholden to the whims of idiosyncratic leaders, Byman and Pollack’s analysis remains especially pertinent. Individual leaders become relevant to the identity-rationalist model as how the particular leader views his country will determine strategic behavior and security decisions. For example, Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait partially because of his view of Arab nationalism and that Iraq should lead the Arab world.

¹⁴³ Gartzke and Gleditsch, “Identity and Conflict: Ties That Bind and Differences That Divide.” p. 72.

¹⁴⁴ Daniel L., Byman and Kenneth M. Pollack. “Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing The Statesman Back In,” *International Security* 25, no. 4 (2001), p. 108.

¹⁴⁵ Byman and Pollack, “Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing The Statesman Back In,” p. 109.

Studies examining audience costs offer additional empirical evidence gathered through rational choice models and the inclusion of identity. Political leaders make calculations to stay in power and pursue interests, but domestic audiences have tremendous power to remove leaders from power in both democracies¹⁴⁶ and non-democracies.¹⁴⁷ The leverage held by domestic audiences shifts according to the nature and structure of the political system, but all leaders must gauge the risks associated with pursuing a given agenda irrespective of a state's political makeup. This calculus directly factors into how leaders select allies, protect against internal and external threats, and plan for elections or other transfers of power. How the audience sees their identity will inform leaders about their ability to make decisions. During the Iran-Iraq war, Saddam Hussein successfully rallied the Shia population to his cause against Iran despite being their co-religionists. Shias in Iraq put their national identity before their religious affiliation, which allowed Saddam to fight Iran.

Available literatures on security decision-making shows there are a number of calculations made by individuals, institutions, and governments on when to act during periods of political crisis. Feaver's principal-agent model, for example, explores how the civilians as principals over the military as agents affects behavior, but there is a distinct lack of identity in this discussion that limits the model's utility. Concepts of identity like nationality and ethnicity play a role in decisions, and the literature on nationalism and security dilemma do demonstrate that how individuals, institutions, and governments see themselves becomes part of the consideration, whether it is the government turning to extreme nationalism or ethnic groups competing for control of land and resources. The group's identity, especially in contradistinction

¹⁴⁶ Michael Tomz, "Domestic Audience Costs in International Relations: An Experimental Approach," *International Organization* 61, no. 4 (2007): 821-840.

¹⁴⁷ Jessica L. Weeks, "Autocratic Audience Costs: Regime Type and Signaling Resolve," *International Organization* 62, no. 1 (2008): 35-64.

to the those outside the group, factored into internal conflicts like in Yugoslavia. Social identity theories follow this logic in which groups will mobilize to express their identities and protect interests. Individual leaders also make such calculations, and their idiosyncratic behavior can be related to how he or she views what their country should be. Audience costs can constrain such decisions, though, and leaders must also follow to a certain extent how his or her “audience” views the country’s identity.

What each set of literature lacks is a combination of traditional security analysis and concepts of identity. On the one hand, the principal-agent model and security dilemma take threats, stability, and interests seriously, but fail to fully account for the importance of identity that individuals, institutions, and governments show in their decision-making. On the other hand, literatures on nationalism, ethnicity, individual leaders, and audience costs incorporate identity, but they rely too heavily on the concepts because utility maximization is typically present as well. The identity-rationalist model fills in the gaps to each of these literatures by giving a parsimonious explanation for security decision-making and the behavior individuals, institutions, and governments that gives weight to utility maximization, material interests, and identity.

Theory Building Through Case Studies

This chapter exclusively deals with theory development and hypothesis generation as a means to further the academic literature on civil-military relations. It does so through an in-depth case study of Jordan’s civil-military relations to explicate a theory on how identity is part of security calculations. Future research can apply and test the new identity-rationalist model to other cases in the region and world. The use of a case to build theory is based on established academic work that offers the same theory building without testing. In particular, Daniel Byman

and Kenneth Pollack's "Let Us Now Praise Great Men" offers a theory for future political science scholars to test. It is widely accepted in international relations and security studies literature to use case studies for such theory development.¹⁴⁸ Case studies allow scholars to inductively develop theories by delving substantially into an issue, giving real-world context to unusually revelatory or exemplary phenomena.¹⁴⁹ In addition, as the theory developed incorporates a hard-to-measure construct (identity), a case study is of greater methodological value.¹⁵⁰

Case studies are important for theory building because each case is used "for the development of a nuanced view of reality,"¹⁵¹ and this means that "case studies are likely to produce the best theory."¹⁵² Take as an example the theory of deterrence and whether or not it works in foreign policy. For much of international relations, statistical modeling struggled to have a "genuine theoretical impact."¹⁵³ However, studies of World War I, World War II, Korean War, Vietnam War, the Falklands War, and Cuban Missile Crisis all had a genuine theoretical impact. Christopher Achen separated the idea of deterrence from the rational deterrence from modeling and argued that historical generalization clarifies the complexity of how deterrence works.¹⁵⁴ Rational models overly simplify the problem and change an understanding rooted in experience to one of abstract analysis. Erik Dahl stated explicitly the practical utility of case

¹⁴⁸ See Alexander L. George & Andrew Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005).

¹⁴⁹ Kathleen M. Eisenhardt and Melissa E. Graebner, "Theory Building from Cases: Opportunities and Challenges," *Academy of Management Journal* 50, no. 1 (2007), p. 25-26.

¹⁵⁰ Joel Gehman, Vern L. Glaser, Kathleen M. Eisenhardt, Denny Gioia, Ann Langley, and Kevin G. Corley, "Finding Theory–Method Fit: A Comparison of Three Qualitative Approaches to Theory Building," *Journal of Management Inquiry* (2017), p. 4.

¹⁵¹ Bent Flyvbjerg, "Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research," *Qualitative inquiry* 12, no. 2 (2006), p. 6.

¹⁵² John Walton, "Making the Theoretical Case," in Charles C. Ragin and Howard S. Becker (eds), *What is a Case? Exploring the Foundations of Social Inquiry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 129.

¹⁵³ Christopher H. Achen and Duncan Snidal, "Rational Deterrence Theory and Comparative Case Studies," *World politics* 41, no. 2 (1989), p. 145.

¹⁵⁴ Christopher H. Achen and Duncan Snidal, "Rational Deterrence Theory and Comparative Case Studies," p. 146.

studies for understanding singular events in the broader context, which allows analysts to assess future events.¹⁵⁵ One of the examples Dahl uses is that of a terrorist attack. By systematically studying a single attack, the researcher can thoroughly understand the organization and its behavior. Modeling may prove simpler, but it will often fall into the “descriptive fallacy.”¹⁵⁶ If individual decision makers do not utilize the exact same process in their mental calculations of the model, then the model does not apply.¹⁵⁷

Peter Feaver also argues that case studies are the better methodological tool for understanding military history and issues and that such case studies can inform scholarly debates in political science.¹⁵⁸ Important as well, Feaver argues that political science lacks a general consensus for a theory of civil military relations, and that the literature needs to produce a theory to test against the data.¹⁵⁹ This chapter attempts to do exactly what Feaver suggests should happen by assessing Jordan to build the theory of the identity-rationalist model. Jordan is the most appropriate case for studying civil-military relations in the Middle East for practical research purposes and because it represents the preferred structure for Arab regimes. In terms of practicality, information from academic literature and media accounts are more widespread and available to scholars; interviews are also more likely because of the modicum of protection that the government provides along with general political stability and security. Internecine conflict in other countries and government structures are less conducive to scholarly research. There are multiple factors that contribute to Jordan as the primary case study, which include: political legitimacy, nature of Hashemite rule, lack of natural resources while still having economic

¹⁵⁵ Erik J. Dahl, “Getting Beyond Analysis by Anecdote: Improving Intelligence Analysis Through the Use of Case Studies,” *Intelligence and National Security* 32, no. 5 (2017), p. 569.

¹⁵⁶ Achen, p. 164.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Peter Feaver, “Civil–Military Relations and Policy: A Sampling of a New Wave of Scholarship,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 40, no. 1-2 (2017), p. 14.

¹⁵⁹ Peter D. Feaver, “Civil-Military Relations,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 2, no. 1 (1999), p. 236.

growth, support from the international community, and social cleavages that did not spread into the military organization. Each of these factors make Jordan's polity and civil-military relations the realistic goal for Arab countries, particularly autocratic or monarchical states.

As Anthony Giddens wrote, "research which is geared primarily to hermeneutic problems may be of generalized importance in so far as it serves to elucidate the nature of agents' knowledgeability, and thereby their reasons for action, across a wide range of action-contexts."¹⁶⁰ This chapter attempts to do exactly this and establishes a theory that will "serve to elucidate the nature of agents' knowledgeability." Case studies are well accepted within qualitative methodology to build theories, in this case Jordan, that will be tested in the future. Multiple scholarly texts on case studies as a methodology support this idea, primarily because quantitative methods are limited in theory building enterprises; they are more useful for theory testing. Concerning the region discussed in this chapter, Middle East scholars and area studies specialists utilize case studies to develop theories and ideas entirely devoid of hypothesis testing. Even within political science, serious scholars that focus on the Middle East do not test hypotheses.

Part II: Applying the Identity-Rationalist Model to Jordan

Political theorists often ascribe theoretical clarity and parsimony as strengths of rationalist approaches to political questions. As such, rational choice models employ stricter empirical tests than do other analytical paradigms.¹⁶¹ Researchers aim to discover actors' preferences through observation, thereby demonstrating empirically that actors make decisions

¹⁶⁰ Anthony Giddens. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984), p. 328.

¹⁶¹ Hunter, p. 40.

and strategic calculations through rational processes to maximize their preferences.¹⁶² The most effective rational choice analyses are those that identify the interests and goals of actors at the outset, as opposed to studies that infer them from behavior. Persuasive studies present predictions that are empirically falsifiable and avoid labeling idiosyncratic behavior or anomalies as “rational” after the research is completed.¹⁶³

This section applies the identity-rationalist model to the case of Jordan using extensive interview data from fieldwork in Jordan. It then establishes the model’s explanatory value and utility for explaining civil-military relations in Jordan and the MENA region. The identity-rationalist model asserts that actors consider identity dynamics when making calculations about whether or not to remain loyal to, or defect from, a regime. Members of the military, intelligence, police, and private security apparatuses not only behave out of self-interest but also make determinations about how their actions will reflect upon and impact their families, tribes, and larger country. Jordan’s monarchy is sensitive to such calculations and provides both material and non-material incentives for continued loyalty. Military personnel not only gain access to special career, health and education, and post-retirement benefits but also enjoy the prestige and honor of national service.

The value of the identity-rationalist model is not simply to balance self-interest with other questions of identity. Instead, the model interrogates the conceptualization of self-interest as primarily (or even exclusively) material. In other words, tribal solidarity, family welfare, and even certain conceptions of national identity are not necessarily separate from “self-interest.” To assess these dynamics, the following section draws upon relevant literature and interviews

¹⁶² Andrew Bennett and Jeffery T Checkel, “Process Tracing: From Philosophical Roots to Best Practices,” in *Process Tracing: From Metaphor to Analytic Tool*, edited by Andrew Bennett and Jeffery T Checkel (Cambridge University Press. 2015), pp. 31-32.

¹⁶³ Hunter, p. 41.

conducted in Jordan from April—October 2017 to understand how identity operates within Jordan's security environment and historical context. Interviewees include high and low-ranking members of the Jordanian armed forces, police, and intelligence services as well as retired US military personnel. Respondents also include cyber security experts, academics, lawyers, journalists, and banking and finance specialists.¹⁶⁴

Socio-Political Factors for Military Behavior/Decision-Making in MENA

Before applying the identity-rationalist model to Jordan, it is important to establish a foundation for understanding civil-military relations in the Arab world. A number of theoretical approaches are relevant to the study of military behavior and decision-making in the MENA region. Some of this work stems from research on development and authoritarianism in Latin America while other research focuses on challenges to authoritarian systems in the Middle East. This literature speaks to the nature of civil-military relations in the Middle East and supports the identity-rationalist model. Recognizing identity as a critical component of security dilemma calculations sheds light on socio-political factors that also influence military behavior. As such, this section highlights how the identity-rationalist model complements recent civil-military relations research and fills important gaps in our understanding of security personnel decision-making during moments of political turmoil.

Modern analysis of civil-military relations in the MENA region stems from earlier work on modernization, development, political transition, and economic liberalization. Daniel Lerner contends that socioeconomic modernization (e.g., urbanization, industrialization, literacy, and

¹⁶⁴ All interviews were conducted anonymously. As a condition of University of Tennessee Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval, all respondents were retired and/or non-institutionally affiliated at the time of the interviews. This allowed respondents to answer sensitive security-related questions more freely than otherwise would have been possible had they been active duty service members or institutionally affiliated.

media participation) leads to greater political participation.¹⁶⁵ Modernization theory predicts that as ‘pre-modern’ or ‘traditional’ societies undergo processes of social evolution, traditional beliefs and cultural characteristics become less pronounced. The individual gains greater agency and replaces families, tribes, or communities as the primary unit of society. This, in turn, advances Third World states toward industrial prosperity and liberal democracy because individuals increasingly push for social and technological development.¹⁶⁶

In contrast, Samuel Huntington’s *Political Order in Changing Societies* argues that socioeconomic modernization increases political instability as new groups compete in social and political arenas.¹⁶⁷ Because armies in the postcolonial world are usually the most institutionalized segment of the state apparatus, the absence of wider political institutionalization can lead both to political and social instability and favors military-led authoritarianism.¹⁶⁸ Specific to authoritarian regimes and democratic transitions in Latin America, O’Donnell and Schmitter observe that while the degree of military penetration of the polity and society varies across regimes, military leaders routinely make strategic decisions about how and when to intervene in politics. For instance, when the armed forces lack both a connection and a responsibility toward regime policies, it is easier for them to stay away from the instability and conflict of the transition by declaring themselves protectors of public order and national security.¹⁶⁹ Yet even when militaries avoid egregious intrusions into political systems, problems

¹⁶⁵ Daniel Learner, *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East* (New York, NY: Free Press, 1958).

¹⁶⁶ Kevin Harris, “All the Sepah’s Men: Iran’s Revolutionary Guards in Theory and Practice,” in *Businessmen in Arms: How the Military and Other Armed Groups Profit in the MENA Region* 2016, edited by Zeinab Abul-Magd and Elke Grawert, 97-118 (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016), p. 106.

¹⁶⁷ Samuel Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1968).

¹⁶⁸ Kevin Harris, “All the Sepah’s Men: Iran’s Revolutionary Guards in Theory and Practice,” p. 106; see also Amos Perlmutter, “The Praetorian State and the Praetorian Army: Toward a Taxonomy of Civil-Military Relations in Developing Polities,” *Comparative Politics* 1, no. 3 (1969): 382-404.

¹⁶⁹ Guillermo O’Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies* (JHU Press, 2013), p. 34.

tend to arise when either the institutional interests of the armed forces are threatened,¹⁷⁰ or when civilian leaders select to install and uphold nondemocratic regimes. In such cases, the armed forces work to protect their privileged positions in society and civilians maneuver to guard or expand their interests. Thus, the decay of the previous political system leads to the emergence of new and competing factions where differing priorities increase the potential for conflict.

Recent scholarship has increasingly focused on the link between the Arab uprisings, armed forces, and civil-military relations. Derek Lutterbeck explains that while military forces have been central actors in the Arab uprisings, they have responded quite differently to prodemocracy movements, ranging from support for protest movements, to internal fracturing, to strong backing of the regime in power.¹⁷¹ Lutterbeck argues that these differences can be explained with reference to different forms of civil-military relationships and unique characteristics of the military apparatus. More specifically, the degree of institutionalization of the armed forces and their relationship to society at large can account for the divergent responses to pro-reform movements.¹⁷² High levels of institutionalization require security forces to be meritocratic, apolitical, free of favoritism and corruption, and committed to the national interest. Low levels of institutionalization entails security forces based on tribal or family ties to the regime, highly ideological and politicized, as well as susceptible to favoritism and corruption.¹⁷³

Problematically, Lutterbeck's emphasis on military institutionalization as a determinant of successful democracy movements fails to align with recent developments. Lutterbeck classifies both the Egyptian and Tunisian militaries as security forces that have relatively high degrees of institutionalization, with Tunisia's military as the more institutionalized of the two.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Lutterbeck, "Arab Uprisings, Armed Forces, and Civil-Military Relations," p. 28.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Lutterbeck, "Arab Uprisings, Armed Forces, and Civil-Military Relations," p. 33.

Lutterbeck concludes that a “strong connection between the armed forces and society has led to (relative) openness to reform movements—again with the Tunisian military showing a greater degree of openness than its Egyptian counterpart.”¹⁷⁴ However, Lutterbeck’s notion of institutionalization of the armed forces lacks an adequate explanation of the Egyptian military’s willingness to back or defect from a regime. Egypt’s recent democratic reversal included the 2013 overthrow of democratically elected President Mohamed Morsi and the installment of Chief of the Egyptian Armed Forces Abdel Fattah el-Sisi as president. Egypt’s military leadership entered into the political arena when its interests were threatened. Such action appears unrelated to the level of institutionalization of the armed forces because key decisions of loyalty and defection never went beyond a core group of military elites.

Traditional approaches to the study of political transition focus on political elites and view the military as one of the most powerful groups in society. More recent work on civil-military relations in the MENA region examines the economic resource base of the military, including its sections and factions. Yet these sections and factions neither determine military action (as in structuralist theory), nor is their importance neglected (as in institutionalist approaches).¹⁷⁵ This approach assumes that by studying deep socioeconomic and political change, including socioeconomic order and social redistribution, we can better understand processes of national transformation.¹⁷⁶

The identity-rationalist model recognizes the importance of the social and political context within which civil-military relations transpire. However, it prioritizes the role of

¹⁷⁴ Lutterbeck, “Arab Uprisings, Armed Forces, and Civil–Military Relations,” pp. 44-45.

¹⁷⁵ Elke Grawert, “Introduction: Political Economy of the Military and Nonstate Armed Groups in the Middle East and North Africa,” in *Businessmen in Arms: How the Military and Other Armed Groups Profit in the MENA Region* 2016, edited by Zeinab Abul-Magd and Elke Grawert, 1-21 (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016.), p. 14.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

individual decision-making in shaping outcomes over the structural or institutional features of society. Interpreting how autocrats manage threats to their power demonstrates the utility of the identity-rationalist approach. Political systems in the Middle East routinely use a mixture of guided pluralism, controlled elections, and selective repression to manage potential threats. Fareed Zakaria's notion of illiberal democracy¹⁷⁷ and Daniel Brumberg's liberalized autocracy argue that this mixture is not simply a "survival strategy" but a "*type* of political system whose institutions, rules, and logic defy any linear model of democratization."¹⁷⁸ Still, autocrats must decide how to balance these competing interests and defend against threats. The subsequent political system is a direct result of strategic decision-making.

Building upon the above literature, incorporating identity into a rationalist approach shows the value of the identity-rationalist model in interpreting civil-military relations in the MENA region. Lerner's modernization theory predicts that developing states will move toward liberal democracy as they achieve social and technological development. Yet Lerner's approach largely ignores the persistence and importance of communal or tribal identity in developing states irrespective of technological advances. Huntington's alternative view that socioeconomic modernization will increase political instability more accurately aligns with recent history. Following the Arab Spring, many Arab states witnessed increasing competition over state resources and political power. The identity-rationalist model adds to this perspective by arguing that part of the reason such competition increased is because Arab societies were also contesting notions of national identity during their respective political transitions (e.g., in Tunisia and Egypt).

¹⁷⁷ Fareed Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* (1997): 22-43.

¹⁷⁸ Daniel Brumberg, "The Trap of Liberalized Autocracy," *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 4 (2002), p. 56.

Similarly, O'Donnell and Schmitter contend that armed forces are often predisposed to protecting the public order and national security. The identity-rationalist model accounts for this behavior by emphasizing the ways in which armed forces are committed to various notions of national identity as opposed to merely acting out of material interests. As noted above, Lutterbeck's argument that military institutionalization leads to a greater openness to reform movement fails to align with recent history. Instead, depending on the context, high levels of military institutionalization may result in a more sophisticated security apparatus that more effectively serves the interests of authoritarian regimes. In contrast, the identity-rationalist model emphasizes the role of identity in decision-making. Security personnel who serve in a highly institutionalized military may remain loyal or defect from a regime not only because the security apparatus is institutionalized and sophisticated but also because identity factors into how an individual views her or his role as a public servant to the nation. While the literature referenced in this section establishes the complexity of civil-military relations in the MENA region, the following sections demonstrate how the identity-rationalist model fills important gaps in our understanding of military behavior during periods of crisis.

Historical Context of Nationalism and Tribalism in Jordan

Those knowledgeable about Jordan's political and security environment typically attribute the country's stability to a three-part relationship. One respondent, who previously worked as a lawyer, professor, and NGO consultant, explains that there is a "triangle" between 1) The monarchy and royal court; 2) Prime Minister and Cabinet; and 3) Intelligence services.¹⁷⁹ Another characterization of this relationship views the "triangle" as a power-sharing arrangement

¹⁷⁹ Author interview with Lawyer/PhD, Amman, Jordan, July 11, 2017.

between King Abdullah II, the government, and the security sector, with various actors wielding more influence than others depending on the context. While King Abdullah II has the final word over matters of state, this “triangle” manages internal and external threats, balances demographic differences, and responds to competing demands from Jordan’s citizens and large immigrant and refugee populations. Understanding this three-part alliance requires an examination of Jordan’s historical development and tribal makeup. In turn, this examination sheds light on the centrality of tribalism and nationalism in Jordan’s civil-military relations and decision-making processes.

With the support of British and other European powers, the Emirate of Transjordan was created following the end of World War I and the fall of the Ottoman Empire. Under the British Mandate for Palestine and the Transjordan Memorandum, Emir Abdullah I became the leader of Transjordan due to his military leadership against the Ottomans during the Arab Revolt.

Abdullah I used his significant diplomatic skills to acquire and sustain the loyalty of the tribes. Moreover, Abdullah I cultivated an image of prestige and presented himself as a leader who could unite tribes and settle disputes.¹⁸⁰ In the early stages of state formation, Abdullah I established close relationships with local notables and *shaykhs* who would later become members of the government and civil service.¹⁸¹ Abdullah I also “took advantage of the three main characteristics of society: the notion of tribal solidarity, the tribe as the basic unit of organization and identity, and the leadership role of the *shaykhs*.”¹⁸²

King Abdullah’s grandson Hussein, and Hussein’s son and current king Abdullah II, continued this tradition of patronage and support with Jordan’s tribes.¹⁸³ In power from 1952-

¹⁸⁰ Douglas Jones “Vitamin Or Poison?: Wasta And Politics in Jordan,” *Dissertation* (New Brunswick, New Jersey 2016), p. 12; see also Joab B. Eilon and Yoav Alon. *The making of Jordan: Tribes, Colonialism and The Modern State* (Vol. 61. IB Tauris, 2007).

¹⁸¹ Douglas Jones, “Vitamin Or Poison?: Wasta And Politics in Jordan,” p. 12.

¹⁸² Aseel Al-Ramahi, “Wasta in Jordan: A distinct Feature of (and Benefit For) Middle Eastern Society.” *Arab Law Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (2008), pp. 35-62.

¹⁸³ Douglas Jones, “Vitamin Or Poison?: Wasta And Politics in Jordan,” p. 12.

1999, King Hussein's "authority ultimately rested on the armed forces and the intelligence apparatuses, which were predominantly dominated by tribal members."¹⁸⁴ A respondent for this study, and former high-ranking police officer, pointed to this history as a "foundation for the Kingdom" where Abdullah I and Hussein relied upon the cooperation of the tribes to consolidate power.¹⁸⁵

Given this history, scholars argue that viewing tribalism through the concept of nationalism best explains Jordan's state system and institutions. "Jordanian nationalism is different from Western nationalism and other Arab nationalism. Here, tribal identity is important."¹⁸⁶ From a security standpoint, Jordan's internal stability connects to the idea of 'citizenship,' which "presupposes the transformation of tribal and paternal ties into a national identity."¹⁸⁷ As such, the monarchy works closely with 'traditional' leaders who function as the arbitrators between the '*ashirah* (tribe) and the state. This interaction results in the creation of a national polity where 'traditional' leaders provide security and lend legitimacy to the regime.¹⁸⁸

In matters of security, discourses surrounding the partnership between the monarchy and the tribes often reference the formation of close personal relationships. The monarchy aims to establish deep personal ties with tribal leaders and their family members. A former military officer in the Jordanian Army explained that King Hussein would remember the specific names of tribal elders and many of their family members when he would visit them.¹⁸⁹ Like his father, King Abdullah II considers the Army "family." In the past, in Bedouin communities and other rural areas, it was a "great honor" to join the military. If a man joined the Army his community

¹⁸⁴ Al-Ramahi, p. 43.

¹⁸⁵ Author interview with retired police officer, Amman, Jordan, September 26, 2017.

¹⁸⁶ Mohammed Ali Al Oudat and Ayman Alshboul. "'Jordan First': Tribalism, Nationalism and Legitimacy of Power in Jordan." *Intellectual Discourse* 18, no. 1 (2010), p. 65.

¹⁸⁷ Oudat and Alshboul, "'Jordan First': Tribalism, Nationalism and Legitimacy of Power in Jordan." pp. 93-94.

¹⁸⁸ Oudat and Alshboul, "'Jordan First': Tribalism, Nationalism and Legitimacy of Power in Jordan." p. 94.

¹⁸⁹ Author interview with former military officer (JA), Amman, Jordan, July 10, 2017.

and family would “throw him a party similar to a wedding party.”¹⁹⁰ A former senior intelligence officer remarked that King Hussein was, and King Abdullah II remains, on very personal terms with the tribes. King Abdullah knows the names of the tribal members and these people believe in the King. Moreover, when the monarchy faces political problems, the tribes “are the stick his Majesty shakes” to protect himself against challenges to his power.¹⁹¹

The monarchy continues a tradition that prioritizes the establishment of good relationships with the tribes. Historically, these relationships helped the monarchy to determine how to structure security services, how to recruit new agents from various regions of Jordan, and whom to promote to key leadership positions. On this topic, many respondents considered the events of 1970s period onward as key to understanding Jordan’s security development. The conflict between the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Jordanian Army shaped Jordan’s internal security.¹⁹² In 1971, three-time Jordanian Prime Minister Wasfi al-Tal was assassinated by the Black September unit of the PLO outside of a hotel in Cairo, Egypt. One respondent also pointed to Habis al-Majali as an important example of Jordanian nationalism. Al-Majali was a long-time military commander who fought against Israelis, Palestinians, and Syrians. Al-Majali was from the southern city of Karak while Wasfi al-Tal was born in the northern city of Irbid. Promoting and empowering security officials from different regions of Jordan allowed the monarchy to balance competing interests among the tribes, reinforce the regime’s image as impartial and fair, and ultimately guard against defection. However, the promotion of high-ranking military commanders from different regions of Jordan slowed as

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Author interview with former intelligence officer (JI), Amman, Jordan, June 4, 2017.

¹⁹² Author interview with lawyer/PhD, Amman, Jordan, July 11, 2017.

tensions with the PLO and other groups rose. From the 1970s onward, security was only for Eastern Jordanians. Security agencies always thought the tribes would hold Jordan together.¹⁹³

A former surveillance and cyber security specialist explained that tribalism is an integral part of not just the structure of Jordanian society but also of the general strategy that the regime uses to maintain a delicate stability.¹⁹⁴ The interviewee outlined demographic differences that must be balanced to secure this stability by distinguishing between “Palestinian-Jordanians” and “Jordanian-Jordanians.” The former references Palestinian citizens, immigrants, or refugees living in Jordan; or Palestinians and their descendants who are fully naturalized Jordanian citizens. The latter refers to Jordanians who are descendants of major tribes in the historical cities and towns in Transjordan (e.g., Al Karak, Ajlun, Amman, Aqaba, Balqa, Irbid, Jerash, Madaba, etc.).¹⁹⁵ Because of varying levels of tension between the two groups, the monarchy works to empower both groups and maintain civil organization. Allowing one group to clearly dominate in social, political, economic, or security sectors would risk the onset of political instability, and within the military, defection. Thus, “loyalty is first to tribe, then to King. The concept of citizenship is very skewed because of tribalism.”¹⁹⁶ In other words, encouraging loyalty to one’s tribe and the monarchy minimizes the tension that can arise as a result of identifying as Palestinian-Jordanian or Jordanian-Jordanian.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Author interview with former surveillance and cyber security specialist, Amman, Jordan, July 19, 2017.

¹⁹⁵ In general, Jordanian citizens make the societal distinction between Palestinian-Jordanians and Jordanian-Jordanians as a means to differentiate between these prominent groups. This is not a legal distinction recognized by Jordanian law; legally any person whose father is a Jordanian citizen or who has been naturalized is a citizen. Instead, this is a colloquial use of the term Jordanian-Jordanian because many Jordanian citizens use this terminology to define themselves in distinction to Palestinian/Jordanians.

¹⁹⁶ Author interview with former surveillance and cyber security specialist, Amman, Jordan, July 19, 2017.

Arab Uprisings and Regime Decision-Making

The onset and outcomes of the Arab Uprisings in Jordan and the wider Middle East and North Africa are well documented. However, due to the sensitive nature of security-related topics across the MENA region, fewer studies attempt to gauge political and military decision-making during this period. My interviews provide evidence that the Jordanian armed forces and intelligence services skillfully maneuvered threats to King Abdullah II's power. In addition to King Abdullah's promise of political reforms, minimizing tribal differences, expressing notions of shared identity, and non-violent tactics stand out as successful examples of such maneuvering.

In the wake of protests, King Abdullah II reshuffled cabinet personnel and promised a number of political reforms. On February 1, 2011, Abdullah II fired his cabinet and appointed retired general and former prime minister Marouf al-Bakhit as the new prime minister. This move appeared to be a concession to protesters' dissatisfaction with the previous prime minister, Samir Rifai, who failed to alleviate Jordan's economic problems.¹⁹⁷ Prior to al-Bakhit's appointment, on January 20, 2011, Prime Minister Rifai presented a \$230 million package in the 2011 budget to expand bread subsidies, decrease fuel prices, and spur economic growth. Protests continued despite this proposal, which led Rifai to up the amount of the package to \$550 million. The new measure, which subsidized fuel and staple products like rice and sugar, also failed. As a result, Rifai was removed from his position.¹⁹⁸ The appointment of al-Bakhit intended to alleviate pressure from the protests. Yet analysts interpret this move as a re-affirmation of the

¹⁹⁷ Salman Shaikh, "Jordan: An Imperfect State," in *The Arab Awakening: America and the Transformation of the Middle East 2011*, edited by Kenneth M. Pollack [et al], 168-175. (Brookings Institution Press: Washington, D.C., 2011), pp. 171, 349.

¹⁹⁸ Salman Shaikh, "Jordan: An Imperfect State," pp. 171, 349.

King's "commitment to the status quo," as al-Bakhit was "decidedly a member of the 'old guard.'" ¹⁹⁹

Along with changes in personnel, King Abdullah II created an institutional measure to quell protests. In March 2011, King Abdullah II tasked the National Dialogue Committee with revising the electoral law and the Political Parties Law, and amend the constitution. As a whole, King Abdullah II vowed to reform parliament, increase active political party participation in the parliament, fight corruption, and promote democracy. ²⁰⁰ Dissatisfied with the National Dialogue Committee and its June 2011 proposals for elections, opposition codified into a political coalition and established the National Front for Reform (NFR). The NFR called for the "rule of law" in Jordan, "demanded constitutional amendments, government accountability, anticorruption efforts, a guarantee of press freedoms, and improvements in the educational system, as well as economic, judicial, and security reforms." ²⁰¹ Ultimately, opposition movements were unable to maintain momentum and their demands went largely unmet. This is partially due to the fact that the regime avoided direct, violent confrontation with protesters, which likely would have inflamed tensions further.

King Abdullah II's public statements and proposals were calibrated with behind-the-scenes instructions to his security officials on how to confront and manage protesters. These instructions were a combination of strategic calculations on behalf of a regime focused on survival, but also instructions sensitive to the tribal and national dynamics of Jordan. The regime's response to protests was one of caution and restraint. From a civilian perspective, a former journalist explained that the military stayed out of the protest as a last resort, but that the

¹⁹⁹ Salman Shaikh, "Jordan: An Imperfect State," pp. 171, 349.

²⁰⁰ Salman Shaikh, "Jordan: An Imperfect State," pp. 171.

²⁰¹ Salman Shaikh, "Jordan: An Imperfect State," pp. 172.

police engaged protesters and gave them water and juice. The respondent articulated that the “police had a good strategy” of non-confrontation in order to “decrease the anger of the people on the streets.” The police were trying to show the protesters that they were “with them and not against them.”²⁰² A former credit analyst echoed this characterization and said that both the military and government “were very cautious” and wanted to avoid engaging the wrong groups. The security forces wanted to project an image that “this does not happen in Jordan.”²⁰³ The interviewee also mentioned that security officials maintained calm despite the presence of an anti-demonstration group from Salt (a city near Amman) that came to Amman and threw rocks at protesters because they wanted the protests to end. Several shots were fired but the Jordanian government played it “very smart, well.”²⁰⁴

From the perspective of security officials, a former military officer in the Jordanian Army concluded that “the King played it well” by allowing demonstrations and instructing the security agencies not to interfere.²⁰⁵ The respondent explained that Jordan is a “web of people” made up of Circassians, Kurds, Armenians, Iraqis, and Palestinians. To balance group dynamics, security agencies, used a “soft security” approach where protesters were treated with respect and given water and bread by police. However, the “soft security” approach had two effects: one positive and one negative. On the one hand, it stopped the revolt. On the other hand, the “soft security” approach diminished respect for (and fear of) security agencies for those who viewed this approach as weakness from the government.²⁰⁶

²⁰² Author interview with former journalist/field producer, Amman, Jordan, June 13, 2017.

²⁰³ Author interview with former credit analyst, Amman, Jordan, May 12, 2017.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Author interview with former military officer (JA), Amman, Jordan, July 10, 2017.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

In order to manage domestic unrest, King Abdullah relied upon Hussein Hazza' Al-Majali, who headed the Public Security Directorate from May 2010 to March 2013.²⁰⁷ A number of respondents for this study credited Al-Majali with the successful implementation of a policy of non-antagonism toward the protesters.²⁰⁸ Although King Abdullah II instructed the military to remain outside of protest areas as a last resort, al-Majali spearheaded the effort for police forces to allow protesters to express their demands. A former intelligence officer explained that some protests began in southern Jordan and moved north. Protesters wanted jobs, opportunity, and equality of life. In response, King Abdullah II responded by signaling to protesters that 'I am with you,' which "took the air out of the balloons" of protests. The intelligence officer recounted how the protest movements lasted from 6 months to one year, but no significant threat materialized against King Abdullah II. That was a "red line" and after one to two years, Jordanian intelligence agencies successfully divided opposition movements, "cut communication" from south to north, and "solved it on the ground."²⁰⁹ Intelligence operations infiltrated pro-reform groups, disrupted their networks, and undercut any lasting threats to the monarchy.

One respondent, who served as a police officer at the time of the Arab uprisings, echoed both the strategic calculations of the regime as well as its sensitivity to tribal and national dynamics. The former police officer expressed a willingness to stop the demonstrations if need be, but also explained that police do not think of political issues only in terms of security. Instead, "they [Jordanians] are all my citizens."²¹⁰ The police did not use violence, e.g., "the

²⁰⁷ As a result of his successful handling of protests in Jordan, Al-Majali was appointed and served as Jordan's Interior Minister from March 2013 to May 2015.

²⁰⁸ Author interview with former journalist/field producer, Amman, Jordan, June 13, 2017; Author interview with former surveillance and cyber security specialist, Amman, Jordan, July 19, 2017.

²⁰⁹ Author interview with former intelligence officer (JI), Amman, Jordan, June 4, 2017.

²¹⁰ Author interview with retired police officer, Amman, Jordan, September 26, 2017.

stick and the shield” but rather attempted to be friendly with demonstrators. In essence, the police said: “show your message, but don’t go to the ‘red line.’ Then go home.” As a result, the police removed a “spark” for violence and larger protests.²¹¹

Intelligence Recruitment, Gathering, and Tribalism

Managing events like the Arab uprisings requires a sophisticated national security structure. In many Arab countries, civilians tend to respect and trust militaries more than police forces. Historically, militaries fall under the Ministry of Defense, which is more resistant to infiltration by anti-regime elements because of higher levels of professionalization. In contrast, police forces typically report to the Ministry of Interior where autocrats build up overlapping centers of authority that safeguard against potential coups and other forms of defection. As a result, police forces have a reputation for being less professionalized and more susceptible to corruption. In daily interactions, citizens of Arab countries often remark that military personnel are more trustworthy than members of the police force. More than these sectors, civilians tend to both respect and fear intelligence agencies, including military intelligence. Different from military and police forces, intelligence services are specifically tasked with gathering information on international and domestic threats. Across the MENA region, this responsibility has typically been fulfilled with sharp efficiency and brutality. Kidnapping, torture, execution, and arrest are not uncommon tactics of intelligence agents who apprehend anti-regime actors. As such, a great deal of care goes into how regimes select intelligence operatives. In Jordan, tribal and nationalist factors lie at the center of strategic calculations concerning how to structure the various sectors of the security apparatus.

²¹¹ Author interview with retired police officer, Amman, Jordan, September 26, 2017.

One senior intelligence officer remarked that Jordanian intelligence is “smart and hardworking” and that it relies upon “human” as opposed to “technological” intelligence. The extensive network of Jordanian intelligence has a ratio of “one intelligence officer for every five to six Jordanian citizens.”²¹² This respondent said that most people who are pure Jordanian (i.e., Jordanian-Jordanians) have loyalty to the country and the royal family. Each Jordanian family has one or two people working for the government or for security. “Low-middle” and “poorer classes” are satisfied with what they have, e.g., “salary, schools, medical services, other benefits.” They live a “low profile life,” not in the cities, but in rural areas these citizens are independent.²¹³ Because of the tribal dynamics, the respondent explained that it is not easy to recruit for the intelligence departments. Typically, intelligence departments recruit from Palestinian-Jordanian, Bedouin, and other tribes, and attempt to select candidates in a way that balances the tribal composition of the agencies. For instance, each year intelligence services will take one candidate from one tribe and two from another, and vice-versa the next year. This alteration keeps things balanced.²¹⁴

A different former intelligence officer articulated the rationale for this recruitment strategy, stating “Jordan is built from families. From an intelligence perspective: if I am from Jerash, I know most of the people from Jerash. I know people from Jerash more than I know people from Karak.”²¹⁵ Thus, Jordanian intelligence services actively recruit candidates from their home cities, train them, and then embed these agents back into their home communities. These personal connections then form the basis for effective intelligence gathering. This respondent described how Jordanian intelligence collects information and “cancels problems

²¹² Author interview with former intelligence officer (JI), Amman, Jordan, June 4, 2017.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Author interview with former intelligence officer, Amman, Jordan, June 6, 2017.

before they become problems.”²¹⁶ For example, if a Syrian wants to attack a mall “we stop him. We have connections with all intelligence services, [e.g.,] CIA, KGB, Mossad. We work on terrorist issues. I’m talking about ‘pure Jordanians.’” The interviewee expanded and said that the threat does not come from the US or Israel, but from the Islamists. “We [international intelligence agencies] work together to be safe. Geographically, we [Jordan] are in the middle of many problems. Jordan is relatively good because we love the country.”²¹⁷

Regarding intelligence gathering, a significant number of intelligence officers identified Islamists as threats.²¹⁸ One agent bluntly stated that Jordanian intelligence thinks Islamists are threats. “We followed them from the 1980s until now. We collect all of this information. In [the] 1980s we would ask people with beards to explain what they think, believe.”²¹⁹ This same agent participated in intelligence gathering prior to the 1989 general election, the first of its kind since 1967. The agent detailed how he was asked to stop a Muslim Brotherhood candidate from winning the election. The agent and the team monitored the Muslim Brotherhood candidate twenty-four hours a day, including all of his communications, travel, and trips to the mosque. The agent claimed that the Muslim Brotherhood candidate did not win the election because of their intelligence operations.²²⁰ Writing on the 1989 and 1993 elections, Glenn Robinson provides insights as to why Jordan’s monarchy was wary of opposition groups participating in elections. Robinson explains that although the parliament elected in 1989 had little power to enact change in Jordan, “its large contingent of opposition figures, primarily from the Muslim Brotherhood, acted as a relatively vocal watchdog of government policy.”²²¹

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Author interview with former military officer (JA), Amman, Jordan, July 10, 2017.

²¹⁹ Author interview with former intelligence officer, Amman, Jordan, June 6, 2017.

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Glenn E. Robinson, “Defensive Democratization in Jordan.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30, no. 3 (1998), p. 397.

Jordan's intelligence gathering and recruitment strategies demonstrate the extent to which Jordan's monarchy acts strategically. The intelligence services acquire candidates from a range of geographic locations with distinct tribal characteristics, and then uses these agents to guard against threats to the regime. King Abdullah II's understanding of the importance of these tribal and national dynamics stems from his family lineage, which recognizes the crucial role that tribes play in maintaining Jordan's security. The security services reflect Abdullah II's awareness of tribal dynamics and work to ensure they remain on the same page as the monarchy.

Security Dilemma

At the domestic level, security officials expressed an array of concerns related to Jordan's current security environment. These concerns correspond to the security dilemma at the domestic, regional, and international levels. One former military officer articulated a concise list of these concerns: Domestically, terrorism from ISIS and their sleeping cells; political activities of the Muslim Brotherhood (although this is changing and was a larger concern in the past); the PLO is resurgent and organizing in refugee camps; social ills such as drugs (e.g., "Joker"),²²² poverty, violence, rising crime and suicides rates, and the diminishing middle class.²²³ The respondent expressed concerns over the rise in religiosity, stating there are now "more veils and more beards," which, along with a faltering education system makes terrorist recruitment easier. The respondent also identified the expanding LGBTQ population as a security concern. This concern is perhaps best interpreted in the context of larger perceived threats to Jordanian culture.

²²² "Joker" is a synthetic cannabis, which mixes tobacco products with deadly substances such as rat poison; see Rana Hussein, "Six Suspected Drug Dealers Arrested In Ajloun, Jordan Valley Raids," Jordan Times, April 2016, accessed November 8, 2017: <http://jordantimes.com/news/local/six-suspected-drug-dealers-arrested-ajloun-jordan-valley-raids>.

²²³ Author interview with former military officer (JA), Amman, Jordan, July 10, 2017.

Security personnel and civilians alike lament the overwhelming influence of Western companies, advertising (in major cities most signs are in both Arabic and English), and forms of entertainment such as music and movies. Some Arab citizens view growing (or more visible) LGBTQ populations as part of this larger cultural transformation. Internationally, the respondent explained that regional instability is a threat to economic markets, stifles investment, and hurts growth. As for other regimes in the region, the presence of international NGOs, which “sometimes go against the government and society,” remains a concern for Jordanian intelligence services.²²⁴

A retired police officer drew the link between external security concerns and their impact on domestic life in Jordan. The interviewee labeled ISIS’s tactics as “horrific” and that their atrocities make him think of his brother, sister, and family. “ISIS is making religion dirty. There is a far distance between ISIS and Muslims.”²²⁵ A cyber security specialist linked the rise in extremism to long-term economic instability, as the economic consequences of major cultural shifts are unclear.²²⁶ How will businesses operate in an increasingly conservative environment? Will international investors stay or seek opportunities elsewhere? This comparison relates to Jennifer Mitzen’s concept of ontological security, where both individuals and states seek the stability of relationships.²²⁷

Dating back to the 1990s, security and intelligence agencies prioritized stopping external threats from taking root in Jordan. A former intelligence officer explained that Jordan has “many problems” that originate from outside the country. These threats “terrorize Jordan.”²²⁸ From 1996

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ Author interview with retired police officer, Amman, Jordan, September 26, 2017.

²²⁶ Author interview with former surveillance and cyber security specialist, Amman, Jordan, July 19, 2017.

²²⁷ Mitzen, p. 343.

²²⁸ Author interview with former intelligence officer (JI), Amman, Jordan, June 4, 2017.

to 2006, Jordanian Intelligence succeeded in thwarting “more than 200 terrorist operations and attacks.” These successes were “not announced to the Media.” The attacks were planned by organizations such as Palestinian groups like the PLO, Hamas after 2000, Hezbollah supported by Iran, and al-Qaeda.²²⁹ The dilemma, then, is that infiltration of external groups into Jordan results in minimized security at the individual, communal, and state levels.

Border Security

Many respondents pointed to border security as a top priority for military and intelligence agencies. One former intelligence officer stated that even before ISIS, Jordanian intelligence had been worried about the Syrian border for 20 to 30 years.²³⁰ The respondent argued that ethnoreligious factors exacerbate border tensions, explaining that while Jordan is roughly 99% Sunni, Syria and Iraq have larger Shia populations.²³¹ Here, Kirwin’s application of the security dilemma to near civil war in Cote d’Ivoire applies. In essence, elites promote increasingly nationalist rhetoric that relies heavily on notions of identity. When conflict occurs, leaders gauge threats to their respective cross-border interests.²³² This is true for Jordan during the Iran-Iraq War, the Gulf War, the 2003 US-led invasion of Iraq, and the Syrian war following the Arab uprisings. Also applicable is Gartzke and Gleditsch’s finding that violence is more likely among states with similar cultural characteristics.²³³ Specifically, if one group is the majority in one state and the second largest ethnic group in other, the two states are more likely to go to war.²³⁴

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Author interview with former intelligence officer, Amman, Jordan, June 6, 2017.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Kirwin, p. 50

²³³ Gartzke and Gleditsch, p. 53.

²³⁴ Gartzke and Gleditsch, p. 74.

Interviewee responses provided evidence of how Jordan reacted to regional conflict. A former professor explained that after the first Gulf War the Gulf states realized that Jordan was not a real ally. As with Egypt and Qatar, “politics is done on a personal level between heads of state,” unlike the West where relationships happen between governments. Because of its decision to forego joining the international coalition during the Gulf War (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and United Arab Emirates were all members), Jordan could no longer get money from the Gulf states. Therefore, Jordan “dug itself deeper and deeper into debt,” which caused major security problems.²³⁵

Weapons smuggling across borders also reveals Jordan’s security priorities and strategic decision-making. A former senior intelligence officer remarked that after the Gulf War and from 1990 to 2002, weapons smuggling from Iraq “was a mess” and Jordanian intelligence focused on controlling the border.²³⁶ Political dynamics intensified the challenge of border defense. The respondent recounted how the PLO and fundamentalist groups would tell their supporters that the Jordanian government should allow weapons to be transferred and smuggled to the West Bank [to fight Israel]. When Jordanian intelligence said “no,” Jordan was labeled as the same as Israel.²³⁷ Today, Jordan remains a “hot point.” In the west, tensions consistently flair between Palestine and Israel. In the east, Iraq is only beginning to retake territory from ISIS. In the north, Syria’s active war continues. The interviewee claims that all three borders are hot and Jordan “needs an eagle eye to control it.”²³⁸ Strategically, Jordan depends on international cooperation with intelligence and logistics to accomplish this goal. A former cyber security specialist frames these partnerships as follows: “Always take into account Israel. We can get all the support we

²³⁵ Author interview with lawyer/PhD, Amman, Jordan, July 11, 2017.

²³⁶ Author interview with former intelligence officer (JI), Amman, Jordan, June 4, 2017.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Ibid.

want to keep Israel safe. Strategically, we have to use that avenue. But ISIS and the internal growth of extremism are the biggest threats. It didn't come from nowhere.”²³⁹

Analysis

The material gained from interviews for this study provides evidence of the connection between rationalism and identity. During and after the Gulf War, Jordanian intelligence focused on weapons smuggling from Iraq and the ethnoreligious characteristics of networks seeking to advance such exchanges. Following the 1994 Israel-Jordan peace treaty, security officials profiled and investigated members of the PLO who attempted to assassinate King Hussein for his involvement in the accord. Currently, Jordan's General Intelligence Directorate (GID) and military intelligence services investigate resurgent PLO elements and ISIS affiliates both within Jordan's refugee camps and larger society. In these cases, and in general, security officials consider the family name, place of origin, religious affiliation, personal and professional contacts, and past institutional associations as relevant to assessing an individual's threat level. Intelligence services also recruit operatives from, and then return them to, their host communities precisely for their on-the-ground knowledge of people and families. With approximately one intelligence agent for every five Jordanian citizens, the reasons for which Jordan remains stable within an unstable region become clearer. Security services identify and stop threats before they materialize, a remarkable outcome given that two of the world's most violent countries share a border with Jordan.

Different aspects to Jordanian identity are included in their security and strategic decision-making. Take for instance the domestic threats to Jordan's security previously listed.

²³⁹ Author interview with former surveillance and cyber security specialist, Amman, Jordan, July 19, 2017.

On one end of the spectrum Islamism and Islam that is too conservative are considered visible threats, i.e., too many beards and veils. On the other hand, social ills like drug use, social permissiveness, and perceived sexual deviancy (LGBTQ) are also considered a threat. This relates directly to the debate between Lerner and Huntington. Socio-economic modernization either produces stability or conflict. According to the interviews, Huntington proved more accurate. Modernization led to the liberalization of society and a conservative religious response. The respondents dislike the changes towards either end of the spectrum, seeing them as direct threats to the security of the country. The identity of the country matters for its security concerns.

Another aspect of identity in Jordan at a countrywide level is nationalism, particularly in juxtaposition to the Palestinians. Ethnic identity matters socially due to a lack of assimilation and economically because of disenfranchisement. Jordanian-Jordanians do not always have affable feelings towards Palestinian-Jordanians, which inhibits their integration into the security apparatus. In addition, Palestinians have historically posed a direct national security threat through the PLO, and they continue to do so as the PLO operates in refugee communities. The PLO supported the removal of the Hashemite monarchy in the early 1970's, and this led the Jordanian military to expel the organization from the country. An opposing ethnic group, therefore, threatened the national identity of the country, which was intimately connected to the monarchy. Kirwin's understanding of leaders' appeals to nationalism in order to garner support conforms to this experience as well. Jordan's government, and even society, can disenfranchise the Palestinians because they are not "real" Jordanians.

Loyalty to the monarchy is not only about nationalist identity, it is also connected to the personalities of the individual leaders. Abdullah, Hussein, and Abdullah II all created personal relationships with tribal leaders and to a certain extent transferred this to individual soldiers. As

one interviewee remarked, the monarch would try to remember the names of tribal leaders, and tribes would be proud of their connection to the king. As Byman and Pollack noted, the idiosyncrasies of leaders are relevant for their governance and behavior, and the monarchs' personalization of politics connected them to the tribal identity. They treated the military as family, and this allowed the tribes to include loyalty to the monarchy into their identity. Such loyalty would become useful during the Arab Spring as the tribal networks were valuable for quelling hostilities and used for intelligence gathering. Lutterbeck brought up this concept with his description of military institutionalization. The level of institutionalization will affect how the security forces will be committed to the national interest or tribal interests. Jordan's tribes are connected to a national figure, the monarch, and this becomes conflated with the national interest.

Interview data gathered for this study demonstrates how security officials are highly responsive to identity dynamics when attempting to manage opposition movements and threats to Jordan's national security. On a multiplicity of levels identity is incorporated into the strategic decision-making by the military and government, primarily because opposition movements often challenge the notions of identity the regime aims to cultivate. Whether it is over religion, nationality, tribalism, or the monarchy, the military, intelligence services, and police will all use the identity of individuals and communities to determine appropriate policy. How regimes deal with opposition movements becomes symbiotic with how regimes prevent defection. Security professionals interviewed consistently discussed opposition movements to create a clear distinction between regime loyalists and potential threats. They discussed how strong Jordanian security service are through connectedness, e.g., a national identity that supersedes sectarian religion. Training and motivation contribute to a homogeneity in the security services that

opposition movements threaten. Therefore, they pull closer to the regime and are less likely to defect when socio-political instability portends changes to state identity.

In addition to articulating strategies to undercut opposition movements, respondent statements also provide insights into how the monarchy structures security services to avoid coups and other forms of defection. The monarchy utilizes a two-pronged approach to achieve this objective. On the one hand, the regime uses material incentives such as reliable salaries, privileged access to health and education services, and post-retirement benefits to ensure military loyalty. On the other hand, security personnel benefit from non-material rewards like the prestige and honor that accompany military service. This approach resonates with Varshney's notions of "instrumental rationality" and "value rationality." Actors make decisions regarding loyalty and defection through strict cost-benefit analysis and by determining the value of holding to identity-driven beliefs irrespective of a decision's costs or consequences. Jordan's monarchy provides both material and non-material incentives to members of the security apparatus to incentivize continued loyalty.

Future Research and Implications

Case studies allow for the development of new theories and are used to assess previously unidentified variables to craft hypotheses for testing. They do so by examining causal mechanisms in individual cases through process-tracing. In an individual case there are typically a significant number of explanatory and intervening variables, and case studies allow for inductive observations to recognize the conditions requisite for explaining the outcome. Using Jordan as the case study, this chapter developed a new theory that scholars can utilize to study

civil-military relations and other topics within international relations and security studies. For example, future research can undertake testing the theory through such hypotheses as:

- *If the military lacks an institutional identity, then the military will be more likely to defect.*
- *If the military lacks a connection to a national identity, then the military will be more likely to defect.*
- *If there is an external threat, the military will seek to unite the forces behind an institutional or national identity.*

Although the theory developed in this chapter is applied to defection by militaries, the identity-rationalist model could be used to better understand other areas of international relations. For example, understanding regime decision-making or the causes of war. Such hypotheses could include:

- *If national identity is threatened by another actor, the military and/or state will be more likely to ally with “imperfect partners” (i.e., states/actors whose identity are in direct opposition to the their own). Historical examples of this are Jordan’s relationship with Israel or the Afghan Mujahedeen working with the United States.*
- *If the regime perceives the military is likely to defect, conflict with rival identities is more likely.* Typically referred to as jingoism, the identity-rationalist model could give theoretical support to this as a cause of war.
- *If a nation-state’s security is threatened over an issue of identity, it is more likely to go to war.* Key cases to understand this could be Israel’s use of force against sub-state actors, Pakistan’s devotion to keeping Kashmir, and Iran’s “exporting the revolution.”

Future research’s testing the theory will require further case studies and analysis of the identity-rationalist model in different contexts to broaden or narrow its scope. However, the model presents significant opportunities to research and better understand civil-military relations and conflict outside the context of the Middle East and North Africa.

For example, one of the limitations of this study is that it did not ask respondents to describe aspects of their personal or social identity. Instead, through the course of conducting interviews, identity emerged as an essential component of security personnel decision-making. Participant responses thus revealed the need for further theorizing of civil-military relations in

Jordan and beyond. To address this gap, future researchers should endeavor to test the above hypotheses (and others) by conducting interviews with security actors and asking them to describe their respective decision-making processes during moments of political crisis or military conflict. Questions should also ask respondents whether or not notions of identity and self-perception factor into decision-making during such events. Subsequent participant responses may provide the necessary data and variation that researchers can then use to determine the validity, accuracy, and generalizability of the identity-rationalist model.

In addition, the identity-rationalist model provides theoretical support for understanding practical foreign policy decision-making, filling a necessary gap between academia and policy makers.²⁴⁰ What separates this model from grand theories like structural realism is that it can aid policymakers in understanding individual decision-making by foreign leaders and actors. Countries and sub-state actors will incorporate their identities in crafting national security policy. Policy specialists need a general conceptual model to have a logic behind successful policy-making, e.g., deterrence theory with nuclear weapons during the Cold War.²⁴¹ By studying the culture, dialogue, and identity of enemies and allies, policymakers can adapt this model to predicting outcomes of negotiations and conflict. Therefore, the identity-rationalist model offers testable hypotheses for future research by academics while also creating policy-relevant research for decision-making in national security.

Conclusion

To guard against internal and external threats, actors within Jordan's security apparatus make strategic calculations. These calculations incorporate both rationalist and identity elements.

²⁴⁰ George and Bennett, p. 265.

²⁴¹ Ibid, p. 270.

Individuals, both principals and agents, are interest-driven, intentional, and gather the information required to make well-informed decisions. In this way, actors pursue goals in a manner that increases the likelihood they will reach their objectives. Yet security actors also account for identity when making decisions about how to evaluate the nature of threats, the ideological orientation of subversive groups, and the potential reach of cross-border networks. In addition to responding to threats, Jordan's security apparatus builds and maintains its capability by recruiting operatives and gathering intelligence through well-established, identity-driven, tribal networks. Internationally, King Abdullah II publicly cultivates alliances with commitments to moderation and mutual benefit as well as behind-the-scenes assurances that Jordan understands the composition of tribal, familial-based relationships in the MENA region. At the individual, state, and international levels of civil-military relations, identity informs decision-making about how to defend against threats and secure domestic stability.

Interpreting civil-military relations through the identity-rationalist model helps to mitigate long-standing theoretical critiques of rational choice arguments. These critiques hold that rational choice approaches are inherently conservative; deterministic; assume material interests motivate all people; assume that people's preferences are unchanging; and fail to take historical context into account.²⁴² The identity-rationalist model recognizes that actors' preferences change depending upon how an individual views her or himself within a community. In Jordan, tribal affiliation and protecting one's tribe stands as a primary responsibility. Actors within the security apparatus decide how to respond to internal and external threats by considering the delicate tribal balance Jordan seeks to maintain. There is simultaneously strategic action to advance self-interests and restraint as an acknowledgement that winner-take-all

²⁴² Geddes, p. 82.

approaches can lead to failed security objectives, as in Iraq and Syria. This combination, of goal-seeking behavior and restraint, underlies calculations about how security services operate in identity-based environments.

In the context of regional instability, the identity-rationalist model presents new opportunities to interpret loyalty and defection in the Middle East and North Africa. Members of the police, military, intelligence, and private security apparatuses not only act out of self-interest but also consider how their actions will affect their communities and country. At times, loyalty carries with it a nationalist pride in serving the king, or an unenthusiastic acceptance of the status quo. Defection carries the risk of more violence. In both informal conversations and formal interviews in the region, it is not uncommon for a discussion about political reform and attempts at democratization to end with the statement: ‘Look at Iraq; look at Syria.’ The idea is that people remain intensely aware of the fragility of peace and the proximity of war. Better then, to understand the limitations of cost-benefit analysis and the persistence of competing interests, interests which so often fall along lines of identity.

CHAPTER THREE

MILITARY DEFECTION DURING THE ARAB UPRISINGS: THE CENTRALITY OF MILITARY INTEGRATION INTO STATE-LEVEL ECONOMY

Introduction

Militaries generally play a vital role in the survival of states, neutralizing both domestic and foreign threats. In addition, an integral part of a particular regime's survival is whether or not the military will remain loyal during crises. Scholars of democratic movements and revolutionary politics have placed the military as the most important institution for a state's survival, and the success of internal regime change requires either the support or passive acceptance by the military.²⁴³ History is full of military coups in which senior officers overthrew leaders as a means to protect their conception of the nation, like in Turkey, or eliminate a perceived threat, like in Chile. During the Arab Spring that started in 2011, the decision by militaries to remain loyal would help decide if a country transitioned to democracy, fell into conflict, or maintained stability.²⁴⁴ Although political science scholarship recognizes this relationship, there is a dearth of literature that explores why Arab militaries remain loyal to or defect from regimes.

This chapter seeks to systemically analyze a cross-section of Arab countries and their civil-military relations to understand this relationship. Specifically, this chapter will look at three potential explanations of military loyalty to regimes in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). These explanations include military integration into the national economy, military perceptions of political power, and sectarian cleavages within the military (e.g., ethnic, religious,

²⁴³ Zoltan Barany, "Comparing the Arab Revolts: The Role of the Military," *Journal of Democracy* 22, no. 4 (2011), p. 28.

²⁴⁴ Robert Springborg, "Arab Militaries," in *The Arab Uprisings Explained: New Contentious Politics in the Middle East*, ed. Marc Lynch (2014), p 142.

or class-based differences). As such, this chapter will take militaries at the national level as the unit of analysis to answer the question: under what conditions do militaries defect from authoritarian regimes?

This question is critical because militaries played a central role in protecting regimes from the political crises that occurred during the Arab Spring. Faced with pro-democracy demonstrations, anti-corruption protests, and calls for greater political openness, authoritarian regimes relied upon militaries to control demonstrations and safeguard entrenched political systems. Militaries responded by pursuing a range of strategies to engage, placate, or violently repress demonstrations. These strategies and the subsequent actions of militaries directly shaped post-revolutionary outcomes across the MENA region.

For example, the relatively weak and apolitical Tunisian military largely avoided violent confrontation with protesters, which contributed to early social reconciliation efforts, constitutional development, and the administration of successful elections.²⁴⁵ In sharp contrast, Bashar al-Assad allowed the Syrian military to fire upon and kill protesters in the early part of 2011, an action that helped create a split between pro and anti-Assad elements within the military. The hardening of conflicting loyalties among Syrian military personnel led to widespread military defections and a bloody civil war.²⁴⁶ With the exceptions of Bahrain and Yemen, Gulf States managed to quell simmering social discontent by increasing subsidies or dispensing direct cash payments to citizens.²⁴⁷ As a result, Gulf States minimized the role of

²⁴⁵ Safwan M. Masri, *Tunisia: An Arab Anomaly* (Columbia University Press, 2017), p. 14.

²⁴⁶ Sharon Erickson Nepstad, "Mutiny and Nonviolence in The Arab Spring: Exploring Military Defections and Loyalty in Egypt, Bahrain, and Syria." *Journal of Peace Research* 50, no. 3 (2013), pp. 344-345.

²⁴⁷ In Oman, Sultan Qaboos increased the private sector minimum wage by 43%, introduced monthly allowances for job seekers (to roughly \$390), created 50,000 new jobs in the public sector (mostly in the defense and security sectors), and doubled monthly social security allowances for eligible citizens; see Marc Valeri, "Simmering Unrest and Succession Challenges in Oman," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace* (2015), p. 11. In Saudi Arabia, King Abdullah announced new spending plans of more than \$100 billion and relied upon oil revenues to fulfill such

militaries in managing protests and avoided the more severe violence witnessed in other parts of the MENA region. These examples illustrate how military decisions to intervene, and the degree to which militaries intervene, greatly affect revolutionary outcomes. Understanding the political and economic dimensions of military decision-making will shed light on the conditions that regimes attempt to foster in order to reduce the likelihood of defection.

In this context, scholars have identified military integration into the national economy as an important determinant of military satisfaction with authoritarian regimes.²⁴⁸ The more a regime is able to satisfy the political and socioeconomic demands of the armed forces, the more likely it is that the security and defense sectors will remain loyal.²⁴⁹ In general, “a state that pays its soldiers generously and otherwise treats them well will be better placed to receive their enthusiastic protection.”²⁵⁰ Government policies aimed at strengthening military integration into the national economy come in two forms. First, governments can pursue global economic integration via liberalization of the economy, trade agreements, and other market supporting policies in an attempt to spur economic growth. Although there is no guarantee that such policies will produce a stronger economy, regimes aim to increase state revenue and often prioritize expanding their defense budgets in order to allocate additional resources to the military.²⁵¹

pledges; see Gregory Gause III, “Why Middle East Studies Missed the Arab Spring: The Myth of Authoritarian Stability,” *Foreign Affairs* (2011), p. 87.

²⁴⁸ Zeinab Abul-Magd and Elke Grawert. “Forward.” In *Businessmen in Arms: How the Military and Other Armed Groups Profit in the MENA Region*, eds. Zeinab Abul-Magd and Elke Grawert, xi-xv (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016), p. xi-xv.

²⁴⁹ Barany, “Comparing the Arab Revolts: The Role of the Military,” p. 29.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ This is especially important for non-oil wealthy Arab states that have fewer resources at their disposal, resources which could be used for immediate increases in military benefits during political crises. Egypt provides a useful example of this dynamic. Samer Soliman explains that since the mid-1970s, Egypt has been ruled by an authoritarian regime whose survival has depended upon a “quasi-rentier state” that obtained revenue from oil, Suez Canal profits, and foreign aid. However, at various points throughout the 1980s and 1990s, this revenue proved insufficient for increased military expenditures and defense budgets. As a result, the Egyptian government reduced outlays on the army in exchange for allowing the military greater financial autonomy. Essentially, the army could generate its own revenue and resources through widespread investment in other areas of civil production. See Samer

Second, governments can give direct economic benefits to members of the military that includes education, access to better healthcare, housing allowances, loans without interest, etc.

Authoritarian regimes often use a combination of the above policies to attempt to grow their economies, allocate resources to key segments of support, and ensure the continued loyalty of the armed forces.²⁵²

While some scholarship has theorized that the incorporation of militaries into the economy is a key aspect of preventing defection, there is a dearth of empirical work to support this claim. This chapter aims to offer such empirical support and contribute to the debate over the nature and role of Arab militaries during revolutionary periods. This chapter will also explore other possible explanations of military loyalty, including military perceptions of political power and sectarian cleavages within the military (e.g., ethnic, religious, or class-based differences).

In order to contribute to this field of inquiry, this chapter utilizes a small-n, comparative case-study approach to answer the research question: under what conditions do militaries defect from authoritarian regimes? In practice, small-n case-study research blends causal-process analysis with correlational analysis.²⁵³ Causal-process analysis, or process tracing, is the “analysis of evidence on processes, sequences, and conjunctures of events within a case for the purposes of either developing or testing hypotheses about causal mechanisms that might causally explain the case.”²⁵⁴ Regarding small-n case-study research, Alan Jacobs explains that “case

Soliman, *The Autumn of Dictatorship: Fiscal Crisis and Political Change in Egypt Under Mubarak* (Stanford University Press, 2011), pp. 163-165.

²⁵² Depending on the context, this chapter argues that the issue of general liberalization of the economy does not exert an effect independent of the granting of direct benefits to the military, but is rather a vehicle for facilitating such benefits.

²⁵³ Alan M. Jacobs, “Process Tracing the Effects of Ideas,” in *Process Tracing: From Metaphor to Analytic Tool*, eds. Andrew Bennett and Jeffery T Checkel (Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 60.

²⁵⁴ Thad Dunning, “Improving Process Tracing: Multi-Method Research,” in *Process Tracing: From Metaphor to Analytic Tool*, eds. Andrew Bennett and Jeffery T Checkel (Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 212; David Collier defines process tracing as the “systematic examination of diagnostic evidence selected and analyzed in light

analysts often unpack cases into multiple sub-cases (temporally or cross-sectionally) and analyze the correlation of suspected causes and outcomes across those sub-cases.”²⁵⁵ Drawing upon these methodological foundations, this chapter aims to identify the factors that influenced military decision-making regarding defection during the Arab Spring. The chapter then presents hypotheses that offer competing explanations for why militaries either remained loyal to or defected from authoritarian regimes. In analyzing the cases of Jordan, Tunisia, Oman, and Egypt, this chapter hopes to elucidate the economic, political, and social factors that contributed to military loyalty, and thus each country’s revolutionary outcome.

Both empirically and methodologically, this chapter builds upon previous work examining military defection during the Arab Spring. In evaluating Bahrain, Egypt, and Syria, Sharon Nepstad utilizes a qualitative comparative method and finds that two factors are most likely to facilitate or obstruct military mutiny: (1) whether troops receive economic or political benefits from the regime; and (2) whether troops perceive the regime as fragile, based upon the international community’s response to the conflict.²⁵⁶ Empirically, this chapter offers evidentiary support for Nepstad’s first proposition and considers a variation of the second, i.e., how military perceptions of losing political power may affect calculations to remain loyal to a regime. Methodologically, like Nepstad’s research, this chapter utilizes a qualitative comparative approach. It also agrees with Nepstad’s assessment that it is difficult to know which factors “truly had the greatest weight in troops’ decisions” and that “future researchers ought to conduct surveys and qualitative interviews with soldiers, asking them to identify the factors that

of research questions and hypotheses posed by the investigator,” see David Collier, “Understanding Process Tracing,” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 44, no. 4 (2011), p. 823.

²⁵⁵ Jacobs, “Process Tracing the Effects of Ideas,” p. 60.

²⁵⁶ Sharon Erickson Nepstad, “Mutiny and Nonviolence in The Arab Spring: Exploring Military Defections and Loyalty in Egypt, Bahrain, and Syria,” *Journal of Peace Research* 50, no. 3 (2013), p. 337.

matter most.”²⁵⁷ Although this chapter lacks survey data, it incorporates wide-ranging interview responses from military personnel, security experts, and civilians in order to identify and analyze the key factors that motivated loyalty or defection.

As with any project that attempts to track decision-making processes over time, the sequence of variables is greatly important for drawing unbiased causal inferences from correlations.²⁵⁸ David Collier explains that effective process tracing “gives close attention to sequences of independent, dependent, and intervening variables.”²⁵⁹ Research that lacks rigorous attention to the sequence of variables risks mistaking the wrong variables as the cause of a given outcome. The factors that influence military personnel to remain loyal to a regime may be deeply individual and idiosyncratic or rooted in institutional associations. Members of the military may value specific benefits of service (e.g., stable income, privileged access to public services, etc.), or they may take pride in service to the nation. As such, this chapter attempts to account for a diverse array of motivations and provide a limited but clear picture of each country’s Arab Spring trajectory.

This chapter argues that the strongest explanatory variable for explaining military loyalty is the level of integration by the military into the political economy of a state. As such, this independent variable determines the likelihood of defection or non-defection by the armed forces. The sequenced causal mechanisms, i.e., the steps between cause and effect, include whether or not: (a) the economic interests of the military are safeguarded; (b) the regime threatens these safeguards; and (c) the military is satisfied. This chapter applies this sequence to each of the country cases and therefore attempts to isolate and minimize intervening variables

²⁵⁷ Nepstad, “Mutiny and Nonviolence in The Arab Spring: Exploring Military Defections and Loyalty in Egypt, Bahrain, and Syria.” p. 347.

²⁵⁸ Alan M. Jacobs, “Process Tracing the Effects of Ideas,” p. 61.

²⁵⁹ David Collier, “Understanding Process Tracing.” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 44, no. 4 (2011), p. 823.

that may skew causal inferences.²⁶⁰ Ultimately, the Jordanian and Omani militaries remained integrated into state-level political economies, while their Egyptian and Tunisian counterparts did not, with the outcome being non-defection in the former cases and defection in the latter.

Theory and Literature Review

The theory and literature review portion of this chapter is divided into three sections. Each section presents differing theoretical perspectives that help frame the specific hypotheses this chapter will test. Each section draws upon political economy and civil-military relations scholarship and applies it to the Middle East and North Africa to contextualize the conditions under which Arab militaries remain loyal to regimes. The sections are as follows: (1) Competing Perspectives on Arab Militaries; (2) Economic Interconnectedness Literature; and (3) Economic Benefits Literature.

The first section (Competing Perspectives on Arab Militaries) argues that civil-military relations scholarship lacks an updated theoretical framework for understanding military decision-making in the MENA region. Specifically, civil-military relations scholarship should acknowledge the broader movement of Arab militaries away from national defense toward material growth in support of the state. The second section (Economic Interconnectedness Literature) contends that regimes utilize a variety of economic liberalization policies in an attempt to grow their national economies and allocate additional revenue to defense sectors. The third section (Economic Benefits Literature) explores the range of specific benefits that regimes direct toward armed forces personnel to ensure continued loyalty. When combined, these

²⁶⁰ For example, Iraq is excluded from this chapter's case selection because the United States directly intervened in the country's political and security affairs from 2003 to 2011. All other Arab countries lacked such comprehensive US involvement in their internal affairs during this time period. Therefore, all other Arab countries cannot be compared to Iraq because of their lack of this intervening variable (robust US financial and military support).

sections offer theoretical support for this chapter's argument by identifying the specific strategies and resources regimes employ to prevent defection.

Competing Perspectives on Arab Militaries

There are a number of institutional, political, economic, and foreign policy tools that regimes utilize to link the vital interests of the military to the government. For instance, scholars argue that the level of political institutionalization²⁶¹ and the number of attempted coups²⁶² may help explain military decision-making in domestic politics. Observers also point to post-retirement appointments, financial rewards,²⁶³ and comprehensive military economies, or “military, Inc.”²⁶⁴ as conceivable indicators of political power enjoyed by the armed forces. Along these lines, research has examined declining military loyalty toward a regime as a consequence of weakened national economies²⁶⁵ as well as potential responses to such decline through the use of domestic coercion or the “buying off” of opposition.²⁶⁶ In addition, the level of international patronage bestowed upon a military establishment to advance common interests and act upon shared objectives, i.e., “transnational authoritarianism”²⁶⁷ has emerged as an important area in understanding civil-military relations in the Arab world. Analyzing each of the

²⁶¹ Derek Lutterbeck, “Arab Uprisings, Armed Forces, and Civil–Military Relations.” *Armed Forces & Society* 39, no. 1 (2013): 28-52.

²⁶² Holger Albrecht, “The Myth of Coup-proofing Risk and Instances of Military Coups d’état in the Middle East and North Africa, 1950–2013.” *Armed Forces & Society* (2014): 1-29.

²⁶³ Hicham Bou Nassif, “Wedded to Mubarak: The Second Careers and Financial Rewards of Egypt's Military Elite, 1981–2011.” *The Middle East Journal* 67, no. 4 (2013): 509-530.

²⁶⁴ Robert Springborg, “Economic Involvements of Militaries.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43, no. 03 (2011): 397-399.

²⁶⁵ Samer Soliman, *The Autumn of Dictatorship: Fiscal Crisis and Political Change in Egypt Under Mubarak*. Stanford University Press, 2011.

²⁶⁶ James Worrall, “Oman: The “Forgotten” Corner of the Arab Spring,” *Middle East Policy* 19, no. 3 (2012): 98-115; see also Marc Valeri, “Domesticating Local Elites. Sheikhs, Walis and State-Building Under Sultan Qaboos,” in *Regionalizing Oman*, pp. 267-277. Springer Netherlands, 2013.

²⁶⁷ Jason Brownlee, *Democracy Prevention: The Politics of the US-Egyptian Alliance*, Cambridge University Press, 2012.

above areas of research helps to provide context to the investigation of military decision-making during periods of political upheaval.

Theories of the relationship between coercive power and material wealth tend to fall into two analytical perspectives. Economic interconnectedness approaches view the overall strength of a state's economy as the primary indicator of military satisfaction with its economic standing, which includes such aspects as liberalization and trade. Economic benefits approaches prioritize the specific ways in which militaries are integrated into the state-level economy. This includes an analysis of military salaries, pensions, retiree benefits, housing subsidies, public health insurance, education assistance, and other benefits for service members' families.²⁶⁸ Both approaches contribute to determining military satisfaction within a state.

Before explicating the intersection of political economy and civil-military relations, it is important to understand the structural and political context of civil-military relations in the MENA region. Due to the proliferation of security forces, nonstate armed groups (NSAGs), and the widening roles of traditional militaries, existing conceptual frameworks struggle to characterize civil-military relations in the MENA region. Zeinab Abul-Magd and Elke Grawert explain that most conceptualizations evolved from a previous era's theorizing about the sociology and politics of militaries and are "informed empirically primarily by civil-military relations in Western democracies and/or Latin America."²⁶⁹ The authors contend that the fit of this theorizing has never captured the realities of the MENA region and recent developments reveal the need for revised theoretical work.²⁷⁰ Military responses to the Arab uprisings, ongoing

²⁶⁸ Shana Marshall, "Jordan's Military-Industrial Sector: Maintaining Institutional Prestige in the Era of Neoliberalism," in *Businessmen in Arms: How the Military and Other Armed Groups Profit in the MENA Region*, eds. Zeinab Abul-Magd and Elke Grawert, xi-xv (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016), p. 119.

²⁶⁹ Zeinab Abul-Magd and Elke Grawert, "Forward," in *Businessmen in Arms: How the Military and Other Armed Groups Profit in the MENA Region*, eds. Zeinab Abul-Magd and Elke Grawert, xi-xv (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016), p. xi.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

conflicts, refugee crises, resource scarcity, and the increased role of nonstate actors and major powers in regional issues all point to theoretical complexities that remain unexplored.

To address these complexities, theoretical work should first focus on the central objectives of armed forces in the MENA region. Strikingly, Abul-Magd and Grawert argue that “material growth and reward have supplanted national security as the *raison d'être* of these armed forces and their officers.”²⁷¹ Moreover, the authors assert that emerging political and class alliances of militaries continue to push the central mission of armed forces from fighting to enrichment.²⁷² Whereas Arab militaries formerly championed import-substitution industrialization, they now embrace “at least some elements of neoliberalism, including the need to forge business relationships with global economic actors, whether from the East or West.”²⁷³

This shift from national defense to economic enterprise is dramatic. In the post-colonial era, and particularly during the Cold War, Arab militaries primarily relied upon financial or material support from the United States and the Soviet Union. This support allowed Arab militaries to focus on thwarting internal and external threats to state security. Today, Arab militaries engage in a range of economic activities, which necessitates a new understanding of the relationship between the global economy and the primary mission(s) of Arab armed forces. Following the Arab Spring, regimes have increasingly relied upon the armed forces to generate revenue. Additional revenue then serves the dual purpose of strengthening the national economy and providing armed forces personnel with the economic recourses that incentivize loyalty.

²⁷¹ Abul-Magd and Grawert, “Forward,” p. xii.

²⁷² Ibid.

²⁷³ Ibid.

Economic Interconnectedness Literature

Scholarship focusing on Latin America provides insights as to how economic integration may shape civil-military relations in the Arab world. Over the last two decades, liberalization has been an important policy because it affects military integration into the economy. Governments lose a degree of control over the economy, but liberalization frequently leads to economic improvements and usually includes increasing interconnectedness between regional economies.²⁷⁴ Interconnectedness refers to the level of trade and capital flows between countries. Regarding the redemocratization that took place in Latin America during the 1990s, David Mares explores the extent to which regional interconnectedness of states' economies acted as a catalyst for democratic control of the military. Mares explains that many analysts and policymakers "perceive the historically rapid rates of [economic interconnectedness] among various groups of Latin American nations as indicative of a decreased security threat environment."²⁷⁵ With fewer internal and external threats to security, governments are free to form economic partnerships with former rival states. Economic agreements create national wealth that is then distributed among branches of the government and the general populous.

Between states, levels of economic interconnectedness fluctuate between minimal and complete. This range includes informal or merely rhetorical economic agreements, to limited functional cooperation for specific technical reasons, to more formal integration of national economies such as free trade, customs unions, common markets, economic unions, and total economic integration.²⁷⁶ Mares explains that the general theoretical logic concerning economic

²⁷⁴ For example, the North America Free Trade Agreement between the U.S., Canada, and Mexico or the European Economic Community/European Union led to marked growth for countries and regions.

²⁷⁵ David R. Mares, "Latin American Economic Integration and Democratic Control of the Military: Is There a Symbiotic Relationship?" in *Civil-Military Relations in Latin America: New Analytical Perspectives* 2001, ed. David Pion-Berlin, 223-245 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), p. 223.

²⁷⁶ Mares, "Latin American Economic Integration and Democratic Control of the Military: Is There a Symbiotic Relationship?" p. 227.

interconnectedness and international security risks stems from research on trading relationships.²⁷⁷ Essentially, trade spurs economic growth and material wealth to the parties involved. However, a security dilemma occurs when one, or both, of the parties utilize the increased revenue to invest and enhance military capabilities. In such instances, states may abandon wide-ranging economic partnerships with rival states.²⁷⁸

Mares finds that while international security threats from old rivalries decline under liberalizing integration, alternative security threats persist.²⁷⁹ Not all actors benefit equally from the increased material wealth resulting from trade agreements. Instead, the “skewed internal distribution of the benefits of economic integration may constitute the greatest threat to both further economic integration and democratic control of the military.”²⁸⁰ When the winners and losers of economic integration are citizens of the same country, competition arises that potentially pits hardline regime supporters against reform advocates. Politically, competition may result in a stalemate and make economic policies harder for the regime to implement. In matters of security, political factions may openly criticize the regime or rival groups, which may lead to a regime crackdown on opposition groups or violent confrontation between the groups themselves. In such scenarios, regimes are likely to close ranks, identify core supporters, and financially reward key constituencies.

Concerning the Middle East, the effect of economic liberalization on government control of the military reflects Mares’ findings in Latin America. In the MENA region, economic

²⁷⁷ Mares, “Latin American Economic Integration and Democratic Control of the Military: Is There a Symbiotic Relationship?” p. 226; see also, Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, *Power and Interdependence* (Boston, MA, 1977).

²⁷⁸ Mares, “Latin American Economic Integration and Democratic Control of the Military: Is There a Symbiotic Relationship?” p. 226; see also Joanne Gowa, *Allies, Adversaries, and International Trade* (Princeton University Press, 1994).

²⁷⁹ Mares, “Latin American Economic Integration and Democratic Control of the Military: Is There a Symbiotic Relationship?” p. 243.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

liberalization did not result in democratization. Rather, regimes continue to push liberalization policies in an attempt to grow their respective economies, and to the extent this occurs, the regime will direct additional revenue to key domestic supporters.²⁸¹ In Latin America, Mares contends that the combination of internal and external threats “poses the greatest challenge to democratic control of the military.”²⁸² In the Middle East, regimes have long sought to leverage internal and external threats to consolidate power over their own security apparatuses while also pointing to such threats as a reason to delay democratic reforms. Both in Latin America and the Middle East, the link between economic liberalization and government control over state security organizations remains tenuous. As a result, theoretical work should examine how regimes attempt to grow national economies and distribute the benefits among their respective societies. Economic integration by the military is related to liberalization because the overall strength of a state’s economy is the primary indicator of military satisfaction with its economic standing.

Focusing on the Middle East, there is a debate between whether or not high levels of defense spending contributes to economic growth and development. Conventional wisdom holds that large defense and wartime spending diverts resources away from productive investment and human-capital formation.²⁸³ Richards et al. explain that while this conventional wisdom may be accurate, a counterargument with respect to LDCs is that large defense outlays may stimulate economic growth. Defense expenditures contribute to growth in two ways. First, they fund heavy industry (armaments), advanced technology developments, the training of technocrats, and large-scale defense industry employment. Second, a large military establishment may garner foreign

²⁸¹ Daniel Brumberg, “The Trap of Liberalized Autocracy,” *Journal of democracy* 13, no. 4 (2002): 56-68; Glenn E. Robinson, “Defensive Democratization in Jordan,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30, no. 3 (1998): 387-410.

²⁸² Mares, “Latin American Economic Integration and Democratic Control of the Military: Is There a Symbiotic Relationship?” p. 229.

²⁸³ Alan Richards, John Waterbury, Melani Cammett, and Ishac Diwan, *A Political Economy of the Middle East*. Third Edition (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2014), p. 349.

aid and investment, thereby strengthening a state's foreign-exchange position. Referencing previous research, Richards et al. aver that defense outlays often come with high opportunity costs because they shift "resources from 'high-growth projects' that entail a reduction not only in public outlays but in dependent private outlays as well."²⁸⁴ Richards et al. conclude that there is no correlation in the MENA region between defense expenditures as a proportion of GDP and rates of economic growth.²⁸⁵ Other studies dispute these findings and argue that large defense expenditures do in fact enhance economic growth in the Middle East and Turkey.²⁸⁶ Moreover, defense sectors may be more productive than civilian sectors, likely because defense sectors utilize advanced technology more often than other sectors of the economy.²⁸⁷

To date, the lack of available and reliable economic data on the MENA region leaves the connection between defense expenditures and economic development under-examined.²⁸⁸ What is clear, however, is that irrespective of the strength of national economies, Arab states maintain disproportionately high levels of defense spending relative to budgets for other government sectors.²⁸⁹ According to the US Central Intelligence Agency, Arab states occupy nine of the top twelve positions in the global ranking of military expenditures as a percent of GDP.²⁹⁰ These rankings use data from 2014 to 2016 (the most recent available). Combined with studies that examine the pre-Arab Spring period,²⁹¹ evidence suggests regimes prioritize defense spending

²⁸⁴ Richards, Waterbury, Cammett, and Diwan, *A Political Economy of the Middle East*, pp. 349-350.

²⁸⁵ Richards, Waterbury, Cammett, and Diwan, *A Political Economy of the Middle East*, p. 350.

²⁸⁶ Jülide Yildirim, Selami Sezgin, and Nadir Öcal, "Military Expenditure and Economic Growth in Middle Eastern Countries: A Dynamic Panel Data Analysis," *Defence and Peace Economics* 16, no. 4 (2005), p. 294.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ Yildirim, Sezgin, and Öcal, "Military Expenditure and Economic Growth in Middle Eastern Countries: A Dynamic Panel Data Analysis," p. 284.

²⁸⁹ Hamid E. Ali, "Military Expenditures and Inequality in the Middle East and North Africa: A Panel Analysis," *Defence and Peace Economics* 23, no. 6 (2012): 575-589.

²⁹⁰ US Central Intelligence Agency, "CIA World Factbook: Military Expenditures," accessed May 4, 2018, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2034rank.html>.

²⁹¹ Richards, Waterbury, Cammett, and Diwan, *A Political Economy of the Middle East*, pp. 350-353.

regardless of the strength of national economies. In this context, regimes pursue economic liberalization policies in an attempt to spur economic growth. To the extent that such growth occurs, regimes can provide the armed forces with additional revenue and resources to ensure loyalty.

Economic Benefits Literature

Generous postretirement appointments and financial rewards bestowed upon military elites could also signal the degree to which militaries would potentially defect from or support a regime under public pressure. Hicham Bou Nassif explores how former Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak (in power from 1981 to 2011) used a variety of patronage mechanisms to increase the privileges of Egypt's top brass. Such mechanisms of control included appointments to governorships, ambassadorships, military advisory roles, government ministries, telecommunication and information sectors, civil aviation and airports, as well as various appointments to the bureaucracy. Egypt's massive administrative state oversaw factories, farms, production of nonmilitary equipment, and other industries.²⁹² In addition, Mubarak siphoned off money from Egypt's public budget intended for disaster management, emergency response, and other security related activities to pay military and police leaders in direct cash installments, or 'alawat wala' (literally: loyalty allowance). Over the course of his roughly 30-year tenure, Hosni Mubarak made Egypt's elite wealthy and unanswerable to the law in return for their loyalty.²⁹³

Robert Springborg has labeled this type of patronage system "Military, Inc.," i.e., where military officials manage a sprawling economic empire that directly owns companies active in

²⁹² Hicham Bou Nassif, "Wedded to Mubarak: The Second Careers and Financial Rewards of Egypt's Military Elite, 1981–2011," *The Middle East Journal* 67, no. 4 (2013): 509–530.

²⁹³ Bou Nassif, "Wedded to Mubarak: The Second Careers and Financial Rewards of Egypt's Military Elite, 1981–2011," p. 529.

the industrial, agricultural, construction, telecommunications, and service sectors.²⁹⁴ Moreover, “officer economies” come into existence as military officers, many of them retired, capitalize on their regime connections by gaining ownership of privatized state-owned enterprises or by forming companies that thrive on state contracts.²⁹⁵ Similarly, in analyzing Egypt’s political economy over the past 30 years, Samer Soliman, in *The Autumn of Dictatorship: Fiscal Crisis and Political Change in Egypt Under Mubarak*, details how the Mubarak regime’s failure to facilitate capitalist development in the country ultimately weakened the state to revolutionary forces and political change.²⁹⁶ Although published in 2011, both the Springborg and Soliman pieces suggest that Egypt’s political trajectory is highly sensitive to military involvement in the state’s political economy.

Another way to try and gauge the degree to which militaries remain loyal to regimes is by looking at the number of attempted coups. The underlying logic is that fewer coup attempts would indicate a higher level of military loyalty toward the status quo. During periods of political protest, coup-averse militaries would potentially insulate the regime from revolutionary forces. Yet, this view of military satisfaction, and the likelihood of defection or non-defection, is also problematic. Holger Albrecht explains that coups d’état is a classic indicator for measuring a military’s involvement in politics. Conventional wisdom holds that regime consolidation involves the successful application of coup-proofing by civilian incumbents. Such measures are designed to de-incentivize the overthrow of a regime by power-hungry officers.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁴ Robert Springborg, “Economic Involvements of Militaries,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43, no. 03 (2011): 397-399.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Samer Soliman, *The Autumn of Dictatorship: Fiscal Crisis and Political Change in Egypt Under Mubarak* (Stanford University Press, 2011).

²⁹⁷ Holger Albrecht, “The Myth of Coup-proofing Risk and Instances of Military Coups d’état in the Middle East and North Africa, 1950–2013,” *Armed Forces & Society* (2014), pp. 2-3.

According to Albrecht, coup-proofing typically entails fostering loyalties among officers and incumbents through ethnic, religious, and personal bonds; recruiting military personnel from privileged minorities and mercenary soldiers; counterbalancing divided security apparatuses; frequently rotating officers to preclude alternative power centers; extending patronage to the officer corps through economic privileges and opportunities for self-enrichment; and allowing the stationing of foreign troops as a means to solidify bonds with status quo oriented foreign powers.²⁹⁸ However, Albrecht finds that coup-proofing in authoritarian regimes is only partially successful because such actions merely reduce the number of coups and coup attempts. Yet, the overall risk of coup remains high as long as authoritarian rule persists.²⁹⁹ By extension, then, measuring the number of coup attempts, or efforts at coup-proofing, would both fail as reliable indicators of military satisfaction with a regime.

In sum, the previous sections identify the relevance of the following hypotheses by narrowing in on the most important determinants of military loyalty. First, the primary responsibility of Arab armed forces continues to shift from national defense to enrichment of the state. Second, regimes pursue economic liberalization policies in an effort to combat the types of economic underperformance typically observed in the MENA region. When possible, regimes allocate additional revenue toward militaries to limit dissatisfaction within security apparatuses. Third, regimes use an expansive array of institutional and individual benefits to reinforce the commitment of security personnel to the regime. These factors inform this chapter's theoretical approach and help structure the following hypotheses.

²⁹⁸ Ibid; see also James Quinlivan, "Coup-proofing. Its Practices and Consequences in the Middle East," *International Security* 24, 2 (1999): 131-165.

²⁹⁹ Albrecht, "The Myth of Coup-proofing Risk and Instances of Military Coups d'état in the Middle East and North Africa, 1950-2013," p. 2.

Hypotheses:

The above factors help to determine the different dimensions to military integration into states' economies. As noted above, regimes funnel economic revenues and other benefits to key segments of domestic and/or international support. There is a well-documented record detailing how regimes combine such patronage, either direct or indirect, with other mechanisms to guard against internal threats to power while keeping the security apparatus strong enough to maintain national defense priorities. A systematic evaluation of the potential factors that undermine or contribute to the loyalty of armed forces toward a given regime form the basis the hypotheses this chapter will assess. In the subsequent section of this paper I present three hypotheses that are associated with distinct schools of thought: (1) Political-economic; (2) Political power; and (3) Military cleavage. Examining military defection and non-defection from these perspectives will more clearly elucidate the conditions under which Arab armed forces defect from dictators to support protestors.

Political-Economic School

Building upon Barany's 2011 classification, Arab militaries are theorized to be less likely to defect from a regime under duress if a number of economic conditions are met. According to Barany, a state that pays its soldiers generously will be more likely to receive enthusiastic protection.³⁰⁰ Similarly, scholars have argued that troops who receive economic or political benefits from the regime are less likely to defect.³⁰¹ However, as an important qualification,

³⁰⁰ Barany, "Comparing the Arab Revolts: The Role of the Military," p. 29.

³⁰¹ Sharon Erickson Nepstad, "Mutiny and Nonviolence in the Arab Spring Exploring Military Defections and Loyalty in Egypt, Bahrain, and Syria," *Journal of Peace Research* 50, no. 3 (2013), p. 337.

even the most underprivileged troops are unlikely to defect if they believe that the state is strong enough to withstand a major civilian uprising.³⁰²

Hypothesis 1: *If the military is well integrated into the political economy of the state, then it will be less likely to defect.*

Political Power School

Philippe Droz-Vincent explains that transitions are very specific moments in the political development of a given polity.³⁰³ Additional scholars contend that such moments represent critical junctures,³⁰⁴ or watershed events that destabilize existing political order and produce tremendous moments of uncertainty that are distinct from preceding authoritarian politics.³⁰⁵ Droz-Vincent further argues that whatever the institutional weight of the military, the massive political void left by the collapse of authoritarian regimes cannot be entirely filled by the military. After decades of authoritarian stasis, regime collapses are complex processes that aim to reinstate political life, and in the context of uncertainty and historical legacies of repression, “the very context of transition is highly inhospitable to military rule.”³⁰⁶

Hypothesis 2: *If the military perceives it is not losing political power, then it will be less likely to defect.*

Military Cleavage School

Political Science literature focuses much attention on sectarian cleavages with regards to political competition and political conflict.³⁰⁷ On the one hand, scholars argue that the political

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ Philippe Droz-Vincent, “Prospects for “Democratic Control of the Armed Forces”? Comparative Insights and Lessons for the Arab World in Transition,” *Armed Forces & Society* (2013), p. 704.

³⁰⁴ David Collier, *Shaping the Political Arena*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press (2002).

³⁰⁵ Nancy Bermeo, “Surprise, Surprise: Lessons from 1989 and 1991,” in *Liberalization and Democratization*, ed. Nancy Bermeo (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992): 178-201.

³⁰⁶ Droz-Vincent, “Prospects for “Democratic Control of the Armed Forces”? Comparative Insights and Lessons for the Arab World in Transition,” p. 704.

³⁰⁷ Frederic M. Wehrey, *Sectarian Politics in the Gulf: From the Iraq War to the Arab Uprisings* (Columbia

salience of sectarian cleavage (particularly with regards to cultural differences) depends not on the nature of the cleavage itself, but rather on the size of the groups it defines and whether or not it will be an asset for political competition.³⁰⁸ In this structural perspective, political leaders attempt to mobilize sectarian groups once they are large enough to constitute viable coalitions in the competition for political power.³⁰⁹

Other approaches to understanding sectarianism in the Middle East emphasize the cultural and historical dimensions of sectarianism and contend that sectarianism is the enduring default option in many Middle Eastern countries.³¹⁰ This analysis suggests a certain immutability of sectarianism, and that Shiite-Sunni tensions, for example, are here to stay, although their relevance appears to rise and fall with the vicissitudes of the region's politics.³¹¹ Recent uprisings in the Middle East and North Africa have shed new light on the importance of sectarianism in Arab militaries, and whether or not the presence of sectarianism impacts military behavior during periods of widespread political upheaval. Indeed, support is building for the hypothesis that militaries that are free from internal cleavages (e.g., sectarian or class-based divisions, or over regime performance) should defend the established political order.³¹²

A brief example not utilized in this chapter is Syria in which sectarian identity figured into the military's decision to stand firm behind Assad's Ba'th Party dictatorship.³¹³ Members of the minority Alawite sect have long dominated the Syrian office corps, at least since 1955, when

University Press, 2013); Fouad Ajami, "Arab Spring at One: A Year of Living Dangerously," *Foreign Affairs*. 91 (2012), p. 66.

³⁰⁸ Daniel N. Posner, "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas Are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 98, No. 4 (November 2004), p. 529.

³⁰⁹ Posner, "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas Are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi," p. 530.

³¹⁰ Joshua Teitelbaum, "Review of Sectarian Politics in the Gulf: From the Iraq War to the Arab Uprisings," *Middle East Quarterly* (2014).

³¹¹ Ibid.

³¹² Barany, "Comparing the Arab Revolts: The Role of the Military," p. 29.

³¹³ Barany, "Comparing the Arab Revolts: The Role of the Military," p. 36.

Alawites increased control over the military section of the Ba'th Party.³¹⁴ Currently, the Alawite-led regime faces a vast insurgency that stems primarily from the Sunni majority. In the wake of the Arab uprisings, Syria has arguably suffered the worst violence with President Bashar al-Assad empowering his own Alawite community and other minority groups in order to marginalize the Sunni majority.³¹⁵ Syrian military decision-making appears to be highly sensitive to sectarian factors both domestically, and the military is highly unlikely to defect from the regime for a number of reasons.³¹⁶ The primarily Alawite military leadership benefits from a privileged position in Syrian politics and society while the officers largely consider the Assad regime and Ba'th Party to be legitimate.³¹⁷

Sectarianism in the Syrian military is further complicated by Assad's use of irregular military forces. Berti and Paris aver that Assad has dangerously strengthened the sectarian dimension of the conflict by relying on paramilitary "self-defense" groups that primarily originate from Alawite communities.³¹⁸ These paramilitary forces (referred to as shabiha by the opposition)³¹⁹ have reportedly perpetrated massacres and atrocities to "defend" the regime, which has resulted in greater Sunni resentment against the regime and the larger Alawite community. Syria stands out as a strong example that sectarian cleavages within the military heavily factor into how military leaders select to remain loyal to, or defect from, a regime under pressure.

³¹⁴ Ibid; see also Martin Kramer, "Syria's Alawis and Shi'ism," in idem, ed., *Shi'ism, Resistance, and Revolution* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1987), pp. 237-54; Hanna Batatu, "Some Observations on the Social Roots of Syria's Ruling Military Group and the Causes for Its Dominance," *Middle East Journal* 35 (Summer 1981), pp. 331-44.

³¹⁵ Daniel Byman, "Sectarianism Afflicts the New Middle East," *Survival* 56, no. 1 (2014), p. 80.

³¹⁶ Barany, "Comparing the Arab Revolts: The Role of the Military," p. 36; see also Anthony Shadid, "Syrian Forces Shoot at Protesters Trying to Break Siege of town in 'Friday of Rage,'" *New York Times*, April 30, 2011, A8.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ Benedetta Berti and Jonathan Paris, "Beyond Sectarianism: Geopolitics, Fragmentation, and the Syrian Civil War," *Strategic Assessment* 16, no. 4 (2014), p. 25.

³¹⁹ For a basic overview, see "Syria Unrest: Who are the Shabiha?" *BBC News*, May 29, 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-14482968>.

Hypothesis 3: *If the military lacks internal sectarian cleavages (e.g., ethnic, religious, or class-based differences), then it will be less likely to defect.*

Methodology and Case Selection

This chapter will utilize comparative case studies and process tracing to determine the causal mechanism between the independent variables (political economy, perception of power, and cleavages) and the dependent variable (defection). Scott Sagan noted his use of case studies was to answer the question: “Which theory provides better predictions of what happened and more compelling explanations of why it happened?”³²⁰ Case studies are appropriate tools for testing theories if the theories are already well developed, and this chapter will test already well-established theories in civil military relations to understand “why defection happens.” Therefore, the point of testing the civil-military relations theories is to broaden their applicability beyond Latin American countries. In addition, Barbara Geddes argued scholars can make valid inferences from a smaller sample size, and with specific research objectives and appropriate theoretical focus, case studies contribute to theory development.³²¹

Comparative political research typically does not draw upon grand theories and research programs as is often the case in international relations research.³²² Rather, comparative politics typically requires different research orientations and approaches to formulate theories, such as strategic choice models, state-centric approaches, patron-client models, and theories of international dependency, among others.³²³ In this respect, comparative case studies are useful in

³²⁰ Scott D. Sagan, *The Limits of Safety: Organizations Accidents, and Nuclear Weapons* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).

³²¹ Barbara Geddes, “How the Cases You Chose Affect the Answers You Get: Selection Bias in Comparative Politics,” *Political Analysis*, 2 (1990), p. 135; Alexander L. George & Andrew Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in The Social Sciences* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005), p. 70.

³²² James Mahoney, “Qualitative Methodology and Comparative Politics,” *Comparative Political Studies* 40, no. 2, (2007), p. 124.

³²³ Ibid.

deriving new hypotheses and refining theoretical approaches to research programs. Alexander George and Andrew Bennett argue that case studies provide “powerful advantages in the heuristic identification of new variables and hypotheses through the study of deviant or outlier cases and in the course of field work—such as archival research and interviews with participants, area experts, and historians.”³²⁴ In essence, when a case study researcher asks a participant “were you thinking X when you did Y,” and gets the response, “No, I was thinking Z,” then the researcher may have a new causally relevant variable that should be considered.³²⁵ Thus, if a researcher asks the same question of various participants and gets entirely different responses, there may be an opportunity to “develop new theories that can be tested through previously unexamined evidence.”³²⁶ For example, the relevant literature on civil-military relations first used case studies to develop the proposition that the economic integration of armed forces increases the likelihood of loyalty and stability. Then the researchers empirically tested the previously unconsidered variable (economic integration) to affirm the proposition (integration leading to loyalty). Robert Springborg’s 2011 study of the economic involvements of militaries and Hicham Bou Nassif’s 2013 study of Egypt did just this.

One methodological problem with comparative case studies is equifinality, i.e., “the possibility that there may be multiple pathways leading to the same outcome.”³²⁷ However, process tracing mitigates this problem by drawing a line between the cause and effect.³²⁸ The political reality of countries—influenced by history, culture, and economics—means there are potentially a vast array of possible independent variables. Therefore, causal inferences from

³²⁴ George and Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in The Social Sciences*, p. 20.

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ George and Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in The Social Sciences*, pp. 20-21.

³²⁷ Andrew Bennett and Jeffrey T. Checkel, “Process Tracing: From Philosophical Roots to Best Practices,” in *Process Tracing: From Metaphor to Analytic Tool*, eds. Andrew Bennett and Jeffrey T Checkel (Cambridge University Press. 2015), p. 4.

³²⁸ George and Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in The Social Sciences*, p. 206-07.

small-n comparative case studies can become problematic. However, process tracing reduces this problem because it entails assessing and identifying the causal chain that links the independent variable and the dependent variable. Methodologically, process tracing works by establishing a detailed narrative of historical and contemporary events from which the researcher may identify causal links between events and develop a causal explanation.³²⁹ This means to test the hypotheses in the chapter, the analysis will both compare the cases available and show in each case how the independent variable(s) lead to defection or non-defection. In addition, through comparative analysis and process tracing, a typology will emerge that describes how the independent variable(s) lead to defection or loyalty.

Interviews are a key tool used in process tracing. After testable hypotheses for theory building are established, quantitative methods can be used. Yet studying civil-military relations in the MENA region with a large-n quantitative methodology is almost impossible. There is a lack of cross-national quantitative data, paucity of data within countries, and data that is available is not reliable when it comes to the Middle East and North Africa. These limitations obstruct the utility of quantitative analysis. To overcome such obstacles, interviews provide substantial amounts of data that can be used to test hypotheses and identify potential causal mechanisms. Julia Lynch explains that researchers engaged in process tracing “ideally would like to be able to make the argument that they have interviewed individuals who can inform them about the full range of relevant events that happened in the world.”³³⁰ When people make decisions, typically only the outcome is known to other people or society, but the “why” of a decision is what matters. Individuals will often have different identities and motivations that

³²⁹ George and Bennet, *Case Studies and Theory Development in The Social Sciences*, pp. 210-11.

³³⁰ Julia Lynch, “Aligning Sampling Strategies with Analytic Goals,” in *Interview Research in Political Science*, ed. Layna Mosley (Cornell University Press, 2013), p. 39.

color how they make decisions. By interviewing multiple people from differing socio-economic backgrounds, professions, and ideologies, this chapter aims to ascertain the factors that shaped decision-making during the Arab Spring.

Choosing the appropriate case studies for comparative analysis and process tracing can be problematic due to biases of histories and restricted available information. However, despite these limitations case studies still elucidate causal mechanisms applicable to policy problems and other cases.³³¹ The best comparative cases would have all variables in common except for one, but the real-world cases available prevent the ideal scenario. Differences also allow the test to follow Harry Eckstein's understanding of "tough tests" in which most likely and least likely cases to determine outcomes are included.³³² Such an approach is methodologically sound when focusing on a singular phenomenon, in this instance defection of the military,³³³ and the chosen cases should explain the causal conditions and factors of the outcome in order to test the hypotheses.³³⁴ Finally, comparative case studies are an important tool for testing hypotheses regarding macropolitical phenomena coterminous with the nation-state, which in the MENA region includes the military. With these issues in mind, this chapter will use the cases of Jordan, Tunisia, Oman, and Egypt that offer similar circumstances to curb variation while having enough differences to cover the variety of countries in the Middle East and North Africa. Certain

³³¹ T.J. McKeown, "Case Studies and the Limits of the Quantitative Worldview," in *Rethinking Social Inquiry: Diverse Tools, Shared Standards*, eds. H.E. Brady & D. Collier, 139-168 (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 2004); Stephen Van Evera, *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997).

³³² Harry Eckstein, "Case Studies in Political Science," in *Handbook of Political Science*, eds. Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby, Vol. 7 (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1975), p. 118.

³³³ George and Bennet, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, p. 69.

³³⁴ C.C. Ragin, "Turning The Tables: How Case-Oriented Research Challenges Variable-Oriented Research," in *Rethinking Social Inquiry: Diverse Tools, Shared Standards*, 139-168, eds. Brady and Collier (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2004).

structural, social, and economic differences between the four countries make defection more and less plausible for each country, which establishes the framework to test the hypotheses.

Tunisia and Egypt experienced revolutionary forces that would ultimately remove the authoritarian ruler and install a democratic government. Of Arab militaries, Egypt has the largest and most powerful, primarily because of backing from the United States and the size of its population. Furthermore, the peace deal between Israel and Egypt keeps interstate conflict limited, so the loyalty of the military to the political regime that maintains that peace makes Egypt's civil-military relations more important. Other country cases experienced the Arab Spring differently. Tunisia represents the only successful case of democratic transition stemming from the Arab Spring. The country had tangible democratic gains and has not descended into internecine conflict like its neighbors. In addition, Tunisia has a connection to European history and culture that incorporates French conceptualizations of politics and governance. This makes Tunisia an important case for civil-military relations.

Oman and Jordan are both monarchies, but the dynasties differ in their governance histories. The current Sultanate of Oman dates to 1861, although the larger sultanate from which it came goes back centuries. On the other hand, Jordan's emirate was a 20th century creation, and the Hashemites only really gained control of the state in 1946. Another key difference between Oman and the other cases is that its economy is almost exclusively dependent upon hydrocarbons. The other states all have diverse economies. Jordan is also the most important choice as a case study because if stability is sought after by governments, then it is representative of the direction other countries in the region are likely to take. There are multiple factors that contribute to this as the primary case study which include: political legitimacy, the nature of Hashemite rule, the lack of natural resources while still having economic growth, support from

the international community, and social cleavages that did not spread into the military organization. Oman and Jordan's militaries remained loyal to the political leadership, unlike Tunisia and Egypt.

There are many differences between republics and monarchies, but these differences are typically about governance and policy making. The strand of thought that connects most regimes in the Middle East and North Africa is authoritarianism in a variety of ways, including monarchical, sultanistic, republican, and dictatorial governments.³³⁵ Because these regimes, especially the ones discussed in this chapter, are all authoritarian by their nature. These differences can matter for social and security policies. For example, the anti-austerity protests that started in early June 2018 were limited because King Abdullah II was able to blame the prime minister for the policy changes, which moved criticism away from the monarchy. President Mubarak or President Ali were unlikely to have this capacity to shift blame because they are the policy makers. However, this is ultimately irrelevant for military loyalty and defection based on economic integration, political power, and cleavages. Philosophical and policy-making differences are not pertinent variables for understanding integration of the military in economies or loyalty to regimes. Other studies have looked at the differences between monarchies and republics, and the research largely finds that this distinction provides only limited explanatory power for the outcomes of complex socio-political and economic events.³³⁶

³³⁵ Russell E. Lucas, "Monarchical Authoritarianism: Survival and Political Liberalization in a Middle Eastern Regime Type," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 36 (2004), pp. 103-119.

³³⁶ For further reading, see: Mamoun Fandy, *Saudi Arabia and the Politics of Dissent* (New York: Palgrave, 1999); Michael Herb, *All in the Family: Absolutism, Revolution, and Democracy in the Middle Eastern Monarchies* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999); Joseph A. Kechichian, *Succession in Saudi Arabia* (New York: Palgrave, 2001). Joseph Kostiner, ed., *Middle East Monarchies: The Challenge of Modernity* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000); Joseph A. Massad, *Colonial Effects: The Making of National Identity in Jordan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); Mary Ann Tetreault, *Stories of Democracy: Politics and Society in Contemporary Kuwait* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

Another difference in these cases are the size and scale of the protests, but this difference is also not a relevant explanatory variable for loyalty to regimes. Any protest against an authoritarian regime threatens the stability of the country and power of the sovereign. If any group of citizens in an authoritarian regime mobilizes against the government, then the regime will lose credibility and/or power. This is why even small protests must be neutralized as quickly as possible. For example, the Arab Spring started with the protest of a single individual engaging in self-immolation, or the smaller protests in Bahrain almost brought down the regime until Saudi Arabia's intervention. There are other such examples in the modern history Europe and Latin American.³³⁷ Because of the relatively fragile nature of authoritarian regimes, the monarch, president, or dictator cannot tolerate smaller protests. As such, the cases are comparable because authoritarian regimes often worry about any dissent within their political system and will attempt to handle the problem.

Besides the availability of current information and relevant variables for each selected case, the other possible cases for selection have too many factors that would prevent effective comparison. David Collier and James Mahoney contend that case study researchers sometimes have good reasons to narrow the range of cases studied, particularly when attempting to identify heterogeneous causal relations.³³⁸ Similar to Nepstad's approach to studying defection during the Arab Spring, this chapter excludes a number of cases because "one cannot capture the complex dynamics of civil resistance and mutiny in all these countries."³³⁹ Focusing on country cases that

³³⁷ Such examples include Poland, Hungary, Mexico, Chile, Argentina, and Panama.

³³⁸ David Collier and James Mahoney, "Insights and Pitfalls: Selection Bias in Qualitative Research," *World Politics*, Vol. 49, No. 1 (October 1996), pp. 56-91; see also George and Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in The Social Sciences*, p. 84.

³³⁹ Nepstad, "Mutiny and Nonviolence in The Arab Spring: Exploring Military Defections and Loyalty in Egypt, Bahrain, and Syria," p. 341.

lack overly complex intervening variables allows for a more systematic evaluation of potential causal relationships.

Case Studies

Analyzing pro-reform movements in the Middle East and North Africa requires a systematic evaluation of the potential factors that undermine or contribute to the loyalty of armed forces toward a given regime. In a previous section of this paper I presented three hypotheses that are associated with distinct schools of thought: (1) Political-economic; (2) Political power; and (3) Military cleavage. As such, this section evaluates the chapter's three hypotheses regarding military loyalty in Jordan, Tunisia, Oman, and Egypt. Depending on the context, the following analysis assumes that each hypothesis may be at least partially correct. Military defection and non-defection likely occur for a multiplicity of reasons and a military's economic standing, political power, and ethnic composition may all play a role in decision-making. Therefore, in order to evaluate the veracity of each hypothesis, this section assesses the strengths and weaknesses of each claim relative to each country and its respective context. Ultimately, this section hopes to identify the strongest hypothesis in order to explain military loyalty and defection across the four country cases.

Case Study: Jordan

This section examines Jordan as the central case study to assess the three hypotheses and determine the explanatory power of the variables. To do so, the section includes historical information and original interview data from fieldwork in Jordan. Interview material offers detailed information on the nature of Jordan's economy, direct benefits of military service, and

post-career or retirement perks of working for the security apparatus. Evidence suggests that economic rewards and incentives play a key role in actors' calculations about whether or not to remain loyal to or defect from a regime. To assess the impact of material rewards and incentives on military loyalty, the following section draws upon relevant literature and interviews conducted in Jordan from April—October 2017.³⁴⁰

Social and Economic Foundations of Monarchy

A brief survey of Jordan's social and economic development helps bring into focus military integration into Jordan's modern economy. Since gaining independence in 1946, Jordan has confronted a number of unique and sustained challenges to its stability. Various conflicts the country was connected to or participated in include the Arab-Israel wars (1948, 1956, 1967, and 1973) Iran-Iraq War (1980-88), Gulf War I (1991),³⁴¹ Gulf War II (2003-2011), the Arab uprisings (2010-ongoing), and the Syrian Civil War (2011-ongoing). In many cases, Jordan absorbed refugees, addressed quickly-moving diplomatic crises and shifting alliances, and adjusted economic policy to respond to uncertain security and investment conditions. Under such pressures, how has Jordan's monarchy managed to retain power in a highly volatile region? Historically, consistent unrest directly affected Jordan's economic security and led prominent scholars to question how Hashemite Jordan was "able to weather the high tide of Arab Radicalism, despite its lack of oil-wealth or independent financial means, and its location in the

³⁴⁰ All interviews were conducted anonymously. As a condition of University of Tennessee Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval, all respondents were retired and/or non-institutionally affiliated at the time of the interviews. This allowed respondents to answer sensitive security-related questions more freely than otherwise would have been possible had they been active duty service members or institutionally affiliated.

³⁴¹ Alan Cowell, "War in the Gulf: Jordan; Jordanian Ends Neutrality, Assailing Allied War Effort," *New York Times*, February 7, 1991, accessed January 22, 2018, <http://www.nytimes.com/1991/02/07/world/war-in-the-gulf-jordan-jordanian-ends-neutrality-assailing-allied-war-effort.html>.

very vortex of the Arab-Israeli conflict?”³⁴² To “weather the high tide,” King Hussein drew upon the institutional and economic resources that were inherited from colonial rule, or a product of active reform.³⁴³ This approach stands in contrast to other historical analyses that attribute Jordan’s stability to King Hussein’s famed intelligence, ideological appeal, and diplomatic skills. In assessing the durability of Hashemite Jordan, Tariq Tell argues that the “received wisdom on Hussein’s kingdom neglects the political economy that underpins Hashemite rule....”³⁴⁴

The historical evolution of Jordan’s entitlement programs also sheds light on Jordan’s current political economy. Tell asserts that the “Hashemite Compact” lies at the center of the monarchy’s resilience. The “Hashemite Compact” is a monarchical social pact that exchanged political loyalty for the material resources required for the “survival strategies” of the Bedouin (literally, dwellers of the steppe) and *fellahin* (cultivators) of Trans-Jordan.³⁴⁵ The resources offered by the monarchy include an assortment of “extended entitlements” such as “economic assets, social claims, and productive resources, whose utility is gauged by the tenets of risk-averse moral economists concerned, above all, with socioeconomic security.”³⁴⁶

Therefore, it is misleading to interpret Jordanian society and Jordan’s economic development through outdated dualities of modernization theory that misrepresent East Bank society as “a timeless mosaic, subdivided along ethnic, religious, and tribal lines.”³⁴⁷ Instead, the monarchy’s ability to allocate resources to key political constituencies, balance the interests of different tribes, and protect vulnerable segments of the population from conflict and harsh environmental conditions ultimately structured Jordan’s economic development. The monarchy’s

³⁴² Tariq Moraiwed Tell, *The Social and Economic Origins of Monarchy in Jordan* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 5.

³⁴³ Ibid.

³⁴⁴ Tell, *The Social and Economic Origins of Monarchy in Jordan*, p. 132.

³⁴⁵ Tell, *The Social and Economic Origins of Monarchy in Jordan*, p. 30; p. 132.

³⁴⁶ Tell, *The Social and Economic Origins of Monarchy in Jordan*, p. 132.

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

system of patronage was dynamic, responsive to shifting alliances, and negotiated between the regime and the people with few intermediaries. This historical background helps to frame Jordan's economic development and the integration of Jordan's military into the state economy.

Although Hashemite rule boasts a history of sophisticated patronage, the disbursement of material incentives for continued loyalty is changing as result of globalization and neoliberalism. Similar to many developing country militaries, the Jordanian Armed Forces' original responsibility was to identify and undercut potential rivals to the regime.³⁴⁸ This role later expanded as the Jordanian Armed Forces became a main source of employment in Jordan's economy.³⁴⁹ In the 1950s, the Jordanian military was the second largest employer after the agricultural sector. Between 1961 and 1975, military employees increased threefold and made up one-fourth of the domestic labor force.³⁵⁰ More recently, Shana Marshall argues that as global development and neoliberal policies resulted in decreased state-led investment and industrialization, the Jordanian government increased support for the military to maintain its prestige (and the loyalty of its officers). During the early 1990s, Marshall explains that patronage policies grew to include salary increases for defense and security personnel, larger pensions, housing subsidies, retiree benefits, and the consolidation of existing benefits related to public health insurance, higher education, and subsidized military co-ops.³⁵¹ Moreover, the proliferation

³⁴⁸ Shana Marshall, "Jordan's Military-Industrial Sector: Maintaining Institutional Prestige in the Era of Neoliberalism," in *Businessmen in Arms: How the Military and Other Armed Groups Profit in the MENA Region*, eds. Zeinab Abul-Magd and Elke Grawert, xi-xv (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016), p. 119; see also Vatikiotis, Panayiotis Jerasimof. *Politics and the Military in Jordan: A Study of the Arab Legion, 1921-1957*. Vol. 4. Routledge (2017).

³⁴⁹ Shana Marshall, "Jordan's Military-Industrial Complex and the Middle East's New Model Army." *Middle East Report* 267 (2013): 42-45.

³⁵⁰ Marshall, "Jordan's Military-Industrial Sector: Maintaining Institutional Prestige in the Era of Neoliberalism." p. 119; see also Anne Marie Baylouny, *Privatizing Welfare in the Middle East: Kin Mutual Aid Associations in Jordan and Lebanon* (Indiana University Press, 2010), p. 53; see also Antoun, Richard T. *Arab Village: A Social Structural Study of a Transjordanian Peasant Community*. No. 29 (Indiana University Press, 1972).

³⁵¹ Marshall, "Jordan's Military-Industrial Sector: Maintaining Institutional Prestige in the Era of Neoliberalism." p. 119; see also Baylouny, *Privatizing Welfare in the Middle East*, pp. 57-58.

of state-funded benefits for military personnel mirrors the diversification of private-sector benefits for military retirees. Interview responses clarify the complexity and expansion of such benefits and add detail to the range of perks that lie at the heart of military loyalty.

Jordanian Security Forces and the National Economy

The size of the Jordanian Armed Forces and its relationship to the Jordanian economy is well known to security professionals and civilians alike. A respondent for this study, who is a former credit analyst, characterized the military as a “foundation” of the economy with “a lot of manpower, equipment, and free time that allows the military to make a lot of projects...[the military] gets special treatment.”³⁵² A former junior officer in the Jordanian Army echoed this sentiment and affirmed that the “Army is one of the largest employers in Jordan.”³⁵³ However, because the Jordanian Armed Forces’ budgets are secret, it is difficult to discern the extent to which the government directly subsidizes the military.³⁵⁴ Still, interview responses confirm the strength of the civil-military relationship in economic terms. A former surveillance and cyber security expert explained that the “army and government work well together but that this distinction is blurry in Jordan. They’re not that distinct and separate; the lines blur.”³⁵⁵ Moreover, there is a “co-dependence between the regime and status quo socio-economic structure of the country. They work together because they have to; they’re part of a whole.”³⁵⁶

Other respondents verify the symbiotic relationship between the armed forces and government. Regarding the intelligence sector, a former intelligence officer stated that

³⁵² Author interview with former credit analyst, Amman, Jordan, May 12, 2017.

³⁵³ Author interview with former junior officer (JA), Amman, Jordan, April 25, 2017.

³⁵⁴ Marshall, “Jordan’s Military-Industrial Sector: Maintaining Institutional Prestige in the Era of Neoliberalism.” p. 120.

³⁵⁵ Author interview with former surveillance and cyber security specialist, Amman, Jordan, July 19, 2017.

³⁵⁶ Ibid.

“Jordanian Intelligence has a good relationship with the king” and that intelligence officers “work 24 hours, love the king, and the employees are not bored.” Furthermore, Jordanian Intelligence officials “give a lot to the country” and that “all the safety and security is because of Jordanian Intelligence.”³⁵⁷ This statement reflects a broader trend in interview responses that often stress high levels of worker satisfaction despite a widespread acknowledgement that salaries are relatively low. In this context, other respondents frame military involvement in the economy differently. A retired military officer in the Jordanian Army explained that the military “does not have direct role in the economy. The army is a separate entity. The army’s budget doesn’t even come from the government.”³⁵⁸ Instead, the respondent said that the army is “only focused on defense of the borders” unless a disaster strikes and then the army responds to assist the population with food, supplies, and medical care. Such assistance is considered the “hand of the king.”³⁵⁹

Given the secrecy surrounding the armed forces’ budget, scholars look to other economic indicators to trace the contours of the military-industrial sector. Marshall argues that although the armed forces’ budgets are secret, there remain “a handful of highly visible commercial enterprises and key export deals [that] might help us determine whether these business operations are a smokescreen for continued subsidies.”³⁶⁰ Such subsidies reveal not only how governments are altering their patronage policies to address budgetary pressures but also indicate a broader diversification of patronage mechanisms.³⁶¹ Multiple interview respondents referred to “special projects” where military integration into the economy becomes difficult to evaluate. For

³⁵⁷ Author interview with former intelligence officer, Amman, Jordan, June 6, 2017.

³⁵⁸ Author interview with former military officer (JA), Amman, Jordan, July 10, 2017.

³⁵⁹ Ibid.

³⁶⁰ Marshall, “Jordan’s Military-Industrial Sector: Maintaining Institutional Prestige in the Era of Neoliberalism,” p. 120.

³⁶¹ Ibid.

example, a former journalist affirmed the existence of “lots of special projects” and that one particular construction project may have been directed at generating profits for the military.³⁶² Although unconfirmed, the journalist recounted a large plot of land that was originally intended for development as an intelligence compound but instead was converted to \$300 million luxurious mall and hotel complex in the Abdali neighborhood in Amman. The respondent said that the military may have been involved with the acquisition and development of the land, and therefore the profits as well.³⁶³

Other military projects are more visible and verifiable. For instance, many defense projects are funneled through the King Abdullah II Design and Development Bureau (KADDB), an independent government entity within the Jordan Armed Forces. According to the organization’s website, KADDB aims to become a global defense and security research and development hub in the Middle East region.³⁶⁴ According to promotional literature and recent research, the Jordanian Armed Forces have engaged in partnerships with at least twenty-six foreign defense companies to produce a range of products such as prepackaged field rations, boots, backpack-portable drones, armored vehicles, and modified light gunships.³⁶⁵ Marshall categorizes the range of KADDB’s operations into five business clusters, including automotive and industrial, troop products, electronics, arms and ammunition, and supplementary.³⁶⁶ At the

³⁶² Author interview with former journalist/field producer, Amman, Jordan, June 13, 2017.

³⁶³ Ibid.

³⁶⁴ King Abdullah II Design and Development Bureau (KADDB), accessed January 23, 2018.
<http://www.kaddd.com/en-us/>.

³⁶⁵ Marshall, “Jordan’s Military-Industrial Sector: Maintaining Institutional Prestige in the Era of Neoliberalism,” p. 120.

³⁶⁶ Marshall, “Jordan’s Military-Industrial Sector: Maintaining Institutional Prestige in the Era of Neoliberalism,” pp. 120-121. She fully describes it as: “Automotive and industrial (vehicle armoring and assembly, unmanned aircraft, patrol boats and robots designed to detect and dismantle bombs, precision machining, metal fabrication); troop products (body armor, helmets, tactical footwear, packaged field rations); electronics and electro optics (night vision, thermal imaging systems, sensors, radar); arms and ammunition (antitank grenade launchers, side arms, small caliber ammunition); and supplementary (mostly security-related service provision for the private sector, including banks, critical infrastructure, VIP protection details)...In addition to traditional military hardware, KADDB also produces equipment designed for internal policing requirements such as riot control, reconnaissance, and

national level, the government directly integrates the Jordanian Armed Forces into the economy through organizations like KADDB. These efforts are supported by King Abdullah II and reflect the continued expansion into international defense contracts and private-sector partnerships.

Direct Benefits of Military Service

The efforts of the Jordanian government to integrate the military into the national economy parallel efforts to satisfy the economic expectations and needs of individual service members. A former intelligence officer stated that military benefits apply to two kinds of people. First, wealthy and/or well-connected service members may assist their relatives in gaining promotions or prestigious positions in the government. The respondent cited the transfer of Prime Minister positions from father to son. For example, although not discussed during the interview, Samir Al-Rifai, his son Zaid Al-Rifai, and grandson Samir Zaid al-Rifai, all served as Jordan's Prime Minister at various points from 1944-2011, with the elder two serving multiple terms, respectively. The respondent cited instances where "generations pass along power to younger generations" as examples of military benefits.³⁶⁷ Second, military benefits apply to poorer segments of the Jordanian population. For instance, "a passport department employees who makes a maximum of \$500 USD per month and has a low level of education may not receive a large salary, but the medical benefits are big and important."³⁶⁸ In addition, "lower-class" military personnel may share "fatigues, clothing, and food with his family." Such

surveillance—all in particularly high demand in Jordan's neighboring states." See also "Jordan's Part in the Global Security Industry," *WorldFolio*, December 2014, <http://www.worldfolio.com/interviews/ahmad-al-sallakh-ceo-of-kaddb-investment-group-jordan/3344/>.

³⁶⁷ Author interview with former intelligence officer (JI), Amman, Jordan, June 4, 2017.

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

individuals “might work for the military for 16 years and then retire and work another job; for example, private sector security, mall security, etc.”³⁶⁹

The benefits of military service also extend to housing, cars, travel perks, loan privileges, access to healthcare, and non-material incentives such as respect from one’s community.

Regarding high-ranking officials, a former intelligence officer remarked that if an individual becomes a lieutenant benefits begin to open up. Salaries increase, and cars can be purchased with reduced or no taxation. For example, “a coronel gets two cars, housing, benefits from specialized training courses, and a per diem if he goes abroad. Plus reputation is big; people respect you, which can help with marriage.”³⁷⁰ Another former intelligence officer commented that working for Jordanian Intelligence is better than any other government or security department, stating “it is a good life working with intelligence.”³⁷¹ This same interviewee acknowledged the limitations of intelligence service but overall characterized the benefits in a positive light. The respondent explained that the salary for the military is low and military personnel deserve more compensation. For example, “military salary is 300 JD [Jordanian Dinar] per month but they deserve 600 JD.” Still, “King Hussein put Abdullah II as a soldier so that people know he is one of them. In the end, the military has a good relationship with the people. The Military watches out for us. We like them. We support them. We know they will never be against us.”³⁷²

Armed forces service members also benefit from special access to loans and finance opportunities. A former credit analyst commented that the military receives “very special treatment” and that “if a member of the military wants a loan, he gets it.”³⁷³ The interviewee

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

³⁷¹ Author interview with former intelligence officer, Amman, Jordan, June 6, 2017.

³⁷² Ibid.

³⁷³ Author interview with former credit analyst, Amman, Jordan, May 12, 2017.

clarified that military loans (i.e., loans to military personnel) are backed by the government. As a result, military members have special approval criteria unavailable to Jordanian civilians. That is, a member of the military may be approved for a loan with lower capital requirements than a civilian with similar financial assets. Moreover, the former credit analyst explained that there are “special products we can market and sell to the military. Not just my bank, every bank.”³⁷⁴ The respondent concluded that these benefits, along with opportunities to travel, get education, and receive special treatment make the army the “best public-sector job.”³⁷⁵

A retired police officer expanded on the loan benefits available to security service members and added details to the process. Concerning housing, the respondent explained

Police members’ names are online and when it’s your turn you get a loan. Loans are repaid over 20 years. The amount used to be 20,000 JD but now it’s 30,000 JD. For example, I pay 56 JD per month on my loan. This is for officers. For non-officers it is less because they have lower salaries and can’t pay that amount back. For non-officers, the amount is a little more than half that allowed for officers (roughly 15,000 JD).³⁷⁶

The retired police officer gave additional details regarding healthcare benefits. For instance, “if a policeman begins service with a 100% physical health exam, but then retires with only 40%, then his children have additional education benefits because the father can no longer work at the same rate.”³⁷⁷ The respondent explained a unique dimension of this benefit from a personal perspective. The respondent stated that “my [child] got an 80% on [their] *Tawjihi*” (or General Secondary Educational Certification Exam)³⁷⁸ and that “ordinarily, [they] would not be eligible to enter the Engineering major with this score.” However, because of the respondent’s retirement

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ Author interview with retired police officer, Amman, Jordan, September 26, 2017.

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ Administered by the Ministry of Higher Education, the General Secondary Educational Certification Exam (*Tawjihi*) plays a large role in determining student eligibility for, and placement into, Jordan’s higher education programs.

status from the Jordanian police, the child was able to “study engineering, finish the semester, and then get reimbursed for the tuition.”³⁷⁹ Lastly, the respondent credited the promptness of payment as a clear benefit of security-related service, stating “salaries for police and military are never late. This is a big benefit because even in good private-sector companies the salaries can often be late.”³⁸⁰

Retirement, Post-Career, and Private-Sector Benefits

The direct benefits of service for active duty personnel are paired with post-career or retirement perks that reinforce and expand the monarchy’s system of patronage. A former credit analyst explained that there are two options for military personnel who are facing retirement: “One, stay with the Army until full retirement; or two, work for a private security company. Only a few people have other technical training and therefore other [career] options.”³⁸¹ Furthermore, a soldier’s rank shapes post-military professional opportunities. The respondent commented that “it depends on rank your when you retire. Average people get compensated really well; families are medically insured for life.”³⁸² In addition, retirees are “still on a retirement payroll and education is free up through a PhD. Higher ranks have a tax-free car and driver.”³⁸³ Other respondents confirmed the importance of medical and educational benefits for retirees. A former military officer in the Jordanian Army stated that “healthcare is free for soldiers and employees of any other security agency, which is very important. Healthcare is not a problem like it is in the US.”³⁸⁴ In addition, children of active duty or retired personnel can get

³⁷⁹ Author interview with retired police officer, Amman, Jordan, September 26, 2017.

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

³⁸¹ Author interview with former credit analyst, Amman, Jordan, May 12, 2017.

³⁸² Ibid.

³⁸³ Ibid.

³⁸⁴ Author interview with former military officer (JA), Amman, Jordan, July 10, 2017.

“special acceptance into universities,” which is considered a “gift from the king.” If accepted, the government pays for the student’s university costs.³⁸⁵

Many respondents referred to a retiree’s education level as an important determinate for future career prospects. A retired police officer remarked that “most retired police officers get post-retirement jobs according to their educational level.”³⁸⁶ Retirees with lower levels of education often go into private security. Others use the money from their housing loans and use it for investment. Retirees with higher levels of education can attempt to secure positions in private companies. For instance, “most go into law and administration and many (or some) go work in the Gulf. Many have good opportunities.” The retired police officer emphasized that working for the United Nations is the “bingo” or “lotto” because “they have the best salary.”³⁸⁷ A former junior officer in the Jordanian Army disagreed with this assessment slightly, arguing that “military officers aren’t marketable. There is only one market: privatized security and you can’t dictate your career there either.”³⁸⁸ Offering a different perspective, a former cyber security expert observed that “the more educated and ambitious Jordanians are moving into the private sector where there are better opportunities.”³⁸⁹ In short, security personnel are aware of both the challenges and opportunities related to post-service career prospects. Interviewee responses suggest that the Jordanian monarchy and government continue to offer privileged access to such perks in order to incentivize continued loyalty from members of the security apparatus.

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

³⁸⁶ Author interview with retired police officer, Amman, Jordan, September 26, 2017.

³⁸⁷ Ibid.

³⁸⁸ Author interview with former junior officer (JA), Amman, Jordan, April 25, 2017.

³⁸⁹ Author interview with former surveillance and cyber security specialist, Amman, Jordan, July 19, 2017.

Analysis

Initiated in earnest by King Hussein, Jordan's legacy of economic patronage to secure loyalty to the regime continues under King Abdullah II. This patronage not only extends to the broader Jordanian society but increasingly to the Jordanian Armed Forces as well. The military's integration into the economy is strong in both the public and private sectors. Armed forces personnel benefit from a range of government perks, including health, education, taxation, and finance privileges. In the private sector, retirees gain access to unique employment opportunities related to law, corporate ventures, international NGO positions, and private security firms. KADDB stands as a stark example of how King Abdullah II merges active-duty personnel and retirees to increase the economic standing of the armed forces in the context of broader liberalization policies intended to grow Jordan's economy. Evidence suggests that the Jordanian Armed Forces are well integrated into the national economy.

Interview responses confirm the comprehensive nature of military integration into Jordan's national economy. However, while respondents acknowledge the importance of material benefits of military service they also express loyalty to King Abdullah II in a manner that extends beyond financial reward. Most interviewees de-emphasized service-related benefits and instead underscored a broader commitment to the welfare of Jordan. Service to King Abdullah II, one's family, and one's community were recurrent themes throughout the interviews. These sentiments typically accompanied carefully calibrated realism about the precarious position of Jordan in relation to the MENA region. Respondents have wide-ranging experience protecting Jordan's borders, identifying and neutralizing terrorist threats, and safeguarding Jordan's population. This combination of idealism for the monarchy and realism about the country's position in a volatile region lead many Jordanians to not only accept limited

political reforms and democratic openings but also acknowledge (with varying degrees of enthusiasm) King Abdullah's skillful navigation through a perilous period in Jordan's recent history. For instance, most Jordanian citizens, like most Arabs, lament Jordan's close relationship with Israel.³⁹⁰ However, participants for this study point to such alliances as necessary partnerships to ensure Jordan's access to military and economic aid, which in turn reinforce Jordan's security and political stability. Although love for one's country may undergird loyalty to the monarchy, such loyalty first requires that military personnel can provide security and prosperity for themselves and their respective families. Essentially, members of the Jordanian Armed Forces express a belief that King Abdullah II is meeting the security and economic needs of the state. That the regime is able to meet these needs, though imperfectly, portends the continued loyalty of the armed forces to the monarchy even in the face of political unrest.

In Jordan, while King Abdullah II retains final say on all matters of state, interview data reveals the monarchy's deep sensitivity to military preferences on policy. The military prioritizes border security, intelligence services focus on internal and external threats to the regime, and the police take pride in service to the nation through public security. Each branch is aware of its responsibilities and appears to trust that King Abdullah II supports their mission. While other autocrats in the Arab world may work to weaken or undermine one branch of the armed forces to minimize internal threats to the regime, King Abdullah II actively assures security personnel of their value to Jordan's lasting stability.

³⁹⁰ Most citizens of Arab countries tend to bristle at any cooperation with Israel. For example, the Egyptian government faces mounting public disapproval over a recent \$15 billion gas deal with Israel, which has "long been considered by Egyptians to be 'an enemy state.'" See Shahira Amin, "Egypt Faces Public Backlash After Signing \$15 Billion Gas Deal with Israel," *Al-Monitor*, February 23, 2018, accessed February 23, 2018, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/02/egypt-gas-deal-israel-public-anger-sisi.html>.

Important to note, little political power resides outside of the royal family. Although the Parliament's House of Representatives is elected, the Senate is directly appointed by King Abdullah II. All major policy decisions must acquire the king's approval and the Jordanian Armed Forces have little formal political power. However, respondents for this study describe a professional but intense battle for influence with the king. For example, within Jordan's intelligence community, specific agencies and representatives vie for direct access to, and communication with, King Abdullah II. The aim of such interactions is to influence critical decisions on matters of national security. Unsurprisingly, though, national security and public policy issues often overlap, e.g., the management of refugees. In such cases, King Abdullah's word is final, and the political influence of the armed forces remains limited. Despite this limitation, interviewees consistently report professional interactions and a good working relationship with the king and his royal advisors. During the 2011 uprisings, the monarchy assured the armed forces of their firm position and influence in Jordanian society. The political power of the Jordanian Armed Forces is curtailed by King Abdullah II, but its foundational importance to the regime's survival is readily apparent.

The privileged economic status of the Jordanian Armed Forces parallels its secure but limited position in the political realm. These combined privileges may also help to quell military cleavages that potentially contribute to a willingness to defect from the regime. As noted previously, Jordan's large Palestinian population has historically posed problems for King Hussein and King Abdullah II. On the one hand, Palestinian terrorists were accused of attempting to assassinate King Hussein on multiple occasions for his willingness to negotiate with Israel. On the other hand, King Abdullah II continues to manage a burgeoning refugee population (Palestinian, Iraqi, and Syrian) that is sometimes blamed by Jordanian nationals as a

threat to Jordan's employment opportunities and economic prosperity. As such, the monarchy has long endeavored to integrate Palestinians into Jordanian society. For instance, King Abdullah II has articulated a "Jordan first"³⁹¹ approach to foreign policy that seeks to minimize internal cleavages and prioritize Jordan's leadership role in the MENA region.

Aside from attempts to assimilate Palestinians into the larger population, these efforts may be reinforced by Jordan's relative lack of ethnic and religious diversity. The development of Jordan's national identity and shared vision for the future is often couched in an inclusive discourse responsive to Jordan's large Palestinian population. From this perspective, interview data suggests that the Jordanian Armed Forces do not suffer from internal cleavages. Rather, the monarchy successfully incorporates Jordan's large Palestinian population into the military, police, and intelligence services. Interview respondents affirm that Jordanian citizens of Palestinian descent are commonly promoted to leadership positions as part of a larger effort to solidify loyalty to the regime. Within the armed forces, loyalty to King Abdullah II and to the nation supersedes any ethnic, religious, or sectarian cleavages that may otherwise lead to defection.

The case study of Jordan shows a country that has high economic integration, political power from the military is medium but increasing, and the level of cleavages is medium. The result of these factors is loyalty to the regime. Jordan represents the strongest evidence for Hypothesis 1, but only moderate evidence for Hypothesis 2. There were enough cleavages in the military that Hypothesis 3 lacks support. Jordan's military is significantly integrated into the economy through interconnectedness and direct benefits, which is a sufficient factor for their loyalty.

³⁹¹ Curtis R. Ryan, "'Jordan first': Jordan's Inter-Arab Relations and Foreign Policy Under King Abdullah II," *Arab Studies Quarterly* (2004): 43-62.

Case Study: Tunisia

Roughly seven years after the uprisings that began in late 2010, Tunisia stands as the only example of a successful democratic transition in the MENA region. By 2015, Tunisia adopted a progressive constitution, conducted fair parliamentary elections, and elected the country's first-ever democratically elected president, Mohamed Beji Caïd Essebsi.³⁹² In assessing the reasons for Tunisia's success, Safwan Masri argues that Tunisia is predisposed to democracy because of characteristics that are uniquely indigenous to the country.³⁹³ Masri contends that understanding Tunisia's progress requires an examination of the relationship between religion, society, constitutionalism, politics, and education. At this intersection, Masri argues that "there is a visibly respectful and tolerant coexistence of religiosity and secularism that is remarkable."³⁹⁴ From this perspective, a unique brand of tolerance allowed Tunisia to make the necessary political compromises that fostered effective elections and power-sharing arrangements in Tunisia's constitution-drafting process.

Scholars also point to a number of factors relevant to Tunisia's post-revolutionary success. These factors include a robust tradition of civil society engagement, high levels of women's participation in political and civic spheres, the presence of strong and active labor unions, and educational reforms that cultivated skills of critical and analytical thinking.³⁹⁵ Demographically, Tunisia is relatively homogenous with respect to religion and ethnicity, which potentially spares the country from the type of sectarian conflict that grips other parts of the MENA region. Tunisia's population is roughly 11 million, with approximately 99% Sunni Muslim. Christian, Jewish, Shia Muslim, and Baha'i total less than 1% of the population. Ethnic

³⁹² Safwan M. Masri, *Tunisia: An Arab Anomaly* (Columbia University Press, 2017), p. XXVI.

³⁹³ Masri, *Tunisia: An Arab Anomaly*, pp. XXXII-XXXIII.

³⁹⁴ Masri, *Tunisia: An Arab Anomaly*, p. XXVII.

³⁹⁵ Masri, *Tunisia: An Arab Anomaly*, pp. XXVII-XXXI.

demographics bear similar majorities, with Tunisia's population at 98% Arab.³⁹⁶ Whether attributable to a culture of tolerance, social characteristics, or demographic makeup, few observers analyze Tunisia's democratic gains without acknowledging the importance of the political sphere.

Following the downfall of autocratic president Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali in 2011, the early stages of Tunisia's peaceful transition to democracy relied upon political compromise. For example, Tunisia's largest Islamist political party, Ennahda (Renaissance Party), willingly ceded power during the constitutional drafting process and formed cross-ideological alliances with other parliamentary political parties. Francesco Cavatorta and Fabio Merone explain that for the 30 years preceding Ben Ali's departure, Ennahda's leaders were heavily repressed, exiled, jailed, or otherwise marginalized.³⁹⁷ However, Ennahda became a legal political party on March 1, 2011, and won Tunisia's first free election with 89 seats out of 217 in the Constituent Assembly.³⁹⁸ In addition to following through on promises of political compromise, in May 2016 Ennahda became the first Islamist political party of an Arab country to drop its Islamist label and redefine itself as a party of Muslim democrats. Although the name change reflected a political shift that prioritized the country's economy, it also paralleled internal changes in policy that barred "party leadership from participating in religious or charitable organizations or preaching in mosques."³⁹⁹ Through such actions, Ennahda is emblematic of Tunisia's larger culture of political compromise and civil society engagement.

³⁹⁶ Masri, *Tunisia: An Arab Anomaly*, p. XXX.

³⁹⁷ Francesco Cavatorta and Fabio Merone, "Moderation Through Exclusion? The Journey of the Tunisian Ennahda from Fundamentalist to Conservative Party," *Democratization* 20, no. 5 (2013), p. 857.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

³⁹⁹ Masri, *Tunisia: An Arab Anomaly*, p. XXVI.

Despite a healthy environment of political contestation and compromise, Tunisia faces a number of challenges to the continuation of its democratic consolidation. Tunisia is one of the largest exporters of foreign fighters who wish to join ISIS in Iraq and Syria.⁴⁰⁰ Attacks against tourists and members of the Tunisian presidential guard confirm Tunisia's ongoing battle to manage terrorism within its borders.⁴⁰¹ With such challenges, Tunisia's armed forces remain at the center of protecting hard-won political gains and ensuring continued stability. Although Tunisia's unique composition may undergird its political successes, the Tunisian military provided the initial security that created space for political compromise and democratization. Yet the question remains, why did the Tunisian military defect from Ben Ali?

Evidence suggests the uneven treatment of police and military forces played a role in military defection. More than other autocratic regimes in the region, Ben Ali privileged the police force while disempowering the military. To protect against threats to the regime, Ben Ali relied upon the police, which grew during his presidency to between 130,000 and 200,000, or approximately 2% of the population.⁴⁰² The exact size of the police force under Ben Ali is unknown. However, Ben Ali tasked the police with identifying and neutralizing domestic extremists and Islamists as a critical component of guarding against internal threats to the regime.⁴⁰³ In contrast, the armed forces remained comparatively small in size, with only 35,000 members in 1985 under President Habib Bourguiba.⁴⁰⁴ Although Ben Ali expanded the military in the post-Bourguiba era, he purposefully kept the army separate from political affairs. In

⁴⁰⁰ Carlotta Gall, "Tunisia Fears the Return of Thousands of Young Jihadists," *New York Times*, February 25, 2017, accessed February 13, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/25/world/europe/isis-tunisia.html>.

⁴⁰¹ In March 2015, terrorists attacked the Bardo National Museum in Tunis, taking hostages, killing 22, and injuring approximately 50 more people. In June 2015, gunmen attacked a tourist resort in Sousse, killing 38 tourists. In November 2015, a suicide bomber attacked members of the presidential guard, killing 12 people outside of Tunis.

⁴⁰² Masri, *Tunisia: An Arab Anomaly*, p. 30; see also Anthony H. Cordesman, *A Tragedy of Arms: Military and Security Developments in the Maghreb* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002).

⁴⁰³ Masri, *Tunisia: An Arab Anomaly*, pp. 30-31.

⁴⁰⁴ Masri, *Tunisia: An Arab Anomaly*, p. 14.

addition, military expenditures rarely exceeded 2% of Tunisia's gross domestic product (GDP).⁴⁰⁵ Ben Ali's suspicion of military officers, paired with low levels of military expenditures, shaped military decision-making during the Tunisian uprisings.

For instance, in contrasting Tunisia with Egypt, the privileged status that Egyptian military leaders worked hard to preserve simply did not exist. In fact, the Ben Ali regime sought to keep the armed forces out of politics as much as possible, for example, by banning any political activity by its members, and by removing officers who were thought to harbor political ambitions.⁴⁰⁶ Moreover, Ben Ali, who rose through the military ranks from the intelligence services rather than the regular army, favored the intelligence apparatus throughout his tenure. The numbers support this view. Building upon the statistics listed above, while the Tunisian armed forces count a total of only 35,000 soldiers, the country employees approximately 130,000 to 150,000 police officers – making the Tunisian armed forces by far the smallest in North Africa.⁴⁰⁷

Policies that aimed to weaken the military presence in Tunisian politics predated Ben Ali's rule. Habib Bourguiba, Ben Ali's predecessor, had deliberately kept soldiers out of politics for roughly three decades as president (1957-1987), even banning them from the ruling party.⁴⁰⁸ This pattern, as mentioned above, continued under Ben Ali. Similar to other sultanistic regimes, the Tunisian regular military was routinely overshadowed by much larger, better funded, and more politically influential security agencies run by the Interior Ministry. Despite comparatively

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ Derek Lutterbeck, "Arab Uprisings, Armed Forces, and Civil-Military Relations," *Armed Forces & Society* 39, no. 1 (2013), p. 34.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁸ Barany, "Comparing the Arab Revolts: The Role of the Military," p. 31.

small budgets, the Tunisian military eventually earned a reputation as one of the most professional armed forces in the Arab world.⁴⁰⁹

Thus, military's role during the Tunisian uprisings occupies a unique role as a key determinant of the demonstration's outcomes. While many analysts have focused on the Tunisian protests and the economic and political grievances that fueled them, other scholars have examined the equally important decision of military leadership to forgo using force to actively suppress the protesters. Risa Brooks argues that contrary to arguments that stress the reflexively apolitical or professional nature of the armed forces, or its leaders' normative commitment to supporting the demonstrators, the decision made by military reflected political calculations and served the military's organizational interests.⁴¹⁰ In particular, the defection of the armed forces can at least partially be explained by the notion that not only did the military lack a substantial vested interest in keeping Ben Ali in power, but there may also have been clear benefits in sidelining him.⁴¹¹ Similar to Egypt, Tunisia's armed forces were not pleased to see the regime cutting additional privileges while maintaining high levels of funding and material support to police forces.⁴¹²

As Bou Nassif succinctly argues, the conclusion from both Egypt and Tunisia is straightforward: when civilian uprisings threaten autocratic rulers, military leaders can only preserve the status-quo as long as their "subordinates in the officer corps are ready to slaughter their own countrymen in order to prevent political change."⁴¹³ Absent the willingness to turn on

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ Risa Brooks, "Abandoned at the Palace: Why the Tunisian Military Defected from the Ben Ali Regime in January 2011," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 36, no. 2 (2013), p. 205.

⁴¹¹ Brooks, "Abandoned at the Palace: Why the Tunisian Military Defected from the Ben Ali Regime in January 2011," p. 216.

⁴¹² Barany, "Comparing the Arab Revolts: The Role of the Military," p. 32.

⁴¹³ Bou Nassif, "A Military Besieged: The Armed Forces, the Police and the Party in Ben 'Ali's Tunisia, 1987-2011," p. 26.

civilians, the loyalty of the military leadership may not suffice to avoid regime breakdown.⁴¹⁴

Yet, as Brooks aptly points out, the decision not to fire upon protestors cannot simply be attributed to genuine democratic inclinations on behalf of the armed forces, particularly because of the economic incentives for military leaders to defect from regimes under duress.

Analysis

Béatrice Hibou, in the *Force of Obedience: The Political Economy of Repression in Tunisia*, investigates the relationship between domination and repression in Tunisian daily life. As the base of this analysis, Hibou places economic apparatuses and everyday economic operations as central to mechanisms of domination.⁴¹⁵ In particular, Hibou shows how Tunisia's debt economy and the systems of social welfare created forms of mutual dependence between the rulers and the ruled. In such an economic system, corruption, nepotism, and clientelism potentially constitute one of the main means of political control – if not *the* main one.⁴¹⁶

In this context, the military's role in Tunisia's political economy provided a crucial link to authoritarianism under President Ben Ali. One interpretation of Tunisia's political outcome following the revolution centers upon military rivalries. Bou Nassif contends that while the republican ethos of the Tunisian armed forces is often stressed to explain their traditional political quiescence, the active hostility of the military's rivals within the Ben Ali regime prevented Tunisian generals from playing a greater role in their country's public life, despite Ben Ali's intelligence background.⁴¹⁷ Bou Nassif disaggregates Ben Ali's regime into its fundamental

⁴¹⁴ Ibid.

⁴¹⁵ Béatrice Hibou, *The Force of Obedience* (Polity, 2011), p 1.

⁴¹⁶ Hibou, *The Force of Obedience*, p. 274.

⁴¹⁷ Hicham Bou Nassif, "A Military Besieged: The Armed Forces, the Police and the Party in Ben 'Ali's Tunisia, 1987-2011," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (IJMES, 2015), p. 1.

institutional components – namely, the presidency, the party, the police, and the military – and investigates rivalries and alliances structuring the struggle for influence and power from the rise of Ben Ali to the presidency in 1987 until his downfall. Ultimately, Bou Nassif argues that there is a direct and causal relation between inter- and intra-institutional dynamics at play within the regime and the unfolding of events in the 2010-2011 uprising, and that the breakdown of Ben Ali's regime is a function of civil-military relations in contemporary Tunisia.⁴¹⁸

This breakdown of civil-military relations should be viewed within the context of Tunisia's declining economic standing following the 2008 global economic decline, a decline that put additional pressure on Ben Ali to successfully maintain high levels of military involvement in the economy. Prior to the 2008 economic collapse, Tunisia had performed well in comparison to other countries in the Middle East and North Africa. Bradford Dillman analyzes the economic reform programs launched in Tunisia and Algeria from the late 1980s and seeks to account for their divergent outcomes. Whereas Tunisian economic policies were largely successful, Algeria's resulted in less economic growth. Dillman explains that Tunisia was better able to pursue policies aimed at stabilizing the economy, reforming the public sector, encouraging market growth, restructuring banking, boosting foreign and domestic private investment, and bolstering exports while loosening restrictions on trade.⁴¹⁹

Sonia Naccache provides further evidence of Tunisia's economic strength and describes that from roughly the mid-1950s to the mid-2000s, Tunisia managed to achieve robust long-term GDP growth of about 5% per year, against 3.5% only, for the MENA region as a whole.⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁸ Ibid.

⁴¹⁹ Bradford Dillman, "The Political Economy of Structural Adjustment in Tunisia and Algeria," *The Journal of North African Studies* 3, no. 3 (1998), p. 1.

⁴²⁰ Sonia Naccache, "The Political Economy of Development Policy in Tunisia," *Contributions to Economic Analysis* 278 (2006), p. 308.

However, Tunisia failed to reduce obvious inefficiencies such as high protection, financial repression, and a highly regulated economy in general.⁴²¹ These problems were compounded with the onset of the 2008 global financial crisis. As a result, Tunisia's military, historically weak under Habib Bourguiba and essentially "placed on ice" by Ben Ali,⁴²² had additional incentives to challenge the military's existing levels of integration into the political economy. Not only did the Tunisian military lack access to significant financial resources, but even those of a strictly military variety.⁴²³ More broadly, evidence suggests that a negative correlation exists between military involvement in a state's political economy and levels of military professionalism and civilian control. That is, higher levels of military integration into state political economy indicate military professionalism and deference to civilian leadership.⁴²⁴ By the same logic, military defection appears more likely when a military is dissatisfied with its role in a state's political economy.

Arab militaries are undoubtedly aware that inhospitable revolutionary circumstances and a lack of political influence, or the threat of losing existing political influence, can potentially increase the likelihood of military defection from a regime under duress. In the Tunisian case, some reports indicate that when Ben Ali ordered the armed forces to shoot pro-reform demonstrators, the Army's chief of staff, Rashid Ammar, refused to obey, effectively "saving the revolution."⁴²⁵ Although Ben Ali instructed the Tunisian armed forces to deploy to the streets in order to quell protests, there is little evidence that he ordered the military to fire upon civilians. Still, significant scholarly attention has been afforded to Ammar's refusal to align with Ben Ali

⁴²¹ Ibid.

⁴²² Springborg, *Economic Involvement of Militaries* (2011), p. 398.

⁴²³ Ibid.

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

⁴²⁵ Zoltan Barany, "Comparing Arab Revolts: The Role of the Military," p. 31.

by emphasizing Ammar's agency and choices to explain how the military was not responsible for thwarting the uprising.⁴²⁶ More recent analysis, however, de-emphasizes Ammar's preferences as well as the traditional apolitical ethos of the Tunisian military, and instead argues that Tunisia's revolution succeeded not because of the political quiescence of the military elite, as much as their frustration over their lack of political influence, which determined the armed forces' agency in 2011.⁴²⁷ In other words, the perceived lack of political power, and the potential to lose additional political power, played a role in military elite calculations concerning whether or not to defect from Ben Ali's regime.

Tunisia's is the only case in which economic integration, perceptions of political power, and military cleavages were low. Defection by the military during the Arab Spring was connected to the lack of economic integration and perceptions of political power. Therefore, the case of Tunisia offers support for Hypotheses 1 and 2. As there were few cleavages, this was not necessary or sufficient factor for defection, and there is little support for Hypothesis 3 as the military nevertheless defected.

Case Study: Oman

Following the 2011 uprisings, Oman has experienced uneven economic and political progress. Since 2015, economic growth has slowed,⁴²⁸ political reforms have been curtailed, and criticisms of Sultan Qaboos are now more common. Marc Valeri explains that the Omani model

⁴²⁶ Peter J. Schraeder, and Hamadi Redissi, "Comparing Arab Revolts: Ben 'Ali's Fall", *Journal of Democracy*, July (2011), p. 13.

⁴²⁷ Bou Nassif, "A Military Besieged: The Armed Forces, the Police and the Party in Ben 'Ali's Tunisia, 1987-2011," pp. 2-3.

⁴²⁸ *The World Bank*, "GCC: Economic Outlook," April 2017, accessed February 14, 2018, <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/gcc/publication/economic-outlook-april-2017>.

of political legitimacy is intimately linked to the country's leader, Sultan Qaboos.⁴²⁹ However, Oman's youth feel less indebted to the leader than the previous generations and are increasingly vocalizing their respective grievances. In 2011 and 2012, Omanis demanded higher salaries, improved living conditions, political reforms, and the elimination of corruption. Valeri contends that while the regime met some of these demands, "repressive measures have become more prominent, with new investments in the security sector and crackdowns on dissident voices."⁴³⁰ Moreover, political parties are banned in Oman and Sultan Qaboos retains nearly all power on matters of state.⁴³¹ These recent developments help to bring into focus Sultan Qaboos' initial management of the 2011 uprisings.

The monarchy in Oman dealt successfully with relatively small, yet intense protests in 2011. At the center of these successful efforts were state-directed policies and programs that helped to ensure contentment among the military ranks during periods of political upheaval. Sultan Qaboos quickly increased the allocation of property, allowances, and pensions to quiet potential restiveness. The sultan also perpetuated the bureaucratic role played by various tribal groups in the military to retain support among key segments of society.

In 2014, Oman faced a unique period of potential transition, as Sultan Qaboos received treatment for an undisclosed medical condition. Recent reports suggest that Sultan Qaboos has suffered from colon cancer since at least 2014.⁴³² Moreover, should the 77 year-old Sultan Qaboos relinquish power, it is unclear who would succeed him.⁴³³ After overthrowing his father

⁴²⁹ Marc Valeri, "Simmering Unrest and Succession Challenges in Oman," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace* (2015), p. 1.C

⁴³⁰ Valeri, "Simmering Unrest and Succession Challenges in Oman," p. 1.

⁴³¹ Ibid.

⁴³² Simon Henderson, "The Omani Succession Envelope, Please," *Foreign Policy*, April 3, 2017, accessed February 14, 2018, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/04/03/the-omani-succession-envelope-please/>.

⁴³³ Peter Kenyon, "In Oman, The Man Who Has Defined The Country Is Now Rarely Seen," *NPR*, November 16, 2014, <http://www.npr.org/blogs/parallels/2014/11/16/364084883/in-oman-the-man-who-has-defined-the-country-is-now-rarely-seen>.

in a palace coup, Qaboos came to power in 1970 and aimed to move away from his father's inward-looking and reclusive policies and toward a more open economy that would improve living standards.⁴³⁴ Qaboos is largely viewed as achieving these objectives. Some estimates show that Oman has increased its gross domestic product (GDP) from \$256 million in 1970 to roughly \$80 billion in 2013. The GDP per capita in the same period rose from \$343 to \$13,000.⁴³⁵

Such progress is attributed to Qaboos' decisions as Oman's absolute monarch, as he holds nearly all the important titles in the Omani government – foreign minister, defense minister, finance minister, and governor of the central bank. Not only is Qaboos credited with growing the economy, but also guiding Oman through periods of rebellion in the 1970s and resolving the brief but intense uprising in 2011.⁴³⁶ During this initial period, protests in Oman began surprisingly with the first small-scale demonstration occurring on January 17, 2011, just a short time after Tunisian President Zine ben Ali had absconded to Saudi Arabia.⁴³⁷ Not unlike the larger Arab world, the impetus for the protests was popular discontent with the rising prices of basic goods, widespread corruption, and low working wages. Yet, from this comparatively innocuous beginning, protests in Oman soon began to grow, with significant escalations taking place following the resignation of Hosni Mubarak on February 11th and the spread of the Arab Spring to Bahrain on February 14th.⁴³⁸ To be sure, the relationship between Qaboos and the military lies at the heart of Oman's ability to swiftly navigate the wave of uprisings that occurred at the outset of this decade.

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

⁴³⁵ "Celebrating a True Vision," *Business Today*, March 11, 2014, <http://www.businesstoday.co.om/COVER-STORY>.

⁴³⁶ Kenyon, "In Oman, The Man Who Has Defined The Country Is Now Rarely Seen."

⁴³⁷ Worrall, "Oman: The 'Forgotten' Corner of the Arab Spring," p. 98.

⁴³⁸ Ibid.

Qaboos' ability to quickly maneuver through political protests may reside in the nature of Oman's monarchy. One interpretation of variation in political stability in the MENA region centers upon regime type. The region's monarchies, for example, Oman, Morocco, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates have largely avoided widespread violence and managed to quell political protests with relative ease.⁴³⁹ In contrast, the region's Republics such as Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Syria, and Yemen have suffered the most serious political instability and violence, with three out of eleven non-monarchical incumbent regimes overthrown.⁴⁴⁰ From this perspective, Oman's monarchical system more effectively allows it to act quickly and decisively in the face of popular revolt.

This may be especially true when it comes to implementing concrete policies aimed at thwarting political challengers and ensuring loyalty among regime supporters. Chief among such supporters are military elites as well as members of the larger armed forces. Moreover, key areas of patronage concern the allocation of property, allowances, and pensions, all of which Sultan Qaboos quickly provided during the 2011 protests. At the general level, evidence suggests that monarchic autocracies protect property rights more effectively when compared to other types of dictatorships, and even when compared to democracies.⁴⁴¹ In monarchies, dynastic succession and direct influence over the composition of the future elite provide rulers with relatively long-time horizons for their dynasties, thus reducing incentives to expropriate property for short-term gain.⁴⁴² In March of 2011, the sultan announced that additional allowances would be given to all military and security staff. The Social Insurance Pension was also raised by 100 percent and

⁴³⁹ Victor Menaldo, "The Middle East and North Africa's Resilient Monarchs," *The Journal of Politics* 74, no. 03 (2012), pp. 707-708.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁴¹ Carl Henrik Knutsen and Hanne Fjelde, "Property Rights in Dictatorships: Kings Protect Property Better Than Generals or Party Bosses," *Contemporary Politics* 19, no. 1 (2013), p. 94.

⁴⁴² Ibid.

pensions were increased by 50 percent.⁴⁴³ In general, Oman's military expenditures were (and remain) among the highest in the MENA region at 16.08% of GDP (2012) and 13.73% of GDP (2016).⁴⁴⁴

In addition to policies related to allocation of property, allowances, and pensions, Sultan Qaboos aimed to keep the military content by privileging certain tribal lineages with high-ranking military positions. For decades, Sultan Qaboos perpetuated the bureaucratic role played by various tribal groups.⁴⁴⁵ In particular, the "noble clans of the al-Ma'amari tribe" retained powerful influence in the Omani Armed Forces until March 2011, when General 'Ali bin Majid al-Ma'amari, Minister of the Royal Office since 1989 and head of the office of the Sultan's Armed Forces Chief of Staff, along with Lieutenant-General Malik bin Sulaiman, Inspector General of Police and Customs, with ministerial rank, were both removed from their respective positions.⁴⁴⁶ In order to deliver meaningful concessions to protestors, Sultan Qaboos purged a number of high-ranking military officials from their positions while simultaneously safeguarding his ability to promote loyal members of key tribes – a policy that has been effective for decades.

In 2018, Sultan Qaboos continues to manage delicate and complex tribal dynamics within the broader context of Omani nationalism. Demographically, immigrants make up almost 45% of Oman's total population of 3.5 million.⁴⁴⁷ Ethnic groups include Arab, Baluchi, South Asian (Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, and Bangladeshi). Arabic is Oman's official language, with segments of the population that speak English, Baluchi, Urdu, and Indian dialects. Religiously,

⁴⁴³ Worrall, "Oman: The 'Forgotten' Corner of the Arab Spring," p. 107.

⁴⁴⁴ US Central Intelligence Agency, "CIA World Factbook: Military Expenditures," accessed February 14, 2018, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2034.html>.

⁴⁴⁵ Marc Valeri, "Domesticating Local Elites. Sheikhs, Walis and State-Building Under Sultan Qaboos," in *Regionalizing Oman* (Springer Netherlands, 2013), p 271.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁷ US Central Intelligence Agency, "CIA World Factbook: Oman," accessed February 14, 2018, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mu.html>.

Oman is 89.5% Muslim, 6.5% Christian, 5.5% Hindu, 0.8% Buddhist, and roughly 1.2% other or unaffiliated. Important to note, Omani citizens make up roughly 60% of the population and are primarily Muslim (Ibadhi and Sunni sects each constitute about 45% and Shia about 5%); Christians, Hindus, and Buddhists account for approximately 5% of Omani citizens.⁴⁴⁸

Partly due to this demographic complexity, Marc Valeri contends that Oman is experiencing a “re-polarisation” of society and a significant revival of communal prejudices.⁴⁴⁹ Valeri explains that solidarity groups are challenging old notions of Omani nationalism deeply tied to Sultan Qaboos. On the one hand, solidarity groups stem from “traditional” ties (tribal, clan, etc.). On the other hand, new groups are forming on the basis of language, community, geographical or regional origin. Valeri acknowledges that this polarization has long occurred in the economic realm through clientelism or “*wasta*.” However, the competition is shifting as solidarity groups engage in “genealogical and historiographical re-writing in order to calm suspicions about these groups’ loyalty to the nation and even to overbid in reassurances of belonging to the nation.”⁴⁵⁰ Valeri questions the political consequences of such developments on national identities as well as the potential threat these emerging identities pose to the Omani national identity constructed by Sultan Qaboos.⁴⁵¹ The Omani military is not immune from demographic shifts or emerging fields of identity contestation. Still, the extent to which Oman’s civilian demographic composition affects military behavior remains difficult to determine. What is clear, however, is that at the time of the 2011 uprisings, Sultan Qaboos successfully navigated Oman’s complex demographics and retained the loyalty of the Omani military.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁹ Marc Valeri, *Oman: Politics and Society in the Qaboos State*. (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 225.

⁴⁵⁰ Valeri, *Oman: Politics and Society in the Qaboos State*, pp. 225-226.

⁴⁵¹ Valeri, *Oman: Politics and Society in the Qaboos State*, p. 226.

Analysis

In the Gulf, Marc Valeri holds that the 2011 “Oman Spring” has shown how the long-practiced technique of “buying-off” tribal references with the aim of preventing any social claim or the emergence of alternative discourses has reached its limits.⁴⁵² Still, Valeri contends that the key element of the new regime’s strategy of legitimization rests upon the nation-building process implemented since 1970. On the one hand, Oman’s economic and social development is directly linked to the state (as the administrator of the oil rent). On the other hand, Oman’s development is linked to the Sultan who embodies the state and has become the subject of a personality cult. Valeri argues that by initiating a process of nation-building within the framework of a homogenizing central state, which has unified cultural and religious references, Sultan Qaboos has worked to legitimize his paternalistic authority as well as cultivate social development through an extensive redistribution system.⁴⁵³ Despite these insights regarding Oman’s system of domestic coercion, Worrall and Valeri’s work pays less attention to the central role of the military in quelling the 2011 protests. More importantly, any discussion of military non-defection in Oman lacks empirical data related to military integration into the state’s political economy.

Oman’s military, in contrast to Tunisia’s armed forces, has a more stable role in the country’s political system. Along with international support, scholars have identified domestic coercion as one of two primary political components to the durability of authoritarianism.⁴⁵⁴ Oman stands out as a powerful example of effective domestic coercion, both historically and in the context of recent protests. James Worrall explains that the initial protests in Oman did not

⁴⁵² Valeri, “Domesticating Local Elites. Sheikhs, Walis and State-Building Under Sultan Qaboos,” in *Regionalizing Oman* (Springer Netherlands, 2013), p 276.

⁴⁵³ Valeri, “Domesticating Local Elites. Sheikhs, Walis and State-Building Under Sultan Qaboos,” p. 267.

⁴⁵⁴ Brownlee, p. 3; see also Theda Skocpol, *States and Revolutions* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

appear to represent a threat to the regime and were largely brought under control after just four days before briefly reigniting a month later in early April 2011. However, according to Worrall, the protests nevertheless had a profound impact on Oman and spurred Sultan Qaboos to action on a number of fronts — economic, social, and political — restarting a neglected political reform process.⁴⁵⁵

Much of this stability is directly tied to the Omani military's strength. By Gulf standards, Oman is a significant military power, although its strength lies more in the quality of its military manpower and training than its equipment strength and quality.⁴⁵⁶ Oman is also positioned in a unique strategic location in the lower Gulf and is the largest military spender in the Gulf in proportion to its GDP. Its military budgets have also steadily increased since 1990. According to the CIA World Fact Book (2005), it is estimated that in 1990 Oman's defense budget was \$1.39 billion (or 13.1% of its GDP), then \$1.59 billion by 1995 (13.0%), \$1.75 billion by 2000 (13.0%), \$2.4 billion in 2001 (12.0%), \$2.5 billion in 2002 (12.5%), \$2.46 billion in 2003 (11.3%), \$2.56 billion in 2004 (10.6%), and \$3.02 billion in 2005 (7.3%).⁴⁵⁷ However, Oman's large military budgets do not necessarily imply formal military ties to corporate economic interests. Instead, Oman's individual military officers often receive shares in privatized companies, serve on boards and state committees, and benefit financially in other ways for their service and loyalty.⁴⁵⁸

The broader picture that Oman helps to illustrate is that stable political systems with predictable and consistent military budgets convey to military leaders that the armed forces face

⁴⁵⁵ James Worrall, "Oman: The 'Forgotten' Corner of the Arab Spring," *Middle East Policy* 19, no. 3 (2012), p. 98.

⁴⁵⁶ Anthony H. Cordesman and Khalid R. Al-Rodhan, "Gulf Military Forces in an Era of Asymmetric Wars," *Center for Strategic and International Studies* (Working Draft 2006), p. 2.

⁴⁵⁷ Cordesman and Al-Rodhan, "Gulf Military Forces in an Era of Asymmetric Wars," p. 6; see also IISS Military Balance, various years. GDP data for 2005 from CIA World Fact Book 2005.

⁴⁵⁸ Springborg, *Economic Involvement of Militaries*, p. 398.

less political risk if the regime stays in power. The military's status in the political sphere is determined and revolutionary movements that seek to re-establish the political order must convince military leaders that the military's respective political status will in fact improve should the pro-reform movement succeed. This bar is harder to reach in countries where militaries enjoy established political power, either symbolic or actual.

In comparison to the other cases, Oman has a diverse population with significant ethnic, religious, and socio-economic variations. According to the third hypothesis, such demographics would suggest a higher likelihood of military defection, an event which never materialized following the 2011 uprisings. Important to note, Sultan Qaboos has well-documented history of promoting members of different tribes to influential, high-ranking positions within the military. However, these promotions appear to bolster Qaboos' image as a fair and responsive leader to Omani citizens rather than indicate a concerted effort to undermine potential cleavage-driven military defections. Military loyalty to the regime is likely rooted in economic patronage and a larger societal commitment to the personality cult of Sultan Qaboos. Considering the four country cases, the third hypothesis offers the weakest explanation of military defection and non-defection during the 2011 uprisings.

Oman's military has a medium level of economic integration, perception of political power, and cleavages, which is in distinction from Tunisia and Egypt. As Oman's military remained loyal, the higher level of cleavages again limits support for Hypothesis 3. However, the medium level of economic integration and political power indicates support for Hypotheses 1 and 2. In this case, unlike the others, the perceptions of political power likely were as important as economic integration. Oman has large defense budget that provide significant funding for the armed forces, but the military is an active part of Qaboos's regime.

Case Study: Egypt

The extent of the Egyptian military's engagement in, or withdrawal from, the political arena has always reflected the nature of the regime it served.⁴⁵⁹ During the 1950s and 1960s, the military was the preeminent institution in the political process. From the 1970s to late 2010, the military accepted a subordinate role in a presidential system that protected its interests while also limiting the direct political power of the armed forces.⁴⁶⁰ Since the 1952 Revolution, Egypt has been a state of mutual accommodation between regimes and executive leadership and the armed forces. The foundation for this arrangement resides in the tacit agreement that the military's privileges would be vigorously defended in exchange for the institution's professionalism, discipline, and loyalty.⁴⁶¹ Following the 2010 uprisings, this long-standing foundation crumbled, and the military defected from the Mubarak regime.

Why, then, were the programs and policies that successfully allayed the concerns of the militaries in Jordan and Oman threatened in Egypt during the protest movements? Given Egypt's well-documented history of close ties between the military and executive leadership, it might be expected that Egypt would be less likely to defect from a regime under duress. Yet, subsequent events ultimately revealed the military's willingness to abandon Mubarak despite the history of patronage and benefits bestowed upon the military during his tenure.

One possible explanation is that the military increasingly believed its privileged status was under threat, even prior to the onset of the 2010 demonstrations. While Egypt's public expenditures allocated for the military rose sharply in the 1980s, by the 1990s military spending

⁴⁵⁹ Imad Harb, "The Egyptian Military in Politics: Disengagement or Accommodation?," *The Middle East Journal* (2003), p. 269.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁶¹ Harb, "The Egyptian Military in Politics: Disengagement or Accommodation?," p. 289.

was in decline.⁴⁶² From 1982 to 1987, military spending as a percent of total public expenditures fluctuated between 13% and 19%. From approximately 1990 to 1996, military spending amounted to roughly 7% to 8% of total public expenditures.⁴⁶³

Scholars suggest a number of reasons for the reduced expenditures allocated for the Egyptian armed forces in the 1990s. One view is that Sadat had actively tried to curtail the political influence of the military in the 1970s by cutting its budget, among other tactics.⁴⁶⁴ Thus, upon assuming office in 1981, Hosni Mubarak felt the need to secure the loyalty of the armed forces, and increasing military outlays was an effective strategy for accomplishing such a task. By the 1990s, however, Egypt's economy was faltering, and opportune conditions allowed Mubarak to cut military funding. Still, the armed forces had recently begun to invest in various civilian commercial sectors, which had delivered to the military significant financial independence from Egypt's national budget.⁴⁶⁵

Yet, during the 1990s, the diversification of funding sources for the Egyptian military could not prevent the potentially devastating consequences of economic liberalization. Under pressure from the US government, Egypt was considering a host of liberalization policies, such as increasing fiscal discipline, reducing government expenditures, growing tax revenues, liberalizing interest rates, liberalizing exchange rates, liberalizing trade, promoting foreign direct investment (FDI), deregulating the public sector, and safeguarding property rights.⁴⁶⁶

To accomplish these neo-liberal reforms, the United States and Egypt established a bi-national consultative council. The partnership created a joint private sector Presidents' Council,

⁴⁶² Soliman, *The Autumn of Dictatorship: Fiscal Crisis and Political Change in Egypt Under Mubarak*, pp. 61-62.

⁴⁶³ Ibid; see also IMF, *Government Finance Statistics Yearbook*, various issues.

⁴⁶⁴ Robert Springborg, *Mubarak's Egypt: Fragmentation of the Political Order* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1989).

⁴⁶⁵ Soliman, *The Autumn of Dictatorship: Fiscal Crisis and Political Change in Egypt Under Mubarak*, p. 3.

⁴⁶⁶ Bessma Momani, "Promoting Economic Liberalization In Egypt: From US Foreign Aid To Trade And Investment." *Middle East* 7, no. 3 (2003), p. 90.

including one in Egypt and another in the United States, to advise each government on opportunities to further integrate bilateral economic ties and advance Egyptian economic liberalization.⁴⁶⁷ Ultimately, the Council became an important instrument of policymaking regarding economic issues affecting both countries.⁴⁶⁸ Many of the financial corporations associated with the Presidents' Council (e.g., Motorola, Citibank, General Electric, Egyptian British Bank, Fine Foods Group, Nile Clothing Company) had well-established connections with Egyptian elites as well as deep ties to President Mubarak. Moreover, these crony capitalists were associated with the President's son, Gamal Mubarak, who was acting chair of the Egyptian Presidents' Council. This fact provides support for the suggestion that Egypt had changed its domestic base of support from public employees to business elites.⁴⁶⁹

From a policy standpoint, Gamal Mubarak's deep and personal commitment to liberalization reforms threatened the political and social status of the Egyptian armed forces. These types of liberalization policies would not only directly impact the financial holdings of military elites, but also undermine the overall political power of the military establishment. Faced with this threat, defection from the Mubarak regime in 2011 can reasonably be linked to the declining level of economic integration of the military into Egypt's political economy. As discussed above, the level of such integration was diminishing due to neo-liberal reforms and economic liberalization – policies explicitly endorsed and pursued by Gamal Mubarak.

Following the downfall Hosni Mubarak, Egypt held what were largely considered free and fair elections. In June 2012, Egypt elected Mohamed Morsi, a member of Egypt's largest

⁴⁶⁷ Momani, "Promoting Economic Liberalization In Egypt: From US Foreign Aid To Trade And Investment." p. 94.

⁴⁶⁸ Presidents' Council, "Report on US- Egypt President's Council Visit to Cairo and Alexandria," mimeo, (Washington DC: Chemonics International Inc, 1999), p. i.

⁴⁶⁹ Momani, "Promoting Economic Liberalization In Egypt: From US Foreign Aid To Trade And Investment." p. 94; see also Jon Alterman, "Egypt: Stable, But for How Long?" *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Autumn 2000), pp. 107-118.

Islamist party, the Muslim Brotherhood. Morsi won 51.7% of the runoff votes in the second round of presidential elections.⁴⁷⁰ Two weeks prior to the June 30 election, the date Egypt's military agreed to hand over power, the generals reneged on their promises and closed down the Islamist-led parliament. Although the parliament was democratically elected, the military assumed the powers to make laws, set budgets, and decreed an interim constitution that removed most of the powers of the incoming president. The military also imposed martial law and asserted its authority to veto provisions of the forthcoming permanent constitution.⁴⁷¹ Before it even began in earnest, the military contested Morsi's tenure as president.

While Islamist parties had been routinely repressed, harassed, and jailed under Mubarak, the post-revolutionary period witnessed a brief moment of democratic opening. That window quickly closed as Morsi made a number of decisions that appeared to his opponents as blatant power grabs. According to his critics, Morsi failed on his promises to form an inclusive government and demonized his opponents as traitors. Against the backdrop of fuel and electricity shortages, anger at Morsi's government grew.⁴⁷² These factors ultimately antagonized Morsi's detractors and led to another round of mass protests. Two years after Mubarak's removal, the second round of mass protests against Morsi created a path for a military coup that took place on July 3, 2013. Neil Ketchley argues that the military coup represented "an ongoing process of elite reconstitution that has since seen Abdel Fatah al-Sisi, a field marshal and former defense minister, installed as president in an elliptical return to Mubarak-style authoritarianism."⁴⁷³

⁴⁷⁰ David D. Kirkpatrick, "Named Egypt's Winner, Islamist Makes History," *New York Times*, June 24, 2012, accessed February 15, 2018, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/25/world/middleeast/mohamed-morsi-of-muslim-brotherhood-declared-as-egypts-president.html>.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid.

⁴⁷² David D. Kirkpatrick, "Army Ousts Egypt's President; Morsi Is Taken Into Military Custody," *New York Times*, July 3, 2013, accessed February 15, 2018, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/04/world/middleeast/egypt.html>.

⁴⁷³ Neil Ketchley. *Egypt in a Time of Revolution* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 3.

The movement toward, and then away from democracy, signals two revealing characteristics of military rule in Egypt. First, the military will intervene to preserve its interests, whether political or economic. Both in 2011 and 2013, the military rode mass protests to pressure Mubarak to step down as well as justify a coup to remove Morsi from power. Second, the military is acutely aware of the demographic, social, and religious dynamics that pose a threat to its long-standing privileged position in Egypt's political system. Dictators throughout the MENA region have long feared the power of the "Arab Street," i.e., mass demonstrations, and Egypt's military is no different. As a result, the Egyptian military prioritizes public relations and consistently receives approval ratings above 80% from the Egyptian public.⁴⁷⁴ Part of the reason for these high approval ratings is that the military works hard to respect and identify with the larger Egyptian society, at least in appearance. Despite evidence of atrocities committed by the military against protesters,⁴⁷⁵ the military aims to cultivate an image of responsiveness to protesters' demands and professionalism as an institution. Egypt's relatively homogenous demographics may assist the military in its effort to bolster its image as loyal to the nation. Ethnically, Egypt is roughly 99.6% Egyptian; religiously, Egypt is 90% Sunni Muslim and 10% Christian (majority Coptic Orthodox).⁴⁷⁶ This demographic composition may allow the military to present itself as loyal to Egyptian society, identify with widespread grievances, and thus intervene in political affairs in a manner not typically witnessed in the Middle East, with Turkey and Tunisia as notable exceptions.

⁴⁷⁴ Robert Springborg, *Egypt* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2018), p. 52; see also Arab Barometer, accessed February 20, 2018, <http://www.arabbarometer.org>.

⁴⁷⁵ Patrick Kingsley, "At least 51 Protesters Killed in Egypt as Army Opens Fire 'Like Pouring Rain,'" *The Guardian*, July 8, 2013, accessed February 20, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/08/egypt-clashes-morsi-muslim-brotherhood-military>.

⁴⁷⁶ US Central Intelligence Agency, "CIA World Factbook: Egypt," accessed February 20, 2018, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/eg.html>.

Analysis

In Egypt, Hosni Mubarak had allowed the military to acquire lucrative government contracts, positions, and business holdings as a way to keep officers loyal.⁴⁷⁷ As long as Hosni Mubarak was in power, the military would retain its privileged status, officers would continue to protect the regimes, and defection would be less likely. However, Sharon Nepstad rightly points out that all of this was likely to change if Gamal Mubarak took office and implemented privatization policies that would compromise the military's business holdings. As a result, there was a strong economic incentive for the military to side with pro-reform protesters attempting to force Mubarak out of power.⁴⁷⁸

Despite Mubarak's inability to facilitate economic development, in the post-Mubarak era Egyptian military leaders have nevertheless found a way to keep the lucrative system of postretirement appointments and financial rewards intact. One reason, as Jason Brownlee argues, is that US financial and military support has helped to maintain an autocratic security state in which the 2011 protesters "replaced a ruler but not a regime."⁴⁷⁹ Theoretically, then, military loyalty or defection during periods of political upheaval must account for the presence of foreign patrons. Indeed, revolution outcomes may be partially explained by the presence of what Brownlee terms "transnational authoritarianism," i.e., the notion that authoritarianism is co-constituted by actors from different governments and that officials collaborate to advance common interests and act upon shared objectives.⁴⁸⁰ Of course, the degree to which foreign

⁴⁷⁷ Ahmed Hashim, "The Egyptian Military, Part Two: From Mubarak Onward," *Middle East Policy* 18, no. 4 (2011): 106-128.

⁴⁷⁸ Nepstad, "Mutiny and Nonviolence in The Arab Spring: Exploring Military Defections and Loyalty in Egypt, Bahrain, and Syria," p. 342; see also Philippe Droz-Vincent, "Authoritarianism, Revolutions, Armies and Arab Regime Transitions," *The International Spectator* 46, no. 2 (2011): 5-21; Jack A. Goldstone, "Cross-Class Coalitions and the Making of the Arab Revolts of 2011," *Swiss Political Science Review* 17, no. 4 (2011): 457-462.

⁴⁷⁹ Jason Brownlee, *Democracy Prevention: The Politics of the US-Egyptian Alliance* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 3.

⁴⁸⁰ Brownlee, *Democracy Prevention: The Politics of the US-Egyptian Alliance*, pp. 172-173.

economic and material support exists in Arab countries varies widely and therefore cannot reliably explain why some militaries defect from a regime while others remain loyal.

The extent of military involvement in Egypt's political economy is revealing. While it is difficult to know with any precision what calculations Egyptian military leaders considered during the onset of large-scale protests, it is clear that the decision to defect was partially shaped by financial concerns. The military stood to lose significant assets if Mubarak remained in power and successfully transferred power to his son and successor, Gamal.⁴⁸¹ Numerous accounts detail the extent to which the Egyptian military acquired valuable real estate and various industries.⁴⁸² James Gelvin and Joshua Hammer estimate that the military commands up to 40% of the Egyptian economy.⁴⁸³ Indeed, the military has, over time, consolidated an industrial complex that is efficient, well-funded, and produces not only manufactured goods such as televisions, refrigerators, and cars, but also manages petroleum stations.⁴⁸⁴ Thus, when the Egyptian military's privileged economic status became threatened, the likelihood of defecting from the Mubarak regime increased.

Perhaps more revealing, the two country cases that experienced defection (Egypt and Tunisia) have relatively homogenous populations. In the inverse, the third hypothesis posits that homogenous militaries are more likely to remain loyal to a regime. Within both countries, the respective populations are ethnically, religiously, and socio-economically similar. While there are stark divides between rich and poor, Egypt and Tunisia contain majority populations that

⁴⁸¹ Nepstad, "Mutiny and Nonviolence in The Arab Spring: Exploring Military Defections and Loyalty in Egypt, Bahrain, and Syria," p. 342.

⁴⁸² Lisa Anderson, "Demystifying the Arab Spring: Parsing the Differences Between Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya." *Foreign Affairs* 90 (2011): 2; see also Bou Nassif, p. 509.

⁴⁸³ James L. Gelvin, *The Arab Uprisings: What Everyone Needs to Know*. Oxford University Press, 2012; Joshua Hammer and Amina Ismail "Egypt: Who Calls the Shots?" *New York Review of Books*, 2011.

⁴⁸⁴ Sherine Tadros, "Egypt Military's Economic Empire," *Al Jazeera*, February 15, 2012, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2012/02/2012215195912519142.html>.

share common class characteristics. These commonalities are reflected in the militaries as well. Thus, the absence of major ethnic, religious, or class-based cleavages fails to explain military defection in both Egypt and Tunisia. Because of Mubarak's failed economic policies the national strength of the economy is poor, and defection happened even though the military was integrated through economic benefits. The medium level of perception of political power, therefore, does not explain defection. There are sufficient factors to support Hypothesis 1 while Hypothesis 2 only has limited support and Hypothesis 3 little to none.

Case Summaries

This section provides a synopsis of the findings of the case studies by summarizing the conditions and outcomes of each country case according to this chapter's hypotheses (economic integration, political power, and military cleavage). As noted previously, depending on the context, this chapter assumes that each hypothesis may be partially correct. Sedition may stem from a military's economic standing, political power, ethnic composition, or combination of these factors. However, this chapter's case-study data supports Hypothesis 1, moderately supports Hypothesis 2, and refutes Hypothesis 3.

Jordan's military is the most economically integrated into the national economy and is therefore rated as high on this dimension. In addition to state-managed economic projects such as KADDB, Jordan combines direct benefits of military service with post-career retirement perks to sustain and advance the monarchy's system of patronage. To a lesser extent, both the Omani and Egyptian militaries retained a medium level of integration into the national economy. However, Oman's military expenditures are among the highest in the MENA region and Sultan Qaboos has a strong record of privileging military personnel in the economic sector. Although widespread,

the Egyptian military saw its economic privileges decline under presidents Mubarak and Morsi. In contrast, both historically and during the Arab uprisings, Tunisia's military has achieved only a low level of economic integration. This indicates some support for Hypothesis 1, as the military in the country with the highest levels of integration into the national economy (Jordan) remained loyal, while the military in the country with the lowest level of integration (Tunisia) defected from the regime. The two cases with a moderate level of integration (Egypt and Oman) respectively defected and remained loyal. As such, the evidence for the importance of military integration into the economy appears clear at the extremes, but less of a basis for predicting outcomes where the level of integration is moderate.

Jordan and Oman offer only moderate support for Hypothesis 2. Both militaries had medium levels of political power at the time of the Arab uprisings. However, the militaries lacked more formal political power in legislative or security-related matters. Such formal powers ultimately rested with King Abdullah II and Sultan Qaboos. In the Egyptian case, the military had medium and declining levels of political power at the time of the Arab uprisings. The potential transfer of power from Hosni to Gamal Mubarak threatened the Egyptian military's formal political power, which offers some support for Hypothesis 2. Similarly, the Tunisian military, which was historically marginalized from the political realm, only had a low-level of political power during the Arab uprisings. Together the cases offer moderate support for Hypothesis 2 because each military's perception of its power and the trajectory of its power contributed to defection. Perception of political power, actual political power, and projections of political power all matter. In Egypt, the perception that Gamal and Morsi would alter the military's power (through liberalization and appointments, respectfully) was an accurate assessment of the downward trajectory of military political power. In Jordan and Oman, although

they lacked formal political power, the militaries appeared to trust that the regimes would continue to support their political interests, e.g., retaining important cabinet and ministerial posts, influencing political decisions on defense budgets, and helping to define the broader national interest. Although political power played a role in facilitating military loyalty, political power alone does not appear to explain defection across the four country cases.

Concerning Hypothesis 3, military cleavages were low in both Tunisia and Egypt. Despite their relatively homogenous compositions, both militaries defected. Even more revealing, both the Jordanian and Omani militaries remained loyal to their regimes despite having medium levels of ethnic, religious, or sectarian cleavages. In theoretical terms, cleavages should matter because of their relation to unit cohesion, which is required for militaries to fulfill their national security responsibilities. Ethnic, religious, and sectarian cleavages can undermine such cohesion. In this context, the Jordan and Oman cases yielded outcomes that went in the opposite direction from what Hypothesis 3 would predict. For example, the Jordanian monarchy incorporated the different tribes into the socio-political structure and the military, and this led each tribe to prioritize loyalty to the monarchy and the nation-state. Oman has a similar experience in that loyalty to Sultan Qaboos is prioritized over tribal or sectarian cleavages. Despite having few cleavages, the Egyptian and Tunisian regimes could not produce military loyalty because the states did not give enough economic incentives or political power to their militaries. Therefore, cleavages do not appear to be the driving factor in loyalty and defection because in Jordan and Oman there were cleavages present, but both of those countries' militaries remained loyal. Accordingly, this chapter's case-study analysis offers little support for Hypothesis 3.

In sum, each of the four country cases offer strong support for Hypothesis 1. There is less support for Hypothesis 2 and even less for Hypothesis 3. Table 1 below shows the conditions that each military confronted during the Arab uprisings.

Table 1: Case Conditions and Outcomes

Country	H1 Economic Integration	H2 Political Power	H3 Military Cleavage	Result
Jordan	High	Medium	Medium (Palestinians)	Loyal
Tunisia	Low	Low	Low	Defection
Egypt	Medium	Medium (declining)	Low	Defection
Oman	Medium (high military expenditures; limited evidence of private sector)	Medium	Medium (but loyal to Qaboos state)	Loyal

Scale: None, low, medium, high. **Note:** This chart ranks the conditions that each military confronted during the Arab uprisings.

Conclusion

Recent studies of civil resistance suggest that military defections heavily influence the outcome of uprisings against authoritarian regimes. Yet scholars increasingly acknowledge that we know little about why, when, and how mutiny occurs.⁴⁸⁵ This study attempts to make a small contribution to this field of inquiry by testing theories of civil-military relations. In the study three hypotheses were tested:

- If the military is well integrated into the political economy of the state, then it will be less likely to defect.
- If the military is not losing political power, then it will be less likely to defect.
- If the military lacks internal sectarian cleavages, then it will be less likely to defect.

⁴⁸⁵ Nepstad, "Mutiny and Nonviolence in The Arab Spring: Exploring Military Defections and Loyalty in Egypt, Bahrain, and Syria," p. 337.

Comparative case study analysis provides evidence that military loyalty to monarchies in Jordan and Oman largely stem from specific economic programs and policies aimed at maintaining high levels of military contentment as opposed to perceptions of power or cleavages. Defection in Egypt and Tunisia happened because the militaries were less integrated and had fewer economic benefits. Therefore, the primary explanatory variable for military loyalty to civil authority is the level of integration into the political economy of the state.

In Jordan, King Abdullah II increased patronage to the military while defending its powerful role in Jordanian society. Similarly, Sultan Qaboos perpetuated the bureaucratic role played by various tribal groups in the Omani military to retain support among key segments of society. Perhaps equally important, Qaboos pursued policies that preserved military financial privileges, pensions, real estate holdings, retirement benefits, and elevated economic status. In Oman and Jordan, these policies contributed to the overall contentment of military elites and larger armed forces, thus reducing the likelihood of defection. In contrast, such privileges were under threat in Egypt. Gamal Mubarak's liberalization policies, such as increasing fiscal discipline, reducing government expenditures, growing tax revenues, and deregulating the public sector, among other policies, threatened the established safeguards of military status and power. The absence of similar safeguards is even more pronounced in Tunisia. President Ben Ali, and Bourguiba before him, sought to keep the armed forces out of politics as much as possible, for example, by banning any political activity by its members, and by removing officers who were thought to harbor political ambitions.

In this context, the political-economic hypothesis offers the strongest explanation of military defection and non-defection during the Arab uprisings. The comprehensive integration of the Jordanian Armed Forces into the national economy underlies larger symbolic expressions

of loyalty to the monarchy rooted in Jordanian nationalism. Security personnel view King Abdullah II as competent in his management of Jordan's economy and national security amidst regional war and civil unrest. Given Oman's demographic diversity and Sultan Qaboos' reclusive nature, the Omani military could have reasonably been expected to consider defecting from the regime during the uprisings. However, Qaboos experienced only limited threats to his power. This combined with the fact the Oman consistently ranks among the MENA region's largest military spenders suggests that the political-economic school provides the best explanation of non-defection.

In practical terms, what does this study mean for states that are struggling with and suffering from instability? If those states are to become more stable, what does this thesis say about which state they will model governance after? The most likely option is that of Jordan, which attempts both to liberalize its economy in order to allocate more resources for defense while giving generous forms of compensation to its security personnel. States like Iraq, Libya, Egypt, and Yemen will have to attempt to model their security policies after Jordan to mitigate instability and keep military loyalty. Iraq and Libya both currently have irredentist movements that seek greater autonomy without leaving the state, but this has created consternation with the central governments. To prevent further divisions, each central government would need to incorporate members from different territories into the armed forces and give generous monetary benefits that would encourage loyalty to the regime. The reason this would likely work is that each territory wants economic benefits that they are not currently receiving, which is why economic liberalization would likely become part of the model.

In Egypt, Hosni' Mubarak's son, Gamal, attempted to implement privatization and liberalization policies that threatened the military's privileged status. Threats to the military's

integration into the national economy provided the incentive for defection. Likewise, Mohamed Morsi's brief tenure as president again undermined long-established military economic privileges, ending with a coup to prevent further threats to military preeminence. However, Abdel Fattah el-Sisi is a military leader that has given extensive control of the political economy to members of the security apparatus. Unlike Mubarak and Morsi, the military will likely remain loyal based on this model because it serves their economic interests. Yemen is a unique case that faces a multiplicity of complicated and interconnected factors that would prevent it from following the Jordanian model. Yemen is currently experiencing an internecine conflict, an ethno-religious divide between the north and south, a proxy war by regional powers, intervention by the US in the form of drones, famine, drained water resources because of qat cultivation,⁴⁸⁶ and no legitimate central government. Mentioning Yemen is important because the Jordanian model for economic integration of the military to promote stability is only one of several factors. Countries like Syria and Lebanon will find following the model difficult for similar reasons. However, a number of countries (e.g., Iraq, Libya, and Egypt) can apply the Jordanian model to their security forces as a means to augment internal stability.

Contrary to Jordan, Tunisia presents a more difficult model for conflict-ridden states to emulate. More than other states in the region, Tunisia's military was marginalized under Ben Ali in both economic and political terms. President Ben Ali, and Bourguiba before him, sought to keep the armed forces out of politics as much as possible by banning any political activity by its members, and by removing officers who were thought to harbor political ambitions. In addition, French colonial influence dramatically shaped Tunisia's civil society and democratic culture. While conditions were ripe for military defection during the uprising period, Tunisia also

⁴⁸⁶ Qat is the leaves of an Arabian shrub, which are chewed (or drunk as an infusion) as a stimulant.

retained unique social and historical characteristics that lent themselves to political reconciliation and democratic gains.

Based on available evidence, Tunisia stands as an unlikely model for war-torn and volatile states to replicate. Jordan, however, offers a more plausible route to stability depending on the socio-political context of the state in question. Because states can neither create natural resources where none exist, nor quickly formulate alliances with powerful states, Oman and Egypt remain difficult models for unstable states to follow. If stability is the goal, this chapter provides limited yet meaningful evidence that high levels of military integration into state-level political economy reduce the likelihood of military defection during periods of political revolt.

CHAPTER FOUR

FOUNDATIONS OF REGIME DURABILITY: JORDANIAN INTELLIGENCE AND TRIBALISM

Introduction

In democracies and non-democracies alike, intelligence services lie at the center of national security strategies and operations. To execute national defense priorities, intelligence services typically perform five primary functions: information collection, analysis, counterintelligence, internal security, and covert action.⁴⁸⁷ In this context, national security intelligence is an expansive and complex topic with both technical and human dimensions – made all the more difficult to study and understand because of the “thick veils of secrecy that surround every nation’s spy apparatus.”⁴⁸⁸ Despite the hidden dimensions of intelligence work, scholars, defense experts, and civilians are increasingly pursuing intelligence studies as a means to more fully understand the intricacies of national defense, civil-military relations, and global security. Such widespread interest is both warranted and necessary because intelligence services form the basis of state and international security.

The following chapter is divided into three main sections: Structure of Jordanian Intelligence (JI); Relevant Factors for Efficiency; and The Arab Uprisings and the Efficiency of Jordanian Intelligence. The first section briefly reviews the structure and formation of Jordanian Intelligence. The second section analyzes the factors that contribute to JI’s success. The third section focuses on the Arab uprisings and how Jordanian Intelligence effectively contributed to the containment of the 2011 protests. The chapter also draws upon relevant literature and interviews conducted in Jordan from April—October 2017. Interviewees include high and low-

⁴⁸⁷ John A. Gentry, “Intelligence Services and Special Operations Forces: Why Relationships Differ,” *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence* 30, no. 4 (2017), p. 649.

⁴⁸⁸ Loch K. Johnson, *National Security Intelligence* (John Wiley & Sons, 2017), p. xv.

ranking members of the Jordanian Armed Forces (JAF), police, and intelligence services as well as retired US military personnel. Respondents also include cyber security experts, academics, lawyers, journalists, and banking and finance specialists.

Ultimately, this chapter puts forth a two-part argument: (1) Jordanian Intelligence is efficient at meeting its national security responsibilities because of the degree of its professionalization, meaning as an institution it established a hierarchy, meritocracy, and specialization of subject matters and skillsets. Therefore, through the different aspects of professionalization, JI creates a deep connection to different tribal and Islamist groups. Concerning tribes, Jordanian Intelligence works actively to recruit and assimilate members of the disparate tribes while embedding itself into tribal networks, creating a consistent flow of information about possible dissent against the monarchy. In order to deal with Islamists, JI will integrate itself into Islamist networks through a strategy of non-confrontation and de-escalation, which allows JI to collect intelligence and appropriately deal with each individual group by disrupting lines of communication, appeasing and co-opting leadership, or neutralizing targets. Furthermore, as such threats from Islamist terrorism and civil unrest have changed from internecine to transnational, JI also cooperates with foreign intelligence services in order to work with and learn from outside agencies on how best to collect and use intelligence.

(2) The efficiency derived from professionalization, integration into tribal and Islamist networks, and foreign cooperation leads to Jordan's security and stability as JI successfully safeguards the monarchy from the widespread and violent protests evident in much of the region.

Geopolitics, International Security, and Intelligence Agencies

Modern challenges to global security are proliferating and growing in complexity. To combat climate change, human and weapons smuggling, cyber-attacks, nuclear proliferation, terrorism, and a host of other global security challenges, states' intelligence services are increasingly cooperating at the international level.⁴⁸⁹ The implications of such cooperation are far from understood. Questions about the application of international law, the occurrence of human rights abuses, and privacy issues persist in the minds of those concerned with potentially unchecked and ill-defined powers of intelligence agencies. Yet the secretive nature of national security intelligence precludes real-time, clear-eyed, and effective evaluations of intelligence agencies' mandates and conduct. This is especially true for intelligence work conducted in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), one of the world's most anti-democratic, volatile, and violent regions.

Such dynamics leave proponents of greater transparency concerning intelligence services with difficult questions. Should Europe outsource anti-migration operations to Sudanese secret police with questionable human rights records to combat human trafficking?⁴⁹⁰ Should the United States conduct, or assist in the execution of, covert operations in Syria, Yemen, or parts

⁴⁸⁹ Steven L. Hall, "Intelligence Sharing With Russia: A Practitioner's Perspective," in "Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward Russia, Ukraine, and Eurasia," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, February 09, 2017, accessed May 16, 2018, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2017/02/09/intelligence-sharing-with-russia-practitioner-s-perspective-pub-67962>; see also Ewen MacAskill, "MI5 chief: UK and EU Intelligence Sharing 'Never More Important,'" *The Guardian*, May 13, 2018, accessed May 16, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/may/13/uk-and-european-intelligence-more-vital-than-ever-warns-mi5-head>; see also Yonah Jeremy Bob, "It's A New World — Where Israel Shares Intelligence with the Saudis," *The Jerusalem Post*, November 19, 2017, accessed May 16, 2018, <https://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Its-a-new-world-where-Israel-shares-intelligence-with-Saudis-514667>; see also J. Dana Stuster, "Russia, Iran, Iraq, and Syria to Share Intelligence on Islamic State," *Foreign Policy*, September 28, 2015, accessed May 16, 2018, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/09/28/russia-iran-iraq-and-syria-to-share-intelligence-on-islamic-state/>.

⁴⁹⁰ Patrick Kingsley, "By Stifling Migration, Sudan's Feared Secret Police Aid Europe," *New York Times*, April 22, 2018, accessed May 16, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/22/world/africa/migration-european-union-sudan.html>.

of North Africa without a clearly defined or at least publicly stated strategy?⁴⁹¹ How can MENA-based intelligence services be held accountable for human rights abuses, particularly when such abuses are known to their Western counterparts?⁴⁹² More ominously, would Western democracies be willing to accept increased violence, larger humanitarian disasters, or additional state collapse in the MENA region if they were to pull or reduce intelligence support for Arab agencies?

There are no easy answers to these questions. What is clear, however, is that when Western democracies or authoritarian regimes in the Middle East pursue national security objectives, Arab intelligence services reside at the core of such efforts.⁴⁹³ For example, in 2005, a CIA deputy director of operations told a US congressional committee that virtually every capture or killing of a suspected terrorist outside of Iraq since the September 11, 2001 attacks (more than 3,000 total suspects) was the result of CIA collaboration with foreign intelligence agencies.⁴⁹⁴ Although these collaborative efforts almost certainly involved non-Arab intelligence services, such a claim is remarkable. Narrowing in on the MENA region, this chapter will argue that no institution matters more to state stability than the intelligence services. Moreover, it is nearly impossible to understand MENA security dynamics without accounting for the central

⁴⁹¹ Melissa Dalton, Hijab Shah, and Timothy Robbins, "U.S. Support for Saudi Military Operations in Yemen," *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, March 23, 2018, accessed May 16, 2018, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/us-support-saudi-military-operations-yemen>.

⁴⁹² Joe Stork (ed), Clive Baldwin, Tom Porteous, Grace Choi, "We Do Unreasonable Things Here: Torture and National Security in al-Sisi's Egypt," *Human Rights Watch*, September 5, 2017, accessed May 16, 2018, <https://www.hrw.org/report/2017/09/05/we-do-unreasonable-things-here/torture-and-national-security-al-sisis-egypt>.

⁴⁹³ Daniel L. Byman, "How Foreign Intelligence Services Help Keep America Safe," *Brookings*, May 17, 2017, accessed May 16, 2018, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/05/17/how-foreign-intelligence-services-help-keep-america-safe/>.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid; see also Dana Priest, "Foreign Network at Front of CIA's Terror Fight," *Washington Post*, November 18, 2005, accessed May 16, 2018, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/11/17/AR2005111702070.html>.

roles played by intelligence services dating back to at least the beginning of the Cold War.⁴⁹⁵

Intelligence services attract foreign investment and security cooperation, identify and combat internal threats, and perhaps most importantly for their continued preeminence, safeguard autocratic leaders and their families.

To be sure, one of the enduring puzzles surrounding the persistence of authoritarianism in the Middle East concerns the role of intelligence services in supporting repressive regimes. Even before the Arab uprisings seemed to portend a range of democratic openings, authoritarian leaders manipulated voting mechanisms, controlled political participation, and restricted the actions of rivals who offered dissenting views on a country's political and economic trajectories. At the center of these efforts to manage greater political diversity within a nation's governing apparatus, leaders often relied upon their intelligence services to quiet, marginalize, and repress the most serious threats to the status quo. Although a combination of factors led to the re-emergence of authoritarianism in the MENA region, intelligence services remain a critical component of regime durability. This is especially true in Jordan where the monarchy has depended on its intelligence services to weather regional instability, large influxes of refugees, terrorist threats, and domestic discontent. In this respect, Jordanian Intelligence is representative of the requisite qualities of intelligence services in the MENA region regarding maintaining state stability and meeting national security challenges. Therefore, studying the case of Jordanian Intelligence will ideally yield important insights pertaining to the nature of regional intelligence services, such as professionalization and the utility of human intelligence operations. To that end,

⁴⁹⁵ This includes the initiation of US/Arab intelligence collaboration and the development of Arab intelligence services. See Hugh Wilford, *America's Great Game: The CIA's Secret Arabists and the Shaping of the Modern Middle East* (Basic Books, 2013).

this chapter asks the following question: How has Jordanian Intelligence facilitated the maintenance of Hashemite Rule?

Scholars and security experts generally attribute Jordan's political stability to a three-part relationship. This "triangle" includes: (1) the monarchy and royal court; (2) Prime Minister and Cabinet; and (3) Jordanian intelligence services.⁴⁹⁶ This chapter will focus on Jordanian Intelligence (JI) as the central pillar of the Jordanian state. Although all final decisions on matters of state rest with the monarchy, Jordanian Intelligence identifies threats to the regime and state, advises the king on crucial security issues, and carries out critical operations to preserve Hashemite power.

While scholarly attention to the role of militaries in protecting regimes has increased since the Arab uprisings, scholars have directed less research at the specific structures, functions, and priorities of intelligence services. To understand these dynamics, Erik Dahl argues that case studies can help improve the quality of intelligence analysis and help policymakers as they strive to identify and apprehend an evolving range of global security challenges.⁴⁹⁷ Moreover, Dahl contends that examining events through the lens of the case study method can clarify the broader significance of specific situations, such as terrorist attacks or intelligence failures, while also elucidating the effects of government or intelligence policies, such as the targeting of leaders of terrorist organizations.⁴⁹⁸ This chapter builds upon Dahl's understanding of case study research to examine the effectiveness of Jordanian Intelligence in safeguarding the Hashemite regime during the Arab Spring.

⁴⁹⁶ Author interview with lawyer/PhD, Amman, Jordan, July 11, 2017.

⁴⁹⁷ Erik J. Dahl, "Getting Beyond Analysis by Anecdote: Improving Intelligence Analysis Through the Use of Case Studies," *Intelligence and National Security* 32, no. 5 (2017), p. 563.

⁴⁹⁸ Dahl, "Getting Beyond Analysis by Anecdote: Improving Intelligence Analysis Through the Use of Case Studies." p. 569.

Notions of Professionalism

As noted above, this chapter defines the professionalization of security services in terms of their ability as institutions to establish a hierarchy, meritocracy, and specialization of subject matters and skillsets. This definition draws upon previous literature that identifies the critical components of professionalism that can then be applied to the case of Jordan. For example, Samuel Huntington classifies a “profession” as a “peculiar type of functional group with highly specialized characteristics.”⁴⁹⁹ For Huntington, professionalism includes expertise, responsibility, and corporateness, i.e., “members of a profession share a sense of organic unity and consciousness of themselves as a group apart from laymen.”⁵⁰⁰ This sense of unity stems from the rigorous training and discipline required for professional competence.⁵⁰¹

Similarly, Morris Janowitz builds upon Huntington’s notion of professionalism by arguing that a profession extends beyond a group with specialized skills developed through intensive training.⁵⁰² Not only do professional organizations acquire specialized skills through training, such groups also cultivate “a sense of group identity and a system of internal administration.”⁵⁰³ These processes lead to a system of internal administration that “implies the growth of a body of ethics and standards of performance.”⁵⁰⁴ In the context of the above conceptualizations of professionalism, this section serves as a reference point and basis for discussing professionalism as it applies to security services in Jordan.

⁴⁹⁹ Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Harvard University Press, 1957), p. 7.

⁵⁰⁰ Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*, pp. 7-10.

⁵⁰¹ Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*, p. 10.

⁵⁰² Morris Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait* (Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), p. 6.

⁵⁰³ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid.

Structure of Jordanian Intelligence Services

Jordanian Intelligence (JI) is the security collective that is the country's primary clandestine organization that gathers intelligence in order to neutralize internal and external threats to the state. Four branches makeup Jordan's intelligence services, referred to as Jordanian Intelligence: The General Intelligence Directorate (GID; *Dairat al-Mukhabarat al-Ammah*) is the largest and most powerful agency;⁵⁰⁵ military intelligence (*al-Istikhbarat al-Askariya*) forwards all intelligence threats to the GID; military security (*al-Amn al-Askari*) is responsible for preventing hostile activity from within the army; and the Jordanian police or general security (*al-Amn al-Amm*).⁵⁰⁶ According to its website, the GID's duties and responsibilities are to "safeguard the security of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan domestically and abroad by means of carrying out necessary intelligence operations."⁵⁰⁷ Under this directive, the GID retains a wide-ranging mandate to collect information on individuals and organizations both in Jordan and abroad to uncover and thwart subversive activities, espionage, and terrorism.⁵⁰⁸ The GID also has several departments to guard against various threats and facilitate relationships with foreign intelligence agencies. These include the department of the interior, which monitors Palestinian and Islamist terrorist groups, university and college students, and the inhabitants of refugee camps in Palestine and along the Syrian border. Additional departments administer Arab relations in foreign countries, intelligence cooperation with foreign agencies, and house other

⁵⁰⁵ Ronen Yitzhak, "The War Against Terrorism and for Stability of the Hashemite Regime: Jordanian Intelligence Challenges in the 21st Century," *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence* 29, no. 2 (2016), p. 213.

⁵⁰⁶ Yitzhak, "The War Against Terrorism and for Stability of the Hashemite Regime: Jordanian Intelligence Challenges in the 21st Century," pp. 213-214.

⁵⁰⁷ General Intelligence Directorate, "G.I.D. Law and Establishment," 2017, accessed March 27, 2018, <https://gid.gov.jo/gid-info/about-g-i-d/>.

⁵⁰⁸ Yitzhak, "The War Against Terrorism and for Stability of the Hashemite Regime: Jordanian Intelligence Challenges in the 21st Century," p. 214.

specialized units that conduct “analysis, special operations, investigations, administration, logistics, finance, training, and public relations.”⁵⁰⁹

Ronen Yitzhak explains that the Jordanian intelligence services were initially organized during the 1930s in TransJordan, a British protectorate established in 1921. The British formed a small intelligence unit in the Arab Legion in order to support the Hashemite regime, and later, to guard against a growing Palestinian population that opposed Jordan’s support of Britain during WWII.⁵¹⁰ During the 1950s and 1960s, rising Arab nationalism and a concern about pro-Nasser agents in Jordan led to the founding of the GID in 1964.⁵¹¹ John Gentry characterizes the GID as Jordan’s most important intelligence agency, but that unlike most external intelligence services, this military organization also has major internal responsibilities, such as regime protection and internal security as well as a specialized counterterrorism unit.⁵¹² Gentry contends that because the organization is composed primarily of East Bank Jordanians who are not Palestinians, the GID is regarded as more politically reliable and loyal to the monarchy.⁵¹³ Jordanian Intelligence as a collective is the most important apparatus in maintaining stability within the country because of the disparate threats that exist. Nation-states like Israel and Syria, sub-state actors like the Muslim Brotherhood and ISIS, and internal tribal divisions require JI to operate as the quintessential group of organizations protecting the Jordanian Homeland.

⁵⁰⁹ Yitzhak, “The War Against Terrorism and for Stability of the Hashemite Regime: Jordanian Intelligence Challenges in the 21st Century,” pp. 214-215.

⁵¹⁰ Yitzhak, “The War Against Terrorism and for Stability of the Hashemite Regime: Jordanian Intelligence Challenges in the 21st Century,” p. 214

⁵¹¹ Ibid.

⁵¹² Gentry, “Intelligence Services and Special Operations Forces: Why Relationships Differ,” p. 667.

⁵¹³ Ibid.

Relevant Factors for Efficiency

Jordanian Intelligence is uniquely efficient in accomplishing its national security objectives. The key factors that contribute to this efficiency are high levels of professionalization, responsiveness to tribal dynamics, capacity to understand, exploit, and manipulate the complexity of Islamist politics, and well-established partnerships with foreign intelligence services. It is difficult to overstate the importance of these core competencies in the context of regional instability. Jordan is surrounded by severe and arguably intractable conflicts in Iraq and Syria where turmoil often spills over Jordan's borders in the form of refugees, weapons smuggling, and terrorist infiltration. Moreover, perhaps more than any other country in the region, Jordan has been vulnerable to the instability and violence stemming from decades of conflict between Israel and Palestine. For example, when Israel announces new settlements or kills or injures Palestinian protesters, demonstrations commonly occur in Amman and throughout the country.⁵¹⁴ Jordanian intelligence services routinely monitor and attempt to contain such events. Jordan also suffers from the lack of a robust economy, limited natural resources, and the presence (often interference) of foreign actors within failed or struggling neighboring states. Given these obstacles, the fact that Jordanian Intelligence remains one of the most well-regarded and respected intelligences services in the MENA region is striking. The following section details how JI has been able to achieve and sustain remarkable efficiency in fulfilling its national security responsibilities.

⁵¹⁴ Leith Juneidi and Mehmet Nuri Ucar, "Jordan Authorities Stop Pro-Palestine March in Amman," *Anadolu Agency*, April 13, 2018, accessed May 17, 2018, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/middle-east/jordan-authorities-stop-pro-palestine-march-in-amman/1117487>. Jordanian Intelligence also attempts to contain protests that stem from more direct conflict between Jordan and Israel. For example, JI managed protests against an Israeli embassy guard, who after being stabbed, shot and killed two Jordanian citizens in Amman. See Jack Khoury, "Jordan Concerned by Anti-Israel Anger Following Embassy Shooting," *Haaretz*, July 24, 2017, accessed May 17, 2018, <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-jordan-security-concerned-by-anti-israel-anger-1.5433881>.

Professionalization

Given its multifaceted mandate, the GID follows specific guidelines when recruiting and training new operatives and conducting operations. According to the GID website, King Abdullah II appoints the Director and Officers of the GID by Royal Decree upon the recommendation of the Director General. GID applicants must possess sufficient “educational qualifications and need to pass a security check.”⁵¹⁵ Apart from these formal guidelines, respondents for this study provide a number of insights regarding recruitment, training, and operations procedures. At the center of these procedures is a strong sensitivity toward Jordan’s tribal composition.

Concerning recruitment, a former intelligence officer interviewed for this study explained that “Jordan is built from families” and that from an intelligence perspective recruiting, training, and then returning operatives to their home cities is effective because the intimate ties of agents to their communities improves information gathering.⁵¹⁶ The respondent detailed JI procedure by describing a web of intelligence operatives, stating that Jordanian Intelligence sends officers back to their home cities and that “I worked with and employed maybe 20 other people [operatives, informants, and other informal personnel]; for example, 6,000 intelligence officers would each have ten other people working for him [i.e., 60,000 total]. All intelligence gathering in the world uses this method, and this is a good way.”⁵¹⁷ The respondent claimed that their⁵¹⁸ first-hand knowledge of their city and its tribal makeup allowed them to conduct operations with greater efficiency.

⁵¹⁵ General Intelligence Directorate, “G.I.D. Law and Establishment,” 2017, accessed March 27, 2018, <https://gid.gov.jo/gid-info/about-g-i-d/>.

⁵¹⁶ Author interview with former intelligence officer, Amman, Jordan, June 6, 2017.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid.

⁵¹⁸ “Their,” “they,” and “them” are used instead of “he/she” or “him/her” to protect respondents’ identities.

This intimate understanding of Jordan's cities and communities allows Jordanian Intelligence to more accurately direct limited financial and human resources toward confronting legitimate threats. When intelligence operatives are deeply familiar with the communities they are charged with investigating, they are more effective at identifying the individuals and groups that may seek to undermine the state, e.g., by launching attacks against military or civilian targets, fomenting protests, criticizing the royal family, or directly challenging King Abdullah II's authority. Although criticism of government officials is generally tolerated in Jordanian society, criticizing King Abdullah II is off limits.⁵¹⁹ Thus, Jordanian Intelligence relies on its embedded agents to differentiate between acceptable public expressions of grievance versus deliberate attempts to challenge the monarchy and destabilize the state.

Domestic intelligence missions of this nature are strengthened by collaboration with foreign intelligence agencies. Domestically, Jordanian Intelligence boasts a high degree of expertise in recruitment, training, and operational dimensions. This professionalism allows JI to cooperate effectively with other states' intelligence services and accomplish a broad range of security objectives in service to the monarchy and the state. A former senior intelligence officer explained that during the early 1990s JI worked domestically and abroad, often in conjunction with UK and US intelligence (MI6, CIA, FBI), among others. JI worked with foreign intelligence services "in and outside of Jordan and helped each other."⁵²⁰ The respondent attributed JI's success to "smart and hardworking" intelligence personnel as well as JI's prioritization of "human" and not "technological" intelligence. According to the respondent, Jordanian Intelligence is effective at gathering human intelligence and conducting covert operations

⁵¹⁹ Olivia Ward, "King is 'Off Limits' in Jordan," *The Star*, February 1, 2011, accessed May 28, 2018, https://www.thestar.com/news/world/2011/02/01/king_is_off_limits_in_jordan.html.

⁵²⁰ Author interview with former intelligence officer (JI), Amman, Jordan, June 4, 2017.

because JI has a ratio of “one officer to every five to six Jordanian citizens.”⁵²¹ In the post-9/11 era, the respondent believed that the US overly relied on signals intelligence and that human intelligence is more critical because it provides a “full picture” of security threats.⁵²²

From this perspective, the ability of intelligence agencies to identify, disrupt, and neutralize threats is proportional to how well intelligence personnel understand the human dimensions of terrorist or anti-regime organizations. Although subversive groups are increasingly leveraging the power of technology to complete their objectives, such organizations are keenly aware of the benefits and drawbacks of technology.⁵²³ On the one hand, terrorists may recruit, communicate, or plan attacks through the use of a variety of technologies, e.g., radio and radar signals, cell phones, social media, or other Internet-based platforms. On the other hand, these technological tools are susceptible to infiltration by government intelligence agencies. To avoid such infiltration, terrorist groups may discourage the use of technology and work only with individuals who are trusted and well-known to other members or organizational leadership. In an effort to penetrate such networks, Jordanian Intelligence cultivates personal connections with potential threats. Respondents for this study stated that they would regularly attempt to talk with suspected terrorists to determine their interests, needs, and motivations.⁵²⁴ This knowledge provided a “fuller picture” of terrorist strategies, tactics, and objectives, which was then used to disrupt terrorist plots, follow up on potential leads, and develop further connections with potentially hostile networks.

⁵²¹ Author interview with former intelligence officer (JI), Amman, Jordan, June 4, 2017. For security purposes, the respondent could not go into details. However, this ratio can reasonably be interpreted as a formal and informal network of intelligence operatives, informants, and other sources of information.

⁵²² Author interview with former intelligence officer (JI), Amman, Jordan, June 4, 2017.

⁵²³ Eben Kaplan, “Terrorists and the Internet,” *Council on Foreign Relations*, January 8, 2009, accessed May 28, 2018, <https://www.cfr.org/background/terrorists-and-internet>.

⁵²⁴ Author interview with former intelligence officer, Amman, Jordan, June 6, 2017.

Human intelligence and international cooperation is central to gathering, interpreting, sharing, and funneling intelligence to decision-makers in order to thwart threats to the regime. A former intelligence officer explained that Jordanian Intelligence “cancels problems before they become problems. For example, [if a] Syrian wants to attack a mall. We stop him. We have connections with all intelligence services, CIA, KGB, Mossad. We work on terrorist issues.”⁵²⁵ The intelligence officer clarified that “the threat does not come from the US or Israel, but from Islamists. We [the international intelligence community] work together to be safe. Geographically, we’re in the middle of many problems.”⁵²⁶ Although the respondent could not discuss the details of individual cases for security purposes, such collaboration typically involves foreign intelligence agencies notifying Jordanian Intelligence of a potential threat crossing into Jordanian territory, establishing informal residence, communicating with known terrorist networks, and attempting to plan an attack. Once an attack is in the planning stage, JI and foreign intelligence agencies share evidence, logistical information, and attempt to intercept the attacker.

In addition to cooperation with foreign intelligence agencies, Jordanian citizens recognize JI’s professionalism domestically. During the Arab uprisings, a former surveillance and cyber security expert commented that JI conducted operations with a “distinct lack of brutality,” such as the violent and repressive tactics undertaken in Syria by Bashar al-Assad.⁵²⁷ Instead, the security sector organized “counter protesters” and the government made sure “the protesters didn’t clash.” Thus, the regime followed a strategy of “absorption rather than collision, which is characteristic of other times as well. The Hashemites are not known for being bloody.”⁵²⁸ In stark contrast to Syria where Bashar al-Assad ordered his security forces to repress

⁵²⁵ Author interview with former intelligence officer, Amman, Jordan, June 6, 2017.

⁵²⁶ Ibid.

⁵²⁷ Author interview with former surveillance and cyber security specialist, Amman, Jordan, July 19, 2017.

⁵²⁸ Ibid.

demonstrators through mass arrest, torture, and execution,⁵²⁹ King Abdullah II directed Jordanian Intelligence to avoid violent confrontation with protesters. This strategy of minimal confrontation bolstered JI's reputation as not only loyal to the monarchy but also to the larger citizenry. Respondents for this study generally agreed that King Abdullah II lacked the brutality of other regional dictators and instead showed an authentic concern for Jordan's population. This concern filtered down to Jordan's intelligence services during the 2011 protests. Respondents typically credited the strategy of minimal confrontation with protesters for the relatively low levels of violence produced by the uprisings.

More broadly, Jordanian Intelligence has developed its professionalism in order to manage security and political crises. Specifically, the structure of Jordanian Intelligence is hierarchical, meritocratic, and specialized. Similar to other well-developed international intelligence agencies, JI personnel show deference to the chain of command, earn promotions based upon skill and ability rather than personal connections, and receive training that is specific, advanced, and highly technical. When combined with a belief in the value of human intelligence, this professionalism allows Jordanian Intelligence to quickly identify threats and respond to crises in a manner that is measured, proportional, and strategic. Such capabilities form the basis of stability because both the monarchy and wider citizenry trust (to a sufficient degree) that the intelligence services are working in the interest of the state.

⁵²⁹ Human Rights Watch, "If the Dead Could Speak: Mass Deaths and Torture in Syria's Detention Facilities," December 16, 2015, accessed May 28, 2018, <https://www.hrw.org/report/2015/12/16/if-dead-could-speak/mass-deaths-and-torture-syrias-detention-facilities>.

Tribalism

Jordanian Intelligence's success at managing domestic threats is deeply rooted in its ability to balance competing tribal interests within Jordanian society. Both in Jordan and the larger MENA region, few studies appreciate how intelligence agencies manage tribal dynamics. Such dynamics are important because tribalism often forms the basis of family structure, political loyalties, and in conflict settings, competition over resources and political influence.⁵³⁰ Responding effectively to the legitimate economic, political, and security interests of tribes presents challenges for intelligence services that seek to maintain state security. Absent a sensitivity to tribalism, intelligence services risk alienating powerful segments of society and increasing the likelihood of social discontent, protest, or violent revolt. Although Jordanian Intelligence works hard to avoid these outcomes, only a limited number of studies examine how JI accomplishes these objectives.

In Jordan, Tariq Tell explains that there have been few attempts to examine the social foundations of the monarchy “from below” or to trace the expansion of “material interests that bound a loyalist Trans-Jordanian core of support in the army and security services to the Hashemite throne.”⁵³¹ Problematically, then, scholars have mistakenly presented an overly simplistic view of a personalized and patrimonial “royal military dictatorship” that draws its power from a “soldieri that gives unquestioning loyalty to a Hashemite King on account of his personal charisma and the religious aura that stems from his descent from the Prophet Muhammad.”⁵³² This chapter aims to avoid this mistake by arguing that Jordanian Intelligence's

⁵³⁰ Victor Menaldo, “The Middle East and North Africa's Resilient Monarchs,” *The Journal of Politics* 74, no. 3 (2012), pp. 716-717.

⁵³¹ Tariq Moraiwed Tell, *The Social and Economic Origins of Monarchy in Jordan* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 8-9.

⁵³² Tell, *The Social and Economic Origins of Monarchy in Jordan*, p. 9

responsiveness to tribalism is a cornerstone of its professionalism. JI's ability to work within Jordan's tribal structure allows it to distinguish between authentic security threats and non-radical Jordanian citizens who aim to pressure the monarchy for political, religious, or economic reforms, but not regime removal.

Respondents offered a number of operational examples that highlight the importance of tribalism. A former senior intelligence officer explained that from 1996 to 2006 Jordanian Intelligence succeeded in thwarting "more than 200 terrorist operations and attacks," although these successes were "not announced to the media." The attacks were planned by organizations like Hamas, Hezbollah, Al Qaeda, and Palestinian groups."⁵³³ Each group has disparate objectives in Jordan, and while signals intelligence played a role, the respondent emphasized the importance of human intelligence in successfully stopping many of the aforementioned attacks.

Understanding the domestic manifestations of subversive organizations enables Jordanian Intelligence to determine whether or not their goals are political, religious, or military. In general, JI prioritizes security threats that have the potential to inflict violence. Deep familiarity with opposition groups that have the desire and operational capacity to accomplish such a feat helps JI direct crucial resources to intercept threats in real time. In managing non-imminent threats, Jordanian Intelligence may monitor, track, and infiltrate politically-subversive groups over the medium and long term in an effort to undermine messaging, recruitment, and organizational growth. In essence, the professionalism to differentiate between low, medium, and high threat levels reduces the likelihood that Jordanian Intelligence will overreact to moderate threats, e.g., through the arrest, interrogation, or execution of dissidents. When members of a particular tribe are subjected to such overreactions by intelligence services, it has the potential to

⁵³³ Author interview with former intelligence officer (JI), Amman, Jordan, June 4, 2017.

provoke social backlash or accusations of unfair treatment among the tribes, both of which can lead to violence and state instability.

Relatedly, many of the intelligence professionals interviewed for this study began their careers investigating students and student unions where tribal dynamics factored into political movements. For example, following the ratification of Jordan's 1994 peace treaty with Israel, some Palestinian groups aimed to assassinate King Hussein and force the abrogation of the peace agreement.⁵³⁴ Universities provided Palestinian dissidents with a platform for intellectual debate and member recruitment, as the peace treaty was received with varying degrees of hostility in Jordanian society. Accordingly, Jordanian Intelligence monitored university settings and combined its knowledge of Palestinian grievances with its ability to identify and neutralize the more radical elements of PLO leadership.⁵³⁵ Importantly, JI viewed Palestinian hostility to King Hussein as distinct from the reactions of other Jordanian tribes to the peace treaty, reactions that were generally less aggressive toward the monarchy.⁵³⁶ This balanced approach helped to insulate King Hussein from broader social criticism because the regime allowed the expression of some negative reactions to the peace treaty. Jordanian Intelligence was therefore better able to focus on stopping the more immediate threat of Palestinian radicalism.

Prior to the 1994 period, Jordanian Intelligence demonstrated similar selectivity when dealing with other competing factions within Jordan. The above respondent characterized Jordan in 1985 as a period of "low democracy" where anyone who demonstrated against the regime was arrested.⁵³⁷ According to the respondent, there were two parts of the opposition: Islamists and

⁵³⁴ Author interview with former military officer (JA), Amman, Jordan, July 10, 2017.

⁵³⁵ Author interview with former intelligence officer (JI), Amman, Jordan, June 4, 2017.

⁵³⁶ For many Jordanians, King Hussein is revered and considered the "father of modern Jordan." Following the 1994 peace treaty with Israel, many Palestinian groups disavowed this view of King Hussein. See Philip Robins, *A History of Jordan* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 184-187.

⁵³⁷ Author interview with former intelligence officer (JI), Amman, Jordan, June 4, 2017.

Communists and “both groups were fighting to control student unions at universities. We investigated and recruited these protesters and we succeeded in intelligence gathering.”⁵³⁸ With limited financial and human resources available to Jordanian Intelligence, such discernment is critical to separating the most grave threats to state security from students pursuing more mainstream political agendas.

Both historically and currently, Jordan’s intelligence services lie at the center of Jordan’s stability. Crucially, Jordanian Intelligence is effective because of its proximity to the Jordanian people and its tribes. Jordanian Intelligence operatives carry out clandestine operations in universities, mosques, commercial centers, and at political meetings and social gatherings. The intelligence personnel who perform these functions are often from the communities where such activities and interactions take place. This gives JI an intimate knowledge of the motivations, intent, and aims of potentially subversive groups, which allows for quicker and more accurate threat assessments. This approach is all the more effective because of Jordan’s relatively small population of roughly ten million people. Although respondents for this study could not offer specific details because of security reasons, there was broad consensus that Jordanian Intelligence monitors each family, if not each individual citizen, in Jordan. Similarly, all foreign nationals in Jordan, including tourists, students, business personnel, suspected terrorists, etc., are likely monitored by Jordanian security services. Following the trajectory of other well-developed international intelligence agencies, this brand of comprehensive surveillance and monitoring is not without precedent.⁵³⁹

⁵³⁸ Author interview with former intelligence officer (JI), Amman, Jordan, June 4, 2017.

⁵³⁹ China is reportedly developing a vast surveillance system that monitors every single one of its 1.4 billion citizens. See Alexandra Ma, “China Is Building a Vast Civilian Surveillance Network — Here Are 10 Ways it Could Be Feeding its Creepy ‘Social Credit System,’” *Business Insider*, April 29, 2018, accessed May 30, 2018, <http://www.businessinsider.com/how-china-is-watching-its-citizens-in-a-modern-surveillance-state-2018-4>.

Building from King Hussein's approach, King Abdullah II balances Jordan's tribal interests, recruits operatives from specific tribes, and maintains security in a manner that reinforces shared identity among Jordan's security personnel. Intelligence operatives are selected, trained, and socialized into an institutional culture in a way that minimizes tribal differences. First and foremost, JI personnel serve the monarchy and the state as opposed to a specific tribe. Like most forms of military indoctrination, individual identities are subverted for institutional norms and values. In the Jordanian context, tribal identity, religious affiliation (e.g., Sunni or Shia), or family connections matter less than an individual's capacity to effectively serve in the intelligence apparatus. Respondents routinely expressed pride in service to the nation and highlighted the non-sectarian nature of intelligence work—a seemingly unique characteristic of intelligence operatives in the MENA region.

To further evaluate this perspective, this chapter examines the structure of Jordanian intelligence, cooperation and rivalry within Jordanian intelligence sectors, international cooperation on intelligence matters, and the primary threats to Jordan's security, including border control, political unrest, and terrorist infiltration into refugee camps. Evidence suggests that Jordanian Intelligence has achieved remarkable levels of success because of its prioritization of human intelligence over signal intelligence (i.e., technology-based intelligence that intercepts electronic signals used in direct or indirect communications). Understanding the above dynamics produces a more informed account of how Jordanian Intelligence forms the foundation of Hashemite resilience.

Tribalism and Identity

Few researchers investigate the connections between the organizational evolution of the Jordanian security and larger historical developments on the East Bank, namely the integration of Palestinians into the Jordanian security apparatus.⁵⁴⁰ As a consequence, the persistence of Hashemite rule is overly attributed to the “personal charisma” and “religious aura” of King Hussein.⁵⁴¹ This section attempts to move beyond myopic notions of loyalty to the monarchy by arguing that the regime seeks to balance the way in which the different tribes benefit from Hashemite rule. This strategy has two primary components. First, the regime fosters loyalty by defending the honor of the tribes and the institution of the monarchy. Second, the regime utilizes rewards and incentives to ensure the loyalty of the tribes. In security matters, this strategy is then carried out by Jordanian Intelligence as part of a larger effort to manage competing tribal interests and maintain Jordan’s broader stability.

Dale Eickelman explains that the first thing to emphasize when examining tribal identity, like other forms of social identity such as kinship, citizenship, or national identity, is that it is created, either by a region’s indigenous population or those attempting to describe it.⁵⁴² Notions of the tribe (*‘ashirah*), or tribal identity, do not exist outside of their cultural and social contexts. Moreover, tribal identities change over time and whether or not they develop in the context of strong versus weak state institutions or in a colonial society matters greatly.⁵⁴³ This section narrowly focuses on tribal identities to the extent they played a role in the development of Jordanian Intelligence.

⁵⁴⁰ Tell, *The Social and Economic Origins of Monarchy in Jordan*, p. 9.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.

⁵⁴² Dale F. Eickelman, *The Middle East and Central Asia: An Anthropological Approach*. Fourth Edition (Prentice Hall, 1998), p. 116.

⁵⁴³ Ibid.

Eickelman outlines four principal forms of tribal identity in the Middle East:

(1) the elaboration and use of explicit 'native' ethnopolitical ideologies by the people themselves to explain their sociopolitical organization; (2) concepts used by state authorities for administrative purposes; (3) implicit, practical notions held by people that are not elaborated into formal ideologies; and (4) anthropological concepts.⁵⁴⁴

Although scholars can distinguish between these notions of tribal identity for analytical purposes, Eickelman stresses that they are not mutually exclusive, and frequently overlap. In addition, indigenous, or locally held, notions of tribal identity vary across the Middle East, but they are typically "based on a concept of political identity formed through patrilineal descent."⁵⁴⁵

In the Jordanian context, historians generally agree that tribalism is a central theme in the country's development. Yoav Alon contends that unlike other countries in the region founded on urban elites and cultures, Jordan explicitly incorporated tribalism into its political structure and relied upon it for its own legitimacy and survival.⁵⁴⁶ Dating back to the 1916 Arab Revolt, Jordan's founding stems from a coalition of tribes led by the Hashemite family against Ottoman rule. The late King Hussein bin Talal (1935-1999), considered the father of modern Jordan, emphasized his descent from the Quraysh, the tribe of the Prophet Muhammad. Hussein's broad authority, and his success in forming a loyal base of support among the Bedouin tribes, can partially be traced to the religious legitimacy attributed to his family because of its Sharifian (i.e., "noble" or "highborn") lineage.⁵⁴⁷ Despite various transformations, tribal identities played an essential role in early state formation and continue to influence Jordan's political, social, and cultural life.⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁴ Eickelman, *The Middle East and Central Asia: An Anthropological Approach*, pp. 116-117.

⁵⁴⁵ Eickelman, *The Middle East and Central Asia: An Anthropological Approach*, p. 117.

⁵⁴⁶ Yoav Alon, *The Making of Jordan: Tribes, Colonialism and The Modern State* (London: IB Tauris, 2009), p. 2.

⁵⁴⁷ Tell, *The Social and Economic Origins of Monarchy in Jordan*, p. 8.

⁵⁴⁸ Alon, *The Making of Jordan: Tribes, Colonialism and The Modern State*, p. 2.

In contemporary Jordan, Mohammed Ali Al Oudat and Ayman Alshboul argue that tribal identity maintains its relevance and importance in society and can best be understood through the prism of Jordanian nationalism.⁵⁴⁹ Unlike other forms of Western and Arab nationalism, Jordanian nationalism prioritizes tribal identity, which makes Jordanian nationalism a combination of loyalty to tribe and king rather than the idea of the nation-state. Oudat and Alshboul argue that the existence of traditional political authority (derived from tribal loyalties) and a state system of political authority have produced a system of incompatibility. That is, the regime “promotes loyalties based on the desire to defend both the honour of the tribes and the institution of the monarchy rather than to defend the notion of the nation-state.”⁵⁵⁰ As such, problems of political legitimacy arise because of the unfulfilled process of nation-building. Throughout Jordan’s modern history, a variety of legitimizing ideologies have been used to justify the right of Hashemite rule, including socialism, nationalism, pan-Arabism, Islam, and “Jordan First.” As a slogan, “Jordan First” represents an ideal of unity amidst diversity as well as loyalty to Jordan above other affiliations, including ethnic, religious, ideological, or tribal.⁵⁵¹ However, Oudat and Alshboul contend that these ideologies do not include a notion of the Jordanian nation and instead have created confusion at the local and national levels about how the state system and its institutions should function.⁵⁵² From this perspective, the monarchy continues to rely upon a system of rewards and incentives directed at key tribes and segments of support to ensure their continued loyalty. In this sense, the regime’s strategy to preserve its power is distinct from a broader program to develop and defend Jordan as a nation-state.

⁵⁴⁹ Mohammed Ali Al Oudat and Ayman Alshboul, ““Jordan First”: Tribalism, Nationalism and Legitimacy of Power in Jordan,” *Intellectual Discourse* 18, no. 1 (2010), p. 65.

⁵⁵⁰ Oudat and Alshboul, ““Jordan First”: Tribalism, Nationalism and Legitimacy of Power in Jordan.” p. 66.

⁵⁵¹ Philip Robins, *A History of Jordan* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 203.

⁵⁵² Oudat and Alshboul, ““Jordan First”: Tribalism, Nationalism and Legitimacy of Power in Jordan.” pp. 65-66, 93.

Scaled down from the national level, interview responses bear out the importance of tribal dynamics when maintaining the strength of Jordan's intelligence services. Regarding intelligence recruitment, a former senior intelligence officer remarked that Jordanian Intelligence "always took from different tribes."⁵⁵³ For example, one-year recruitment officers would select one candidate from one tribe and two from another. The following year JI would reverse the ratio in order to "Keep things balanced." The respondent commented that it was not easy to recruit for the intelligence department because in addition to selecting highly qualified candidates it was charged with recruiting Jordanians, Bedouins, and Jordanians of Palestinian descent.⁵⁵⁴ What the respondent emphasized is the importance of gathering a diverse group of intelligence recruits while demonstrating the complexity of pulling them from a plethora of sub-national groups, including tribes and ethnic minorities. A former surveillance and cyber security expert affirmed the importance of tribal dynamics within Jordan's security apparatus. The interviewee stated that "tribalism is an integral part of not just the structure [of Jordanian society] but also the general strategy that the regime uses to maintain a delicate stability...Loyalty is first to the tribe, then to the king. The concept of citizenship is very skewed because of tribalism."⁵⁵⁵ This comment aligns with Oudat and Alshboul's claim that while tribalism remains a central feature of Jordan's political and security structure it also contributes to an uneven playing field concerning the development of Jordan as a nation-state. Intelligence personnel are not only selected and promoted because of their qualifications but their tribal affiliation as well.

⁵⁵³ Author interview with former intelligence officer (JI), Amman, Jordan, June 4, 2017.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁵ Author interview with former surveillance and cyber security specialist, Amman, Jordan, July 19, 2017.

Tribalism and Security

Much of the literature referenced thus far outlines Jordan's complex tribal composition. Persuasive arguments describe how Jordan's internal stability is linked to the idea of 'citizenship,' which "presupposes the transformation of tribal and paternal ties into a national identity."⁵⁵⁶ However, while historical and anthropological approaches to tribalism offer detailed accounts of tribalism in Jordan, less attention is directed at how tribalism shapes and affects Jordan's security structure. A security-centric view of tribalism recognizes meaningful historical connections between the regime and tribal leaders. Such connections continue to form the basis of intelligence recruitment, training, and operations.

Historically, King Hussein's survival depended upon the support of "royalist officers and [a] tribal" army to suppress a number of threats to his power.⁵⁵⁷ These threats included the demonstrations that opposed Jordan's entry into the Baghdad Pact⁵⁵⁸ in 1955 and the protests that rejected unification talks between Iraq, Egypt, and Syria in 1963. In addition, the cohesion of the military and its relative lack of tribal cleavages reinforced Hussein's ability to stifle the left-leaning Nabulsi government and military conspirators between 1956 and 1959 as well as overcome the threat of Palestinian nationalism and the PLO between 1964 and 1971.⁵⁵⁹ By managing tribal differences within the military and intelligence services and securing their loyalty, King Hussein crafted the military foundations of Hashemite power.

⁵⁵⁶ Oudat and Alshboul, "'Jordan First': Tribalism, Nationalism and Legitimacy of Power in Jordan," pp. 93-94.

⁵⁵⁷ Michael C. Hudson, *Arab Politics: The Search for Legitimacy* (Yale University Press, 1977), p. 218; see also Tell, *The Social and Economic Origins of Monarchy in Jordan*, p. 8.

⁵⁵⁸ The Baghdad Pact was a collective security agreement between Turkey, Iraq, Great Britain, Pakistan, and Iran. Similar to NATO, the Baghdad Pact aimed to contain the Soviet Union and prevent communist incursions into the Middle East.

⁵⁵⁹ Hudson, *Arab Politics: The Search for Legitimacy*, pp. 217-218; see also Tell, *The Social and Economic Origins of Monarchy in Jordan*, p. 8.

Hashemite authority and legitimacy among the Bedouin tribes dates back to the formation of the Arab Legion in the early part of the 20th century. Active from 1920 to 1956, the Arab Legion was the regular army of Transjordan and later Jordan when it gained independence in 1946. Originally, the Bedouin entered the Arab Army for “collective security and responsibility in the tribe, clan and family.”⁵⁶⁰ In this sense, tribal cooperation extended into the careers of military personnel, which formed the basis of military loyalty to the monarchy.⁵⁶¹ Such loyalty was rooted in a desire to defend the honor of the family, tribe, and king, rather than the state or “some abstract notion of Jordanian patriotism.”⁵⁶² Symbolic references highlight Jordan’s tribal legacy in maintaining Jordan’s security, such as the ceremonial yet visible Arab Legion and its Bedouin-like uniforms that can still be found in museums or cultural sites.⁵⁶³

The codification of tribal loyalty to the monarchy occurred under King Hussein who cultivated strong relationships with the “traditionalists,” i.e., tribal and clan leaders.⁵⁶⁴ To achieve strong relationships with Jordan’s tribes, King Hussein merged a number of different images in order to appeal to a diverse range of actors. These images included “civil libertarian, dynast, leader of the tribes, protector of Palestinians (and Circassians and Chechens and Christians), custodian of Jerusalem’s holy places, descendant the Prophet, cosmopolitan, anglophile, [and] supporter of secularist trends.”⁵⁶⁵ The amalgamation of identities allowed King Hussein to construct a modern image abroad while establishing a traditionalist political culture

⁵⁶⁰ Panayiotis Batikiotes, *Politics and The Military in Jordan: A Study of the Arab Legion, 1921-1957* (London: Frank Cass, 1967), p. 20.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid.

⁵⁶² Oudat and Alshboul, ““Jordan First”: Tribalism, Nationalism and Legitimacy of Power in Jordan,” p. 70.

⁵⁶³ Alon, *The Making of Jordan: Tribes, Colonialism and The Modern State*, p. 2.

⁵⁶⁴ Andrew Shryock, “Dynastic Modernism and Its Contradictions: Testing the Limits of Pluralism, Tribalism, and King Hussein’s Example in Hashemite Jordan,” *Arab Studies Quarterly* (2000), p. 58.

⁵⁶⁵ Shryock, “Dynastic Modernism and Its Contradictions: Testing the Limits of Pluralism, Tribalism, and King Hussein’s Example in Hashemite Jordan,” p. 72.

domestically.⁵⁶⁶ Despite his ability to successfully navigate the demands of various constituencies, King Hussein faced accusations of favoritism. For example, some Palestinians argued that King Hussein privileged the tribes in security and political affairs and that his political identity was one of “‘divide and rule’ (*farriq tasud*).”⁵⁶⁷ While King Hussein delivered different rewards to various segments of support, the reality of patronage is more complex. King Hussein’s military, public security, and intelligence services were dominated by Bedouin tribes, but Palestinians benefited under Hussein as well. Many Palestinians were granted citizenship and “now predominate in the kingdom’s business, professional, media, and educational sectors.”⁵⁶⁸

Given the volatility of this historical context, the modern development and professionalization of the Jordanian intelligence services was never a foregone conclusion. First King Hussein and later King Abdullah II worked hard to contain tribal rivalries, balance competing interests, and cultivate institutional unity within the intelligence services. The monarchy was able to overcome polarizing historical events, such as the growth of Palestinian nationalism while also creating a sense of national identity during decades of domestic and regional turmoil. Although tribal leaders have long expressed concerns over favoritism, the monarchy has been effective at minimizing such grievances and advancing an image as impartial and dedicated to the national interest. Tribal buy-in to the state thus forms the foundation of Jordan’s security apparatus because diverse segments of Jordanian society remain loyal to the monarchy, work in the intelligence services, and serve the nation.

⁵⁶⁶ Shryock, “Dynastic Modernism and Its Contradictions: Testing the Limits of Pluralism, Tribalism, and King Hussein’s Example in Hashemite Jordan,” pp. 58-59.

⁵⁶⁷ Shryock, “Dynastic Modernism and Its Contradictions: Testing the Limits of Pluralism, Tribalism, and King Hussein’s Example in Hashemite Jordan,” p. 62.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid.

Islamists and the Hashemite Regime

The monarchy's ability to maintain a functional relationship with Jordan's Islamists parallels its success in carefully balancing and managing tribal dynamics. As early as 1991, Jordan had to confront an increasing terrorist threat stemming from the end of the Soviet-Afghan War. Philip Robins explains that roughly 1,000 Jordanian 'Afghans' fought alongside the *mujahideen* in Afghanistan, and upon returning to Jordan, tended to gravitate toward extremist Islamist politics.⁵⁶⁹ In July 1991, Jordanian security services arrested approximately 100 suspected militants linked to the military wing of the Muslim Brotherhood, the Prophet Muhammad's Army.⁵⁷⁰ From a security standpoint, such incidents magnified the monarchy's fear of extremist Islamist threats within Jordan.

Despite concerns over emerging radicalism in the early 1990s, Islamist movements in Jordan have a history and heritage as old as the Hashemite regime itself.⁵⁷¹ Curtis Ryan explains that although Jordan's main Islamist political party—the Islamic Action Front (*Jabha al-Amal al-Islami* or IAF)—was not legalized until the early 1990s, Jordan's Muslim Brotherhood (*al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun* or MB) cultivated a working relationship with King Hussein and was largely viewed as loyal opposition. Even before King Hussein's tenure, the Hashemite regime tolerated Islamist activism in Jordanian politics because of its emphasis on “reform, moderation, and democratic participation, rather than revolution, radicalism, and militancy.”⁵⁷² In this context, Ryan concludes that Jordan's Islamist movement has been overwhelmingly reformist and democratically-minded as opposed to militant and revolutionary.⁵⁷³

⁵⁶⁹ Philip Robins, *A History of Jordan* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 187-188.

⁵⁷⁰ Robins, *A History of Jordan*, p. 188.

⁵⁷¹ Curtis R. Ryan, “Islamist Political Activism in Jordan: Moderation, Militancy, and Democracy.” *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 12, no. 2 (2008), p. 1.

⁵⁷² Ibid.

⁵⁷³ Ibid.

Politically, scholars credit Islamist movements with democratic advances in Jordan and the wider Middle East. Glenn Robinson argues that Jordan's Islamist movement played a role in democratic expansion because greater democratization served its interests in easing political restrictions and pursuing policy objectives.⁵⁷⁴ For example, the 1989 Program of the Muslim Brothers called for fiscal conservatism but with a populist orientation. The Program advocated for the protection of private property and measures to reduce public debt, government spending, and inflation. Socially, the MB platform espoused conservative values that rejected "corruption in all its forms" as well as alcohol, gambling, drugs, and dance halls.⁵⁷⁵ The Muslim Brotherhood and the broader Islamist movement in Jordan succeeded in many of their policy objectives by obeying democratic rules and working from within the political system.

The behavior and willingness of Islamists to participate in Jordanian politics reflects a larger debate between democratization and political Islam in the Middle East. On the one hand, the inclusion-moderation hypothesis contends that "political groups and individuals may become more moderate as a result of their inclusion in pluralist political processes."⁵⁷⁶ Jillian Schwedler explains that three dimensions form the basis of the inclusion-moderation hypothesis: (1) the behavioral moderation of groups; (2) the ideological moderation of groups; and (3) the ideological moderation of individuals.⁵⁷⁷ In an early version of the inclusion-moderation hypothesis, Samuel Huntington contends that political inclusion provides incentives for opposition groups to compromise and negotiate with regimes to achieve policy objectives as part

⁵⁷⁴ Glenn E Robinson, "Can Islamists Be Democrats? The Case of Jordan," *The Middle East Journal* (1997), p. 373.

⁵⁷⁵ Glenn E Robinson, "Can Islamists Be Democrats? The Case of Jordan," *The Middle East Journal* (1997), p. 377.

⁵⁷⁶ Jillian Schwedler, "Can Islamists Become Moderates? Rethinking The Inclusion-Moderation Hypothesis," *World Politics* 63, no. 2 (2011), p. 348.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid.

of a “democratic bargain.”⁵⁷⁸ Scholars differ in the level of emphasis they place on whether or not individuals or groups change behavior or ideological positions, but share a unifying focus on the extent to which inclusion leads to some form of moderation.

A former intelligence officer framed intelligence work dealing with Islamists in a similar fashion. That is, by understanding and directly engaging the tribal, religious, or linguistic aspects of opposition members, Jordanian Intelligence could more effectively complete its missions. The interviewee stated that “Jordanian Intelligence is smart. They don’t hate Islamists. Instead they make them feel safe. If Jordanian Intelligence intimidates Islamists, they [Islamists] will close up.”⁵⁷⁹ As a result, JI operatives attempt to cultivate a “personal connection” with Islamists. The interviewee concluded by stating “we have to learn their languages; literal and figurative but mostly literal, for example, Turkish.”⁵⁸⁰

On the other hand, scholars contend that regime-initiated democratic openings are not simply survival strategies but instead a form of political system. Daniel Brumberg articulates the concept of “liberalized autocracy” and argues that a combination of guided pluralism, controlled elections, and selective repression in Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Algeria, and Kuwait is not merely a “survival strategy” utilized by authoritarian regimes, but rather a “*type* of political system whose institutions, rules, and logic defy any linear model of democratization.”⁵⁸¹ Similarly, Glenn Robinson puts forth the notion of “defensive democratization” in which the Hashemite regime pursued a political-liberalization program to assure its political longevity.⁵⁸² In order to

⁵⁷⁸ Samuel Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, Vol. 4. Norman (University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), p. 169; see also Schwedler, “Can Islamists Become Moderates? Rethinking The Inclusion-Moderation Hypothesis,” p. 353.

⁵⁷⁹ Author interview with former intelligence officer, Amman, Jordan, June 6, 2017.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁸¹ Daniel Brumberg, “The Trap of Liberalized Autocracy,” *Journal of democracy* 13, no. 4 (2002), p. 56.

⁵⁸² Glenn E. Robinson, “Defensive Democratization in Jordan,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30, no. 3 (1998), p. 387.

avert deepening economic and political crises in 1989, Robinson outlines how Jordan's political-liberalization program advanced a set of policies intended to maintain elite privilege without ushering in fundamental political change.⁵⁸³ As part of the program, Jordan held three national parliamentary elections, enacted multiple liberalizing laws, allowed greater press freedoms, and reduced the role of intelligence services in repressing opposition.⁵⁸⁴ These interpretations of democratization contend that liberalization programs are not merely intended to encourage Islamist parties to participate in political processes and thus moderate. Instead, "liberalized autocracy" and "defensive democratization" hold that regimes construct political systems that create and dismantle democratic openings according to the security needs of the state.

Rather than viewing these intellectual approaches (inclusion-moderation hypothesis and liberalized autocracy/defensive democratization) in diametric opposition, it is more reasonable to interpret the differences on a spectrum. Regimes pursue liberalization policies for a number of reasons, such as relieving social pressures or seeking economic growth while also attempting to incorporate Islamist parties into the existing political system, thus lending it legitimacy. In such scenarios, authentic democratization efforts may be the goal. Alternatively, regimes may implement liberalization policies only to quell dissent with the intention of closing democratic windows once social or economic pressures decline. The above perspectives on democratization are not mutually exclusive. Depending on the threat, regimes may allow greater political participation (e.g., legalizing opposition parties or enacting constitutional reforms) while protecting essential power structures (e.g., the royal appointment of not only cabinet ministers but entire chambers of parliament as well).

⁵⁸³ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid.

In the Jordanian context, the regime's handling of Islamist opposition during the late 1980s and early 1990s is instructive. Historically, the Islamist movement in Jordan is perhaps the most integrated, pro-political establishment in the MENA region.⁵⁸⁵ King Abdullah II legalized the Muslim Brotherhood and allowed its participation in Jordanian politics. However, the monarchy demonstrated a willingness to contain Islamists when they opposed important national policies. For example, the Islamist movement opposed the two most significant policies of the liberalization program: "the IMF-mandated austerity measures (including the initiation of a sales tax) and the normalization of relations with Israel."⁵⁸⁶ The regime took legal action to contain Islamist influence, including a change in voting laws that privileged tribe over party candidates and the crafting of electoral districts that favored central and southern rural districts as opposed to urban centers where the Muslim Brotherhood's influence was strongest.⁵⁸⁷

Both historically and currently, Jordan's intelligence services lie at the center of confronting Islamist threats and enforcing the monarchy's security priorities. A former intelligence officer stated that Jordanian Intelligence considers Islamists as threats and that "we [JI] followed them [and] these things from the 1980s until now. We collected all of this information. In the 1980s we would ask people with beards to explain what they think [and] believe."⁵⁸⁸ Jordanian Intelligence remains focused on the potential threat of Islamists, especially those groups that have the potential to affiliate with or support the Islamic State (IS). Interview data suggests that Jordanian citizens share this concern as well. A former enlisted soldier in the US Army described the social reaction that followed the Islamic State's killing of a Jordanian Air Force pilot in January 2015. The interviewee explained that after the pilot's death "there was

⁵⁸⁵ Robinson, "Defensive Democratization in Jordan," p. 401.

⁵⁸⁶ Robinson, "Defensive Democratization in Jordan," pp. 401-402.

⁵⁸⁷ Robinson, "Defensive Democratization in Jordan," p. 402.

⁵⁸⁸ Author interview with former intelligence officer, Amman, Jordan, June 6, 2017.

a great burst in Jordan of national pride. The day after [the incident] I went to Ajloun [northern Jordan] and the street was blocked by demonstrators that were pro-King and pro-soldier.”⁵⁸⁹ This event demonstrates the broader public support of Jordanian Intelligence for confronting extremist Islamist elements domestically and in the MENA region. A retired police officer captured this sentiment when he stated that although “sleeping cells, terrorist, and ISIS” are threats, ISIS is “horrific and their atrocities make me think of my family, my brother, my sister. ISIS is making religion dirty. There is a far distance between ISIS and Muslims.”⁵⁹⁰

Successfully managing Islamist threats to regime power is a difficult task in the MENA region. In 2013, the Egyptian military removed the democratically elected Mohammad Morsi from office out of fear that the Muslim Brotherhood would fundamentally alter the balance of power in Egyptian society. During the 2011 revolution, many Tunisians expressed concern over the potentially outsized role of Tunisia’s leading Islamist party, Ennahda, in the emerging political system. Before being removed from power and executed, Saddam Hussein embarked on a widespread “Islamization” program in the 1990s aimed at co-opting and thus controlling Islamists in Iraq. Since the 1979 Iranian Revolution, Saudi Arabia has worried about the potential “export” of Iranian-brand Islamism and propagated and funded Wahhabism as part of its strategy to deter Iranian influence. In each case, regimes typically rely upon their intelligence services to contain Islamist influence in social, political, and economic matters. Often more than their neighboring counterparts, Jordanian intelligence services have accurately identified the level of threat posed by Islamists and managed to limit disruptions to Hashemite rule.

The successes achieved by Jordanian Intelligence in mitigating Islamist threats in Jordan parallel its high degree professionalization, its expertise in responding to tribalism, and its ability

⁵⁸⁹ Author interview with former enlisted soldier (US Army), Amman, Jordan, July 2, 2017.

⁵⁹⁰ Author interview with retired police officer, Amman, Jordan, September 26, 2017.

to effectively forge productive relationships with foreign intelligence agencies. The skill and efficiency with which JI operates warrants consideration. Many neighboring states are struggling to quell warring tribal or Islamist-oriented factions, e.g., Libya, Syria, Iraq, and Yemen. These states also lack the type of effective collaboration with foreign intelligence services that may minimize instability. In stark contrast, Jordanian Intelligence has earned a reputation as highly competent and professional, both domestically and abroad. This level of professionalism undergirds Hashemite rule and state stability.

Globalization and “Foreign Liaison”

On multiple levels, the activities of intelligence agencies are essential for understanding international relations.⁵⁹¹ Intelligence agencies identify and guard against threats and therefore dramatically shape states’ national defense strategies and policies. The most critical intelligence mission is to “gather reliable, timely information about the world, as well as to assess its meaning accurately.”⁵⁹² Evaluating the efficacy of Jordanian Intelligence requires an examination of its expanding role in global security. As with Jordanian Intelligence, other well-developed international intelligence agencies are increasingly collaborating on mutual security concerns. On this topic, contemporary literature analyzing national security intelligence problematizes the shifting nature of liaison relationships in the context of globalization. Loch Johnson distinguishes between internal and foreign liaison connections within and among democracies. Internal liaison describes the cultivation of improved professional (non-political) ties between policymakers and the intelligence specialists who provide them with information

⁵⁹¹ Johnson, *National Security Intelligence*, p. 9; see also Loch K. Johnson, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of National Security Intelligence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 3-32.

⁵⁹² Johnson, *National Security Intelligence*, p. 9.

and analysis.⁵⁹³ Foreign liaison refers to collaboration of intelligences officials between two or more states, which must account for the security and cultural barriers that are inherent in relations between states. For Johnson, globalization ushered in an unparalleled integration of nations through new communications and transportation technologies. With such advancements, intelligence communities must contend with the potential rapid spread of threats that can affect security well beyond their local origins. In essence, “what used to be someone else’s problem is now everybody’s problem.”⁵⁹⁴ Although Johnson focuses on collaboration between democratic states, this chapter argues that intelligence sharing, joint operations, and strategic planning are increasing among Western intelligence services and those of Middle East non-democracies.

The relevance of studying both the internal dynamics of Jordanian Intelligence and its relationship with foreign intelligence services is evident in the ongoing war on terrorism. Just as the United States and its European allies are attempting to thwart terrorist threats to or within their own countries, Middle East governments are working to curtail the influence of extremist forces within their borders. In many cases, these security goals overlap and the distinction between democracies and non-democracies become less significant. Referencing the United States and Jordan, Ken Silverstein argues that “Jordan’s General Intelligence Directorate, or GID, has surpassed Israel’s Mossad as America’s most effective allied counter-terrorism agency in the Middle East.”⁵⁹⁵ Moreover, since the September 11 attacks, GID cooperation with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has expanded significantly.⁵⁹⁶ US collaboration with the Jordanian intelligence services has only continued to increase since 2001.⁵⁹⁷ Such cooperation is

⁵⁹³ Johnson, *National Security Intelligence*, p. 204.

⁵⁹⁴ Johnson, *National Security Intelligence*, p. 205.

⁵⁹⁵ Ken Silverstein, “U.S., Jordan Forge Closer Ties in Covert War on Terrorism,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 11, 2005, accessed March 26, 2018, <http://articles.latimes.com/2005/nov/11/world/fg-gid11>.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁷ Ronen Yitzhak explains that Jordanian Intelligence was one of the first intelligence agencies to monitor Al Qaeda activities and was highly cooperative with US intelligence services on this issue. Yitzhak contends that broader JI

a critical reason for the success of Jordanian Intelligence. In exchange for partnering with the United States, JI receives financial, logistical, training, operational, and strategic support. Such support only enhances JI's capabilities and overall effectiveness.

Jordan's foreign liaisons helped the security institutions standardize their intelligence services through cooperation and education. A former senior intelligence officer characterized their extensive experience working abroad and explained that as a desk officer and liaison for other countries, they worked with the CIA, FBI, and Israelis as well as in countries ranging from the Philippines to France. The respondent stated that training occurred "all over [the world]" and that they took "26 courses related to money laundering, crisis management, communications, etc."⁵⁹⁸ In addition, "it put me in close proximity to decision-makers and I gained experience with policy matters. As my rank rose, my influence often rose above my rank."⁵⁹⁹ The respondent intimated that this range of training assisted both their skills as an intelligence operative, which helped to advance their career. A former military officer confirmed the importance of comprehensive training when describing their career trajectory in the intelligence field, stating "Army personnel are well-trained and have high [academic] degrees. Current NCOs [non-commissioned officers] hold more degrees than I did."⁶⁰⁰ The interviewee described a range of training in which they "took over 56 courses, mainly in the US" and worked as a liaison officer in "Afghanistan, Iraq, [the] West Bank, Israel, Africa, etc."⁶⁰¹ This brand of international

cooperation with US agencies on terrorism strengthened the overall political, military, and intelligence partnerships between the two countries. See Ronen Yitzhak, "The War Against Terrorism and for Stability of the Hashemite Regime: Jordanian Intelligence Challenges in the 21st Century," *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence* 29, no. 2 (2016), p. 216-218.

⁵⁹⁸ Author interview with former intelligence officer (JI), Amman, Jordan, June 4, 2017.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁰ Author interview with former military officer (JA), Amman, Jordan, July 10, 2017.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid.

training reinforces the competences required to work successfully in Jordan by providing the knowledge, standardization, and critical skills for intelligence gathering and analysis.

More broadly, the MENA region is well known for its secret police (*mukhabarat*). Depending on the context, these forces impose state security with varying degrees of brutality. Prior to the 2003 US-led invasion of Iraq, secret police in Iraq and Syria under the command of Saddam Hussein and Bashar al-Assad earned a reputation for extreme violence against suspected threats. Yet even in Tunisia and Egypt, states that experienced comparatively less domestic repression, presidents Ben Ali and Mubarak were similarly known for directing their intelligence services to treat suspected threats harshly, e.g., through arbitrary arrest, solitary confinement, torture, and execution. Jordan, however, continues to move in the opposite direction. Rather than perpetrate violence indiscriminately, Jordanian Intelligence is building a long and thorough track record of engagement with other professionalized intelligence agencies. The aforementioned trainings that range from money laundering to counterterrorism to cyber security underscore the breadth and depth of JI's commitment to developing skilled personnel. International cooperation therefore augments institutional professionalism, capacity, and effectiveness, which together strengthen Jordanian Intelligence's ability to maintain state security.

The Arab Uprisings and the Efficiency of Jordanian Intelligence

In order to contain the 2011 protests, King Abdullah II relied heavily on the military, police force, and intelligence services to collectively manage demonstrations. However, the military by and large avoided direct contact with the protesters and instead stood ready to intervene should tension and violence escalate, which it did not. In general, the police were more responsible for interacting with protesters and allowing them to express their respective

grievances so long as they did not demand the removal of the regime. In contrast, the Jordanian intelligence services focused on the leaders of protest movements and attempted to disrupt lines of communication, undermine efforts to grow demonstrations, and ultimately quell larger threats to state stability. Jordanian Intelligence's high degree of professionalization, sensitivity to tribal dynamics, non-confrontational relationship with Islamists, and its collaborative efforts with foreign intelligence services all played a significant role in undercutting widespread and violent protests witnessed elsewhere in the MENA region.

Arab Uprisings

The professionalism displayed by Jordanian Intelligence during the uprisings attributed to de-escalatory tactics in dealing with protesters. As long as Jordanian citizens called only for reforms and not the removal of the monarchy, Jordanian Intelligence refrained from utilizing more aggressive approaches to quiet dissent, such as mass arrests, torture, or the killing of protest leaders. Such restraint is a hallmark of professionalism because it shows both faith in the monarchy's approach to dealing with social upheaval as well as sophisticated institutionalization of procedure and deference to chain of command. In other words, the lack of panic exhibited by Jordanian Intelligence in the face of protests revealed skill, good judgment, and commitment to a strategy of containment rather than direct confrontation. Judging by the excessive use of force exhibited by other regional intelligence services in dealing with mass demonstrations, JI's approach almost certainly contributed to lower levels of violence and fewer casualties. In avoiding such outcomes, Jordanian Intelligence helped to preserve a delicate equilibrium between allowing protesters to express their grievances and maintaining state stability.

In Jordan, the monarchy aimed to strike the appropriate balance between rewards and punishments when dealing with protesters. King Abdullah II was willing to offer some concessions on legal reform while also instructing Jordanian Intelligence to investigate, infiltrate, and undermine potential anti-regime elements. Similar to protests in other MENA monarchies, the cautious, muted tenor of the demonstrations is revealing, as protestors in Jordan called for some reforms, but not the overthrow of King Abdullah II's regime.⁶⁰² Like the surrounding region, negative perceptions of government corruption, rising commodity prices, and lack of a fair legal system resulted in protests that went beyond Jordan's youth demographic to include people of all ages: nurses, teachers, and accountants, among others.⁶⁰³ However, Jordanian Intelligence pursued a strategy of minimal engagement when addressing protesters' more general demands rooted in economic grievances.

Irrespective of the pervasive discontent, the Jordanian protests proceeded with hesitation. Part of this hesitation is understandably attributed to the chaos and violence that surrounded Jordan at the time. The dire situation on the northern border with Syria, the uncertain outcome of Egypt's revolutionary efforts, and the subsequent fears of civil war-like-unrest certainly helped to prevent massive outrage directed at the Jordanian government.⁶⁰⁴ However, the manner in which King Abdullah II managed the potential 2011 uprisings, and in particular, how he dealt with the Jordanian intelligence services played a significant role as well. For example, King Abdullah II not only instructed JI to exercise restraint with protesters but also worked to ensure intelligence agencies of their continued preeminence in the country's larger political apparatus.

⁶⁰² Victor Menaldo, "The Middle East and North Africa's Resilient Monarchs," *The Journal of Politics* 74, no. 03 (2012), p. 708.

⁶⁰³ Jonathan Schienberg, "Jordan's Simmering Spring: Enough Compromise: Jordanians Are Tired of Being the Good Kids on the Block," *Foreign Policy*, August 14, 2013, accessed March 26, 2018, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/08/14/jordan_s_simmering_spring.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid.

In Jordan's political system, a crucial policy area that undergirds the powerful influence of military, police, and intelligence services concerns the country's legal system.⁶⁰⁵ Jordan has a clear precedent and practice of holding civilian trials in state security courts, which fall under the direct control of the government and the military.⁶⁰⁶ In response to the January 2011 protests, King Abdullah II promised judicial reform in the form of amendments to the constitution that would have established a genuine constitutional court system and done away with state security courts. Instead, the amendments came with several caveats. In order to keep the state security courts intact, the Jordanian government claimed they were constitutional, and that civilians would be tried in these special courts when cases involved "committing terrorist acts against the state, smuggling weapons, trafficking drugs, or insulting the King – which has long been a crime in Jordan."⁶⁰⁷ Such crimes are often under the jurisdiction of Jordanian Intelligence and therefore a key area of influence in matters of state security. By preserving these areas of influence, King Abdullah II signaled his commitment to JI authority. This, in turn, incentivized Jordan's intelligence services to remain loyal to the monarchy, follow orders, and prioritize the preservation of Jordan's existing state structure.

In addition to preserving a prominent role for the intelligence services in Jordanian politics through an extensive presence in Jordan's legal system, King Abdullah II, like other monarchs in Oman and Morocco, dispersed large amounts of patronage to the wider armed forces. This patronage primarily took the form of intermittent, discretionary funds or other material support that was distributed among officers by monarch's who were anxious to retain

⁶⁰⁵ Bianca C. Isaias and Fred Jennings, "Overview of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan Legal System and Research," *Hauser Global Law School Program, New York University School of Law*, December 2013, accessed March 26, 2018, <http://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/Jordan.htm>.

⁶⁰⁶ Schienberg, "Jordan's Simmering Spring: Enough Compromise: Jordanians Are Tired of Being the Good Kids on the Block."

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid.

their loyalty.⁶⁰⁸ Dispersing patronage to security elites is consistent with broader strategies to maintain internal stability. Over the past several decades, such strategies have involved relying in part upon the heritage-based legitimacy of the monarchy, the ability of the government to marginalize opposition parties, suppress dissent, and keep its parliament weak by gerrymandering electoral laws.⁶⁰⁹ Such comprehensive efforts to appease the Jordanian security apparatus through outsized legal influence in state security courts and direct patronage provided the policy basis for larger anti-reform measures. This strategy successfully thwarted the type of large-scale political transformation sought by protestors during the 2011 period.

Intelligence professionals interviewed for this study typically viewed this outcome in terms of a tradeoff. While Jordanian citizens saw only minimal political and economic reforms, the Jordanian state remained intact and relatively stable. Jordanian intelligence officials took pride in maintaining public security and low levels of violence. Respondents for this study also acknowledged the widespread political and economic grievances expressed by protesters but viewed such demands in the context of potential violence, instability, and state collapse. In other words, preserving the Jordanian state was a necessary objective that outweighed the potential instability that may have accompanied comprehensive democratization efforts. In a region where reform often comes at exorbitant cost, Jordanian Intelligence viewed their efforts to manage demonstrations as the best of less-than-ideal options to contain potential violence.

⁶⁰⁸ Robert Springborg, "Economic Involvements of Militaries," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43, no. 03 (2011), p. 398.

⁶⁰⁹ Samuel Helfont and Tally Helfont, "Jordan: Between the Arab Spring and the Gulf Cooperation Council," *Orbis* 56, no. 1 (2012): 82-95.

Professionalization and Human Intelligence

When questioned about their specific security responsibilities during the Arab uprisings, many respondents emphasized the non-material aspects of dealing with sedition and protests. A former intelligence officer explained that the initial protests began in southern Jordan and then extended north. The respondent claimed that many of the protesting youth “wanted jobs and equality of life.”⁶¹⁰ In response, Jordanian intelligence agencies “started to control these groups.”⁶¹¹ Based on other aspects of the interview, this statement can be interpreted as Jordanian Intelligence actively investigating members of the protest movements and attempting to undermine and thwart any lasting damage to the regime. The intelligence officer also credited King Abdullah II with relieving some of the political pressure by saying, in essence, “I am with you [the protesters],” which the respondent believed “took the air out of the balloon” of the protests.⁶¹² In policy terms, this was the application of human intelligence to the problem of civil unrest, which the intelligence services learned from engagement with foreign services. They effectively did this because of the professionalization of the forces.

The monarchy’s ability to build and sustain relationships with the Jordanian citizenry parallels deliberate attempts to solidify nationalism and shared identity amongst security personnel, which is a key part of professionalization. Individuals must set aside parochial interests and particularist identities in order to serve the state. Similar to most professionalized security forces around the world, a firm commitment to the nation and head of state is evident in participant responses. A former military officer in the Jordanian Army declared that “I joined for the prestige. I used to make triple my salary outside of the military. I didn’t join for the

⁶¹⁰ Author interview with former intelligence officer (JI), Amman, Jordan, June 4, 2017.

⁶¹¹ Ibid.

⁶¹² Ibid.

money.”⁶¹³ During the time of the Arab uprisings in Jordan, other respondents referenced similar non-material benefits of service. A former police officer stated that “police and security make people proud. Police are free to move and you [Jordanian citizens and foreign visitors] have the power of mobility. We are proud of our uniforms. Police are role models and people respect you. Police is a service; we are serving our country.”⁶¹⁴ The former police officer applied this perspective when dealing with the protestors and their demands. According to the interviewee, the protestors called the police directly on cell phones during the demonstrations and expressed that “we [the protestors] provide bread, gas, etc., and if the prices rise for us, then the price will rise for the police as well, and they knew police salaries were low.”⁶¹⁵

The respondent viewed these declarations as “rumors” aimed at exploiting a potential shared economic grievance between the police and the demonstrators, and therefore a legitimate reason to protest or let the protests proceed.⁶¹⁶ However, it demonstrates that the Jordanian people understood that the security services were not operating as secret police capriciously arresting, detaining, or neutralizing targets. Citizens instead generally accept that the security services are dedicated to the Jordanian state and would not attempt at an institutional level to punish them arbitrarily.⁶¹⁷ Without the professionalization of Jordanian intelligence through appropriate recruitment and training, this would not have occurred.

Another dimension to this professionalization is the level and skill of human intelligence, particularly concerning different tribes and Islamists, that allowed the intelligence services to surreptitiously handle the protests. The intelligence services understood the structure, leadership,

⁶¹³ Author interview with former military officer (JA), Amman, Jordan, July 10, 2017.

⁶¹⁴ Author interview with retired police officer, Amman, Jordan, September 26, 2017.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid.

⁶¹⁷ Author interview with former surveillance and cyber security specialist, Amman, Jordan, July 19, 2017.

and demand of the tribes and Islamist organizations. Their demands were relatively limited, and they did not seek the elimination of the monarchy. This allowed Jordanian Intelligence to accommodate the tribes and Islamist organizations, and it also aided in the disruption of communication networks that could potentially threaten the regime. Furthermore, the amalgamation of professionalization and human intelligence on tribes and Islamist allowed Jordanian Intelligence to read the demonstrations quickly and offer real-time analysis on their direction. By having a professional intelligence service already embedded, connected, and informed with the tribes and Islamist organizations, the intelligence services successfully contained with only minor violence the protests and civil unrest.

Contributing Factors to Continued Unrest

Grievances publicly expressed by demonstrators during the Arab uprisings reflect lasting economic concerns currently shared by security personnel and civilians alike. In many ways, the underlying economic conditions that motivated the 2011 protests remain highly visible and worrisome to most segments of the Jordanian population. What receives less attention, in part because active duty security personnel are barred from commenting on political or security affairs, is the perspectives of security officials or those knowledgeable about security dynamics at the time of the demonstrations. One respondent pointed out that “Syrians are now uniting Jordanians and Palestinians because Syrians are taking their jobs [in Jordan].”⁶¹⁸ Based on the context of the interview, this statement is responsibly interpreted as a recognition of the long-term economic challenges facing Jordanian society and that the current influx of Syrian refugees

⁶¹⁸ Author interview with former military officer (JA), Amman, Jordan, July 10, 2017.

is altering old fault lines of competition while also presenting new challenges of economically integrating quickly growing refugee populations into an already limited economy.

Other respondents highlighted additional economic challenges that are linked to past civil unrest during the uprisings and potential future conflicts between the regime and Jordan's citizens. A former lawyer and doctor of philosophy explained that "the Jordanian government is in trouble but [is] trying to solve the economic problems of today and are leaving the problems of tomorrow for tomorrow."⁶¹⁹ The respondent stated that "the Jordanian people are sick of hearing about the issue of security and instead want to live their lives. Jordanians aren't buying that security is the only important thing. What is important is the economy. People hate if the government is a 'scavenger' with the Gulf states."⁶²⁰ Although Jordanian Intelligence subdued the protests during the Arab Spring, the fundamental socio-political and economic concerns of the citizens remain.

Lessons of Jordanian Intelligence

Although this chapter outlines the dimensions where Jordanian Intelligence is uniquely effective, there are a number of lessons that can be applied to other states in the MENA region. As such, this section reflects upon the relative success of JI in accomplishing its security objectives and considers how these lessons might be adopted by other states seeking to develop and advance their intelligence services. For instance, how might regional security agencies import JI strategies and tactics regarding professionalization, engaging tribal and Islamist elements, and interacting with foreign intelligence agencies? In answering these questions, the

⁶¹⁹ Author interview with lawyer/PhD, Amman, Jordan, July 11, 2017.

⁶²⁰ Ibid.

Jordanian case offers relevant lessons for intelligence services in the MENA region that may attempt to replicate the successes of Jordanian Intelligence.

At the core of Jordanian Intelligence effectiveness is its commitment to professionalism, i.e., a system that is hierarchical, highly specialized, and meritocratic. The structure of Jordanian Intelligence is divided between civilian and military intelligence agencies with clear roles and responsibilities.⁶²¹ Moreover, the intelligence services are largely meritocratic where the most skilled personnel typically receive promotions rather than individuals with familial or tribal connections.⁶²² While there are certainly individual and inter-agency rivalries, the Jordanian intelligence services have avoided attempts at usurping Hashemite rule or sidelining rival defense agencies in an attempt to win favor with the monarchy or dominate the state security agenda. This high degree of professionalism has helped institutionalize Jordanian Intelligence procedures, which in turn has allowed JI to focus on its security priorities and contribute to state stability. In this context, what lessons might be applied to other states seeking to achieve similar levels of success?

Regarding professionalism, Egypt and Iraq may be able to draw upon JI characteristics to improve their respective intelligence capacities and outcomes. Egypt's intelligence services are widely regarded as powerful and effective. However, Egypt's intelligence services do not enjoy the same level of respect domestically and abroad as Jordanian Intelligence.⁶²³ Egyptian intelligence services have a reputation for brutality, torture, human rights violations, and at

⁶²¹ Author interview with former military officer (JA), Amman, Jordan, July 10, 2017.

⁶²² Ibid.

⁶²³ According to the Arab Barometer (2013), 73.8% of Jordanians trust their Armed Forces to a "great extent" in comparison to 67.1% of Egyptians. See Arab Barometer, "Trust: The Armed Forces," accessed June 8, 2018, <http://www.arabbarometer.org/content/online-data-analysis>; see also Jared Malsin, "Why Almost No One Believes Egypt's Security Services," *Time*, March 8, 2016, accessed June 8, 2018, <http://time.com/4250160/egypt-interior-ministry-prosecutor-murder/>.

times, political unreliability to the ruling regime.⁶²⁴ In contrast, Jordanian Intelligence, despite its flaws or the public perceptions of its flaws, does not have a reputation for capricious violence. This aids in JI's ability work in concert with both the monarchy and the larger political apparatus. Such a lesson is similarly valuable in Iraq where the (partial) defeat of ISIS and country-wide political reconciliation appears to be taking place.⁶²⁵ It would be in Iraq's national security interests to cultivate apolitical, non-sectarian, meritocratic intelligence services that would serve the state over particularistic interests.

In terms of managing tribal and Islamist dynamics, Jordanian Intelligence provides guidance to other MENA states as well. The Jordanian case is instructive because it highlights the importance of human intelligence. In practical terms, human intelligence cannot be conducted in the same manner in every context because each state (or conflict zone) has unique socio-political, religious, and economic dimensions. Still, in principle, JI human intelligence techniques can apply to multiple MENA cases because states share common characteristics. For example, Jordanian Intelligence has been able to manage tribal dynamics and neutralize Islamist threats to the state by cultivating a deep understanding of these communities.⁶²⁶ Jordanian intelligence services recruit candidates from specific tribes and reinsert these operatives back into their communities where they can then relay information back to the monarchy. This intimate knowledge of Jordan's tribes helps to ensure the monarchy and security services will not be blindsided by simmering discontent or well-developed efforts to undermine the state.

Similarly, with Islamist threats, JI has a long history of talking to Islamist leaders and assessing

⁶²⁴ Chad Spindel, "The People Want to Topple the Regime: Exploring the Arab Spring in Egypt, Syria, and Jordan," *Sage Open* 1, no. 3 (2011), p. 3.

⁶²⁵ Nancy Lindborg and Sarhang Hamasaeed, "To Stabilize Iraq after ISIS, Help Iraqis Reconcile," *United States Institute of Peace*, February 11, 2018, accessed June 8, 2018, <https://www.usip.org/publications/2018/02/stabilize-iraq-after-isis-help-iraqis-reconcile>.

⁶²⁶ Curtis R. Ryan, "Islamist Political Activism in Jordan: Moderation, Militancy, and Democracy," *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 12, no. 2 (2008), pp. 7-8.

their interests, motivations, and intent. With this information, Jordanian Intelligence then attempts to find non-confrontational ways to redirect Islamist demands toward more formal mechanisms of political participation, e.g., participating in elections, fielding candidates for political office, developing policy platforms, etc.

These lessons are especially valuable for Libya where disparate Islamist groups continue to jockey for social influence and political power. This competition stems from the 2011 capture of Moammar Qaddafi where Islamists who were imprisoned, forced underground, or fled into exile quickly re-emerged from the post-Qaddafi power vacuum.⁶²⁷ Islamist groups ranged from pro-democracy moderates to militias expressing a global agenda similar to that of al Qaeda. The various Islamist groups included militias that were both apolitical and affiliated with political groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood and smaller Salafi organizations. Moreover, with the rise and decline of the Islamic State in 2015 and 2016, Islamist groups have further splintered into rival factions, often supported by loose coalitions of tribes and militias.⁶²⁸

Despite these challenges, analysts contend that Libya—as the only one of 22 Arab nations—has the right assets (a small population and vast oil reserves) to facilitate both reconstruction and an inclusive political transition.⁶²⁹ In this context, Libya could adopt the Jordanian Intelligence model related to professionalization, dealing with diverse tribal and Islamist groups, and collaborating with international intelligence agencies. Especially in state-building enterprises, political reconciliation must be balanced with identifying and thwarting legitimate threats to state security. Combining the above intelligence capabilities with an emphasis on human intelligence could afford Libya the opportunity to integrate non-radical

⁶²⁷ Cameron Glenn, “Libya’s Islamists: Who They Are - And What They Want,” *Wilson Center*, August 8, 2017, accessed May 31, 2018, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/libyas-islamists-who-they-are-and-what-they-want>.

⁶²⁸ Ibid.

⁶²⁹ Ibid.

elements into its political system. Ideally, such inclusivity would bolster the political legitimacy of leaders and reinforce political participation as a viable alternative to violence. Few other states have managed this delicate task better than Jordan. Libya, with US, European, and United Nations assistance may be able to accomplish such a feat.

Moving from instability or government collapse to a functioning state requires immense resources, expertise, and diligence on behalf of domestic populations and international supporters. Also required is a well-developed security apparatus to form the basis of state security.⁶³⁰ International cooperation on the development of intelligence agencies provides a window of opportunity for emerging, or re-emerging, intelligence services to get a foothold on their security responsibilities. As noted previously, international cooperation on intelligence matters appears to be proliferating among formal allies and states with mutual security concerns alike. Jordan's partnership with US intelligence agencies highlights the potential benefits of such collaboration. At the time of this writing, the United States and Jordan are expanding their five-year, \$1.275 billion-a-year "memorandum of understanding" to fight ISIS and protect mutual security interests in the region.⁶³¹

To put this agreement in perspective, Egypt, with a population of roughly 97 million, has received approximately \$1.6 billion per year in US defense assistance since 1979.⁶³² With Jordan's population of roughly 10 million, US defense support for Jordan and Egypt is comparable even though Egypt's population is nearly 10 times that of Jordan. What remains

⁶³⁰ Johan Galtung, "After Violence, Reconstruction, Reconciliation, and Resolution," in *Reconciliation, Justice and Coexistence: Theory and practice* (Lexington Books: New York, 2001): 3-23.

⁶³¹ Jack Detsch, "Pentagon Set To Enhance Jordan's Counterterror Troops," *al-Monitor*, May 29, 2018, accessed May 31, 2018, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2018/05/pentagon-enhance-jordan-counterterror-troops.html#ixzz5H44JXfwt>.

⁶³² Farah Najjar, "Why US Aid to Egypt is Never Under Threat: Despite Concerns Over Recent Secret Arms Deal with North Korea and Human Rights Abuses, US Aid to Egypt Seen Continuing," *Al Jazeera*, Oct 2, 2017, accessed May 31, 2018, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/10/aid-egypt-threat-171002093316209.html>.

striking is the joint US/Jordan focus on the development of special forces, which typically fall under the command of Jordanian Intelligence.⁶³³ Meaning, of the vast amount of US defense support, the development of intelligence capabilities stands as a primary objective of existing security agreements between the United States and Jordan.

Iraq, Egypt, and Libya could learn from this type of collaboration in an effort to strengthen their security services while also managing tribal and Islamist groups in the context of state security. Following the Jordan model of intelligence would require states to professionalize their security services in a way that avoids politicization, emphasizing personal connections, or allowing sectarian affiliations to undermine commitment to the nation. In the context of interview responses for this study, human intelligence resides at the core of disrupting the most dangerous and eminent security threats. Intelligence services wishing to emulate the Jordanian example should give hard consideration to this area of expertise when evaluating how best to build threat-stopping capabilities. Just as Jordan has embedded intelligence operatives into tribal and Islamist communities, other MENA states could adopt this approach to better differentiate between mainstream political dissidents and violent extremists.

Conclusion

This chapter uses Jordanian Intelligence as a case study to understand the role of intelligence services in the security of Middle Eastern states and locates the organization within the context of global intelligence operations. In addition, the chapter explores the application of JI's efficiency by focusing on the Arab uprisings and how security professionals engaged and dealt with protesters. Most importantly for the successful resolution was human intelligence by JI; human intelligence gained pre-uprising translated to an accurate threat assessment of tribes

⁶³³ Detsch, "Pentagon Set To Enhance Jordan's Countertenor Troops."

and Islamists. When tribes and Islamist did not pursue extreme objectives, i.e., regime removal, JI was able to exercise a proportional and measured response that formed the cornerstone of King Abdullah II's non-confrontational strategy. This was essential to maintaining stability in Jordan. Key to this measured response was the professionalization of Jordanian Intelligence that occurred through domestic recruitment and operational style along with foreign liaisons that gave intelligence professionals the requisite education, training, and skills. In other words, understanding the full picture of security threats makes Jordanian Intelligence efficient in times of crisis.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

Introduction

Each chapter of this study analyzes a critical component of military decision-making and regime survival in the MENA region, and Jordan is the central case study for each chapter. Through the collection of data from interviews with security personnel in Jordan, this study has given an in-depth investigation of civil-military relations in the Middle East and North Africa. There is a dearth of research on this topic, and this study sought to fill the gaps in important places in the political science literature. In order to fill these gaps, this study started by establishing a new and alternative approach to understanding security decision-making called the identity-rationalist model. This new model incorporates notions of identity into cost-benefit analysis. Then the study tests hypotheses on military loyalty, finding that integration of the military into the political economy of a country has the greatest explanatory power for defection. Finally, the study gives a detailed exploration Jordanian Intelligence to understand why the institutions are effective at maintaining state stability despite the volatility of the MENA region. Together the three chapters each contribute to the literature on civil-military relations and understanding the complexity of security forces in the Arab world.

Chapter One Summary

Chapter One established a new model to allow researchers to understand security decision-making by members of the armed forces that incorporates notions of identity into established rationalist approaches. This novel model fills significant gaps in the current approaches used by scholars to understand civil-military relations in the MENA region. Rationalist approaches focus on utility maximization and cost-benefit analysis that primary, if

not exclusively, deals with material wealth and physical security. Structuralist approaches focus on institutions, organizations, and procedures while culturalist approaches largely focus on the individual level (e.g., individual's beliefs, ideas, and attitudes). Although each approach has merit, they are limited in their ability to fully explain military decision making. Therefore, Chapter One develops the identity-rationalist model and then highlights how the model compliments recent civil-military relations research and fills important gaps in the literature's understanding of security personnel decision-making. The identity-rationalist model contends that there is a strategic interaction between self-interest and identity during decision-making processes. This means that an individual will assess the costs and benefits of an action (how it will impact their material standing and physical security), but an important part of this reasoning is the impact to the individual's identity.

Using the case study of Jordan, Chapter One developed the model for further testing and generalizability. While conducting interviews in Jordan, multiple respondents pointed to the importance of identity in deciding who and what were threats, which shaped the actions of security personnel. Because identity is important, threats develop from social movements that are seen as deviant. For example, threats that offer radical interpretations of Islam that would undermine the political order or any dissent that challenges the legitimacy of the monarchy. The identity-rationalist model contributes to the literature on civil-military relations as it fills in several gaps on understanding decision-making. Rationalist approaches, and others like the security dilemma, explain to a certain extent how individuals and states will form conceptions of threats. However, these are put in almost exclusively material and physical security terms; the literature as such misses the important role a person's identity plays into such calculations. In Jordan, for example, the Islamists did not threaten the state per se in their political advocacy, but

by wanting to change the nature of Jordanian society, the Islamists would undermine security personnel's understanding of what it means to be Jordanian. Therefore, Islamists became threats to the state. The identity-rationalist model partially explains how this reasoning takes place.

Chapter Two Summary

Chapter Two explored why some militaries remained loyal to regimes during times of political turmoil such as mass protests against the government. During the Arab Spring, militaries in different countries behaved disparately, which leads to the question: under what conditions do militaries defect from authoritarian regimes? Chapter Two tested three hypotheses on civil-military relations and loyalty to regimes to answer this question. The hypotheses are:

- If the military is well integrated into the political economy of the state, then it will be less likely to defect.
- If the military is not losing political power, then it will be less likely to defect.
- If the military lacks internal sectarian cleavages, then it will be less likely to defect.

Based upon the relevant data from comparative case studies of Jordan, Tunisia, Egypt, and Oman, the hypothesis with the most validity is Hypothesis One: militaries that are well integrated in the political economy of the state are more likely to remain loyal to a given regime. Integration in the political economy comes in two forms: general economic growth through liberalization of the economy and direct economic benefits to soldiers (pensions, income, etc.). Regarding the latter two hypotheses, there was support that perceptions of political power also played a role in military decision-making and loyalty. However, Hypothesis Two provides less explanatory power considering the evidence. In comparison, Hypothesis Three pertaining to cleavages has very little support from the evidence. See below for each case conditions and outcomes. The primary contribution of this chapter is expanding the civil-military relations literature beyond its current focus on Latin America. There has been extensive work on this topic

in the 20th century defections of militaries in Latin America, but there is a dearth of research that applies these theories to the Middle East. This chapter fills that gap in the literature by applying established theories to new regions of the world, which demonstrates their generalizability beyond Latin America. Table 2 below shows the conditions that each military confronted during the Arab uprisings.

Table 2. Summary of Military Conditions During the Arab Uprisings

Country	H1 Economic Integration	H2 Political Power	H3 Military Cleavage	Result
Jordan	High	Medium	Medium (Palestinians)	Loyal
Tunisia	Low	Low	Low	Defection
Egypt	Medium	Medium (declining)	Low	Defection
Oman	Medium (high military expenditures; limited evidence of private sector)	Medium	Medium (but loyal to Qaboos state)	Loyal

Scale: None, low, medium, high. **Note:** This chart ranks the conditions that each military confronted during the Arab uprisings.

Chapter Three Summary

Jordan's intelligence services have played an important role in keeping the country stable despite the tempestuous geopolitical conflicts surrounding the small state. These conflicts include the Iraqi and Syrian civil wars, threats of terrorism from ISIS and al-Qaeda, and the perennial issue of Palestinian statehood. Chapter Three explored the reasons that Jordan's intelligence services were able to achieve this stability efficiently and effectively. Ultimately, the chapter argues that Jordanian Intelligence (JI) has focused on professionalization, which led to its efficiency and effectiveness. Professionalization in this context includes an established formal

hierarchy, using meritocracy to put the best personnel in the right positions, and the specialization of subject matters and skillsets. As JI worked with foreign entities like the US and European allies, security personnel furthered their professionalization through cooperation and education. This professionalization would allow JI to effectively eliminate threats from dissenting tribes and Islamist because the organization understood the sub-state groups. In addition, by creating fully professionalized intelligence services, JI could integrate itself into tribal networks and collect the requisite information to prevent further dissention. When it came to Islamists, JI's professionalization allowed them to successfully disrupt lines of communication, appease and co-opt leadership, or neutralize targets when necessary. The combination of professionalization, cooperation with foreign entities, and integration into tribal and Islamist networks is why JI has efficiently and effectively maintained the stability of Jordan.

Future Research and Real-World Relevancy

As Zeinab Abul-Magd and Elke Grawert argue, prominent conceptualizations of civil-military relations have developed through empirical studies of Latin America and Western democracies. However, these approaches have not always fit well with the realities of the Middle East and North Africa. Recent historical events “have made it abundantly clear that the region’s empirical realities have bulged so far out of existing theoretical frameworks that new tailoring is required.”⁶³⁴ This study has attempted to craft theoretical frameworks that are responsive to MENA’s reality. Each chapter of this study can form the basis for future research, especially if researchers focus on the diversification of methodological approaches to further test relevant

⁶³⁴ Zeinab Abul-Magd and Elke Grawert. “Forward.” In *Businessmen in Arms: How the Military and Other Armed Groups Profit in the MENA Region*. Edited by Zeinab Abul-Magd and Elke Grawert, xi-xv (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016), p. xi.

hypotheses and theories. In this pursuit, case studies are a useful tool for understanding complicated subjects, and they are often complimentary to quantitative work.

For Chapter One, future research can focus on crafting interviews with security personnel in order to test the identity-rationalist model. The interviews collected for this study indicated the importance of identity in decision-making, but this was only apparent after collecting the initial interviews. As such, the next stage of research would need to ask questions specifically on how subjects think about their identity and how that understanding is applied to security policy making. Chapter Two's testing of the economic integration hypothesis can further develop through the collection of quantitative data related to MENA states' economies. The available data is limited and not necessarily trustworthy, but empirically testing the economic integration hypothesis with rigorous statistical modeling will compliment the case study research conducted on these countries. Chapter Three explores Jordan's intelligence services and shows why the organizations are effective at eliminating threats. Yet this is only an in-depth case study of one country. Future research could explore, compare, and contrast Jordan's intelligence services with other successful or failed intelligence organizations in MENA to more fully understand why JI is successful while other agencies fail. Another aspect of future research should also include a further exploration of how cooperation with foreign countries can help or hurt the success of intelligence services.

Each section of this dissertation is directly applicable to policy makers in the US and beyond. At a minimum, the goal of international relations is to create to stability within and between countries, and militaries are quintessential to this stability. If policy makers can understand the reasoning of militaries' behavior, they can then create policies to achieve their operational and strategic objectives. Understanding notions of identity can potentially allow US

policy makers to cooperate better with militaries in the MENA region. Furthermore, knowing the level of economic integration necessary to maintain military loyalty can influence the direction of foreign aid. For instance, examining Egypt on this topic would likely produce a fascinating study pertaining to the legal, moral, and security dimensions of continued US financial and military support for a non-democratic regime. More broadly, the eternal pursuit of the national interest by nation-states requires them to engage with countries in volatile regions that often have obfuscated and opaque political and security institutions. To better interpret and analyze these intricacies, this study's explication of the identity-rationalist model, importance of economic integration, and professionalization of intelligence services can inform policy makers on how to navigate this complexity.

Conclusion

Each chapter of this study utilizes case studies to build a theory, test hypotheses, or explore key elements of civil-military relations and security. During the Arab uprisings, armed forces directly shaped regime survival within the MENA region's authoritarian political systems. Despite the significant amount of research directed at this and related topics in the aftermath of the uprising period, the specific outcomes of each state lack clear explanation. Although the MENA region seems to have entered a period of re-stabilization either through legitimate democratization (as in Tunisia) or through the re-codification of authoritarian regimes (as in Egypt, Oman, and Bahrain), informed observers continue to face immense obstacles in accurately describing, analyzing, and understanding the Arab world. In recent years, scholars have been monitored, intimidated, and even killed in pursuit of academic inquiry. Irrespective of the empirical or theoretical contributions this study aims to make, it will hopefully encourage

scholars, government and security personnel, and ordinary citizens to continue to visit the MENA region, experience its cultures, and talk to the people most knowledgeable about its complexities.

However, such efforts must be viewed within the context of continuing violence and instability in Iraq, Syria, Libya, Yemen, and other regions in which governments largely fail to meet the basic needs of their citizens. Such instability invariably spills over international borders. One state's problems not only affect the viability of other states in the MENA region, but also the broader international community through increased refugees, shifting terrorism threats, and larger humanitarian disasters. In meeting such challenges and supporting Arab states, the international community has come up lacking. With few plausible or easily accomplished solutions in sight, this dissertation hopes to contribute to our understanding of regional security and therefore render scholars, civilians, and security personnel more prepared for future instability if and when it occurs.

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