

TABLE 1: MIDDLE EASTERN POLITICAL REGIMES IN GLOBAL COMPARISON (END OF 2001)

REGION	AVERAGE REGIME SCORE (6 = liberal democracy; 1 = closed authoritarian rule)	STANDARD DEVIATIONS	NUMBER OF COUNTRIES (N of full democracies in brackets)
WESTERN DEMOCRACIES	6.0	0.0	24 European countries plus four Anglo-Saxon settler democracies
LATIN AMERICA (including Carribbean and Central America, excluding 8 Carribbean micro-polities)	4.92	1.22	25 countries (9 full democracies)
POSTCOMMUNIST REGION	4.33	1.71	27 countries (11 full democracies)
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA	3.31	1.60	48 countries (5 full democracies)
ASIA (East, Southeast, South)	3.16	1.95	25 countries (3 full democracies)
MIDDLE EAST-NORTH AFRICA	2.05	1.31	19 countries (1 full: Israel)

Source: coded from Diamond (2002: 29-30). Liberal democracy = 6; electoral democracy = 5; ambiguous regime = 4; competitive authoritarian regime = 3; hegemonic electoral authoritarian = 2; politically closed authoritarian = 1.

TABLE 2: CORRELATES OF PREDATORY RULE (2000/2001)

	RULE OF LAW	CONTROL OF CORRUPTION	GOVERNMENT EFFECTIVENESS	AVERAGE PREDATION INDEX	PER CAP GDP IN 1999 (\$ AT PPP)
I. POPULOUS MIDDLE EASTERN COUNTRIES (low oil revenue/population ratios)					
ALGERIA (30)	-.97	-.62	-.81	-.80	4,753
EGYPT (62)	.21	-.16	+.27	+.11	3,303
IRAN (63)	-.39	-.64	-.21	-.41	5,163
IRAQ (23)	-1.64	-1.15	-1.41	-1.40	no data
LIBYA (5)	-.89	-.90	-1.12	-.97	no data
SUDAN (31)	-1.09	-1.24	-1.34	-1.21	no data
SYRIA (16)	-.52	-.83	-.81	-.72	2,761
YEMEN (17)	-1.12	-.70	-.77	-.86	688
group average	-.80	-.78	-.86	-.80	
II. NON-POPULOUS MIDDLE EASTERN OIL PRODUCERS (high oil revenue/population ratios)					
BAHRAIN (0.6)	.42	.04	.62	.36	no data
KUWAIT (1.9)	1.10	.54	.13	.67	no data
OMAN (2.5)	1.06	.44	.85	.78	no data
QUATAR 0.6)	1.00	.57	.82	.80	no data
SAUDI ARABIA (28)	.19	-.35	.00	-.05	no data
U. A. E. (2.6)	1.12	.13	.60	.62	no data
group average	.82	.23	.50	.53	
III. MEDIUM AND SMALL MIDDLE EASTERN NON-OIL PRODUCERS					
JORDAN (5)	.66	.09	.42	.39	3,542
LEBANON (4)	-.05	-.63	-.02	-.23	4,129
MOROCCO (28)	.46	.44	.10	.33	3,190
TUNISIA (9)	.81	.86	1.30	.99	5,478
group average	.47	.19	.45	.37	
IV. LARGE ISLAMIC COUNTRIES OUTSIDE THE MIDDLE EASTERN CORE/NON-OIL PRODUCERS					
BANGLADESH (128)	-.76	-.64	-.54	-.64	1,475
INDONESIA (207)	-.87	-1.01	-.50	-.79	2,439
MALAYSIA (23)	.34	.13	.53	.33	7,963
PAKISTAN (135)	-.74	-.79	-.48	-.67	1,757
TURKEY (64)	-.16	-.48	-.15	-.26	6,126
group average	-.44	-.56	-.23	-.41	
V. FAST GROWING EAST AND SOUTH ASIAN NON-ISLAMIC COUNTRIES					
CHINA (1,250)	-.19	-.30	.14	-.12	3,291
INDIA (998)	.23	-.39	-.17	-.11	2,149
S. KOREA (47)	.55	.37	.44	.45	14,637
	.20	-.11	.14	.07	

SOURCE: Kaufman, Kraay, and Zoido-Lobaton (2002); World Bank (2001);

TABLE 3: ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENTS 1990-1999

	ANNUAL GROWTH OF GDP	ANNUAL POPULATION GROWTH	ANNUAL LABOR FORCE GROWTH (15-64 YEAR OLD)	PER CAPITA ANNUAL LABOR FORCE GDP GROWTH	AVERAGE PREDATION INDEX)
I. POPULOUS MIDDLE EASTERN COUNTRIES (low oil revenue/population ratios)					
ALGERIA (30)	1.6	2.2	4.0	-2.4	-.80
EGYPT (62)	4.4	1.9	2.9	+1.5	+.11
IRAN (63)	3.4	1.6	2.4	+1.0	-.41
SYRIA (16)	5.7	2.8	4.0	+1.7	-.72
YEMEN (17)	3.0	4.0	4.7	-1.7	-.86
opul. weighted group average (188)	3.6	2.1	3.2	0.4	
II. NON-POPULOUS MIDDLE EASTERN OIL PRODUCERS (high oil revenue/population ratios)					
SAUDI ARABIA (28)	1.6	3.4	3.1	-1.5	-.05
III. MEDIUM AND SMALL MIDDLE EASTERN NON-OIL PRODUCERS					
JORDAN (5)	4.8	4.4	5.2	-0.4	.39
LEBANON (4)	(7.7)	1.8	3.1	(+4.6)	-.23
MOROCCO (28)	2.3	1.8	2.7	-0.4	.33
TUNISIA (9)	4.6	1.6	2.8	+1.8	.99
op. weighted group average (46)	3.5	2.0	3.0	0.5	
IV. LARGE ISLAMIC COUNTRIES OUTSIDE THE MIDDLE EASTERN CORE/NON-OIL PRODUCERS					
ANGLADESH(128)	4.8	1.6	3.0	+1.8	-.64
INDONESIA (207)	4.7	1.7	2.6	+2.1	-.79
MALAYSIA (23)	6.3	2.5	3.0	+3.3	.33
PAKISTAN (135)	4.0	2.5	2.8	+1.2	-.67
TURKEY (64)	4.1	1.5	2.8	+1.3	-.26
op. weighted group average (557)	4.6	1.8	2.8	1.8	
V. FAST GROWING EAST AND SOUTH ASIAN NON-ISLAMIC COUNTRIES					
CHINA(1,250)	10.7	1.1	1.3	+9.4	-.12
INDIA (998)	6.1	1.8	2.3	+3.8	-.11
S. KOREA (47)	5.7	1.0	2.1	+3.6	.45
op. weighted group average (2,295)	8.6	1.4	1.8	6.9	
CROSS-REGIONAL COMPARISON					
EAST ASIA (1837)	7.4	1.3	1.5	+5.9	no data
South Asia (1,329)	5.7	1.9	2.5	+3.2	no data
Latin America (509)	3.4	1.7	2.5	+0.9	no data
Middle East + North Africa (291)	3.0	2.2	3.1	-0.1	no data
SubSaharan Africa (642)	2.4	2.6	2.6	-0.2	no data

SOURCE: World Bank (2001)

TABLE 4: GLOBAL ECONOMIC EXPOSURE

	PER CAPITA GDP 1999 (at purchasing power parity)	MANUFACTURED EXPORTS AS PERCENT OF TOTAL MERCHANDISE EXPORTS (percent of total exports)		CHANGE IN MANUFACTURED EXPORTS AS % OF MERCHANDISE EXPORTS 1990 to 1999	PERCENT ANNUAL EXPORT GROWTH IN GOODS AND SERVICES
		1990	1998		
I. AND II. MIDDLE EASTERN OIL PRODUCERS (low OR high oil revenue/population ratios)					
ALGERIA (30)	4,753	3	3	0	2.2
EGYPT (62)	3,303	42	44	+2	3.1
IRAN (63)	5,163	no data	no data	no data	no data
SAUDI ARABIA (28)	no data	7	8	+1	no data
SYRIA (16)	2,761	36	10	-26	5.2
YEMEN (17)	688	1	no data	no data	10.2
popul. weighted group average (206 million)	3,875 (no Saudi Arabia)	24 (no Saudi Arabia)	25 (no Saudi Arabia, Yemen)	+1 (no Saudi Arabia, Yemen)	4.4 (no Iran, Saudi Arabia)
III. MEDIUM AND SMALL MIDDLE EASTERN NON-OIL PRODUCERS					
JORDAN (5)	3,542	51	52	+1	5.5
LEBANON (4)	4,129	no data	no data	no data	15.6
MOROCCO (28)	3,190	52	49	-3	3.0
TUNISIA (9)	5,478	69	82	+13	5.1
pop. weighted group average (46)	3,758	56	56	+1	4.8
IV. LARGE ISLAMIC COUNTRIES OUTSIDE THE MIDDLE EASTERN CORE/NON-OIL PRODUCERS					
BANGLADESH(128)	1,473	77	91	+14	13.2
INDONESIA (207)	2,439	35	45	+10	9.2
MALAYSIA (23)	7,963	54	79	+24	11.0
PAKISTAN (135)	1,757	79	84	+5	2.7
TURKEY (64)	6,126	68	77	+9	11.9
pop. weighted group average (557)	2,703	60	70	+10	8.9
V. FAST GROWING EAST AND SOUTH ASIAN NON-ISLAMIC COUNTRIES					
CHINA(1,250)	3,291	72	87	+15	13.0
INDIA (998)	2,149	71	74	+3	11.3
S. KOREA (47)	14,637	94	91	-3	15.6
pop. weighted group average (2,295)	3,027	72	81	+9	12.3
CROSS-REGIONAL COMPARISON					
EAST ASIA (1837)	3,410	68	81	+13	12.6
South Asia (1,329)	2,030	71	77	+6	9.6
Latin America (509)	5,580	35	49	+14	8.7
Middle East + North Africa (291)	6,280	17	19	+2	no data
Sub-Saharan Africa (642)	1,450	20	36	+16	4.4

Source: World Bank (2001)

TABLE 5: EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENTS IN DIFFERENT REGIONS

	PER CAPITA GDP 1999	ADULT ILLITERACY IN 1998 (people age 15 and older)		GENDER GAP IN ADULT ILLITERACY: FEMALES MINUS MALES	PER CAPITA LABOR FORCE GDP GROWTH 1990-99
		MALE	FEMALE		
I. AND II. MIDDLE EASTERN OIL PRODUCERS (low OR high oil revenue/population ratios)					
ALGERIA (30)	4,753	24	46	-22	-2.4
EGYPT (62)	3,303	35	58	-23	1.5
IRAN (63)	5,163	11	33	-22	1.0
SAUDI ARABIA (28)	no data	17	36	-23	-1.5
SYRIA (16)	2,761	13	42	-29	+1.7
YEMEN (17)	688	34	77	-43	-1.7
popul. weighted group average (206)	3,875 (no Saudi Arabia)	24	49	-25	+0.2
III. MEDIUM AND SMALL MIDDLE EASTERN NON-OIL PRODUCERS					
JORDAN (5)	3,542	6	17	-11	-0.4
LEBANON (4)	4,129	9	21	-12	(+4.6)
MOROCCO (28)	3,190	40	66	-26	-0.4
TUNISIA (9)	5,478	21	42	-21	+1.7
pop. weighted group average (46)	3,758	30	52	-22	+0.4
IV. LARGE ISLAMIC COUNTRIES OUTSIDE THE MIDDLE EASTERN CORE/NON-OIL PRODUCERS					
BANGLADESH(128)	1,473	49	71	-22	+1.8
INDONESIA (207)	2,439	9	20	-11	+2.1
MALAYSIA (23)	7,963	9	18	-9	+3.3
PAKISTAN (135)	1,757	42	71	-29	+1.2
TURKEY (64)	6,126	7	25	-16	+1.3
pop. weighted group average (557)	2,703	26	45	-19	1.8
V. FAST GROWING EAST AND SOUTH ASIAN NON-ISLAMIC COUNTRIES					
CHINA (1,250)	3,291	9	25	-16	+9.4
INDIA (998)	2,149	33	57	-24	+3.8
S. KOREA (47)	14,637	1	4	-3	+3.6
pop. weighted group average (2,295)	3,027	19	38	-19	6.9
CROSS-REGIONAL COMPARISON					
EAST ASIA (1837)	3,410	9	22	-13	+5.9
South Asia (1,329)	2,030	35	59	-24	+3.2
Latin America (509)	5,580	11	13	-2	+0.9
Middle East + North Africa (291)	6,280	26	48	-22	-0.1
Sub-Saharan Africa (642)	1,450	32	49	-17	-0.2

Source: World Bank (2001)

TABLE 6: LEGACY OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION, OIL EXPORT ECONOMY, AND CIVIL AND POLITICAL FREEDOMS 2001

	CONCENTRATED MERCHANT CLASS AND LAND OWNERSHIP	TRIBAL AND/OR NOMADIC SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION	SMALL/MEDIUM MERCHANTS AND FARMERS (+ NON-ISLAMIC MINORITY FAMILY BASED BUSINESS NETWORKS)
MEDIUM INCOME ECONOMY WITH NO OR MODEST OIL EXPORTS (< 100% of domestic energy consumption)	EGYPT (6/5) SYRIA (7/7) [Tunisia? (6/5)]	[Kazakhstan ? (6/5)] [Morocco ? (5/4)] [Turkmenistan ? (7/7)]	JORDAN (4/4) LEBANON (6/5) TURKEY (4/5) [Indonesia ? (3/4)] [Malaysia ? (5/5)]
LOW INCOME ECONOMY WITH NO OR MODEST OIL EXPORTS	[Pakistan? (6/5)]	[Afghanistan ? (7/7)] [Azerbaijan ? (6/4)] [Kyrgyzstan ? (6/5)] [Mauritania ? (6/5)] [Tajikistan ? (6/5)] [Uzbekistan ? (7/6)] [Yemen ? (5/6)]	[Bangladesh ? (3/4)]
MAJOR OIL EXPORTER	IRAQ (7/7) [Algeria? (6/5)] [Libya? (7/7)]	KUWAIT (4/5) SAUDI ARABIA (7/7) GULF STATES: - Bahrein (7/6) - Oman (6/5) - Qatar (6/6) - United Arab Emirates(6/5) [Brunei ? (7/7)]	IRAN (6/6)

TABLE 7: WINNERS AND LOSERS OF ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION AND POLITICAL REGIME CHANGE

		ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION	
		WINNERS	LOSERS
POLITICAL REGIME CHANGE	WINNERS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * segment of young urban intelligentsia * minority of existing private industrialists * segment of the marginalized urban young 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * segment of young urban intelligentsia * segment of the marginalized urban young * petty traders and craftsmen
	LOSERS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * majority of existing private industrialists * some managerial technocrats 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * salaried bureaucrats * workers and employees in state owned and state-regulated enterprises

TABLE 8: STRATEGIC INTERACTION BETWEEN REGIME INCUMBENTS AND CHALLENGERS

		DISSIPATION OF RESOURCES AND CAPABILITIES IN SOCIETY	
		HIGH CONCENTRATION	WIDE DISSIPATION
RESOURCES CONTROLLED BY INCUMBENT REGIMES	<p align="center">VERY GREAT RESOURCES (high oil revenue/capita ratios, non-populous oil producers)</p>	<p align="center">dominant elite strategy: <i>cooptation</i>; best challenger response: <i>acceptance</i>;</p> <p align="center">(small oil-based monarchies: Bahrein, Brunei, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, formerly Saudi Arabia)</p>	<p align="center">dominant elite strategy: <i>cooptation and concessions</i>; best challenger response: <i>acceptance</i>;</p> <p align="center">(no empirical case, likely to evolve from oil-based monarchies)</p>
	<p align="center">MODERATE RESOURCES (low oil revenue/ capita ratios, populous oil producers)</p>	<p align="center">dominant elite strategy: <i>repression</i>; best challenger response: <i>acquiescence, limiting opposition to small-group terrorism</i>;</p> <p align="center">(populous oil-based single-party dictatorships: Algeria, Iraq, Libya) (increasingly: populous oil-based monarchy: Saudi Arabia)</p>	<p align="center">dominant elite strategy: <i>repression, intermittent concessions</i>; best challenger response: <i>mobilization, testing limits of patience</i>;</p> <p align="center">(populous oil-based dictatorship: Iran)</p>
	<p align="center">SCARCE RESOURCES (small oil producers, oil non-producers, reliance on remittances)</p>	<p align="center">dominant elite strategy: <i>repression with sporadic concessions</i>; best challenger response: <i>acquiescence with intermittent mobilization; terrorism</i>;</p> <p align="center">(populous non-oil single-party dictatorships: Egypt, Syria, Tunisia, some Central Asian countries in the future)</p>	<p align="center">dominant elite strategy: <i>mixed strategy of concessions and intermittent repression</i>; best challenger response: <i>mobilization</i>;</p> <p align="center">(populous non-oil monarchies, single-party or military dictatorships: Indonesia; Jordan Morocco?)</p>
	<p align="center">EXTREMELY SCARCE RESOURCES (oil non-producers, few remittances)</p>	<p align="center">dominant elite strategy: <i>concessions, case-by-case repression</i>; best challenger response: <i>mass mobilization</i>;</p> <p align="center">(populous non-oil producers with single party dictatorships: Pakistan, some Central Asian countries)</p>	<p align="center">dominant elite strategy: <i>concessions, democratic transition</i> best challenger strategy: <i>cooperation</i>;</p> <p align="center">(populous non-oil producers with semi-authoritarian regimes and intermittent democracy: Bangladesh, Malaysia, Turkey)</p>