
اعادة تقييم دراسات التغير الاجتماعي في الشرق الاوسط

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يقيم الباحثان في هذه الدراسة ثلاثة مؤلفات عالجت موضوع التغير الاجتماعي في الشرق الاوسط وهي :

افكار القومية العربية لحازم زكي نسيبة ، **وسياسات لتغير الاجتماعي في الشرق الاوسط وشمال افريقيا** ها زريدها نبرن ، **وارتجال المجتمع التقليدي** لدانيال يرنر .

وتعتبر هذه المؤلفات من اهم الاعمال التي ظهرت خلال القرنين الماضيين حول هذا الموضوع ، والتي ارسيت تقاليد في البحث العلمي اتبع العديد ومن بعدهم .

تستعرض المقالة النتائج الاساسية التي توصل اليها كل من هؤلاء المؤلفين وتقييمها من حيث المنهج والمحتوى . ثم تقارن المقالة بين المؤلفات الثلاثة بالاحكام الى اربعة معايير : ١ - هدف الدراسة ، ٢ - الاطار التحليلي ، ٣ - الوسائل المستعملة في جميع المعلومات ، ٤ - الوسائل المستعملة في تصنيف وتحليل المعلومات .

وتنتهي اقفانة الى الحكم على القيمة العلمية للمؤلفات الثلاثة .

Toronto, 1960), also Marshall McLuhan; E. S. Carpenter (eds). Explorations In Communication (Boston : Beacon Press, 1966).

- 7 — Nuseibeh notes that “ ... The Arab world need take from the West only those mechanical and scientific techniques which would enable it to operate the economy upon a higher level of energy. Its cultural values need not be unduly disturbed in the process. The proponents of this approach have a valid case when they distinguish between culture and civilization.” Hazem Zaki Nuseibeh, op. cit., P. 181.
- 8 — Carl Hempel, “The Logic of Functional Analysis” in May Brodbeck (ed.), Readings In The Philosophy Of The Social Sciences (The McMillan Company, 1969), P. 184.
- 9 — Ibid., P. 195.
- 10 — Ibid., P. 197.
- 11 — Max Weber, “Ideal Types and Theory Construction,” in Ibid., P. 497.
- 12 — Ibid., P. 506.

reality.”¹¹ If the ideal-type is to be a useful one, the features or traits presented must be essential ones. Lerner, however, tends to use these types as categories of, rather than abstractions from, reality and has thus developed them as models of predictable behavior. In doing this, Lerner has by-passed the most essential contribution that such a construct could offer. According to Weber, an ideal type, such as a system of developmental sequences, is useful to reveal how underlying things do not conform to it¹², thus illuminating the alternative variables involved in the exploration of historical phenomena.. This accounts for the weakness in Lerner’s model.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 —David E. Apter, Charles Andrain, “Comparative Government : Developing New Nations”, Journal of Politics (May, 1968), pp. 380-382.
- 2 —Hazem Zaki Nuseibeh. The Ideas of Arab Nationalism (New York : Cornell Univresity Press, 1959).
- 3 —Manfred Halpern. The Politics Of Social Change In The Middle East And North Africa (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970).
- 4 —Daniel Lerner. The Passing of Traditional Society : Modernizing The Middle East (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962).
- 5 —For a particularly relevant study, see Eric Davis, “Political Development or Political Economy? : Political Theory And The Study of Social Change In Egypt And The Third World” In Review Of Middle East Studies (London : Ithaca Press, 1975).
- 6 —See among others, Marshall McLuhan, Gutenberg Galaxy : The Making Of Typographic Man, (Toronto : University of

failure of the inexact sciences, such as political science, to provide a deductively related set of laws, and is willing to relax stringent demands for scientific exactitudeness in favor of theories with limited ability for explanation, partial capacity to predict and utility for suggesting what is significant. An absolute emphasis on prediction, in a field impregnated with imperfection is an anachronism, and there is no alternative in the present stage of the development of the social sciences to the instrumentalist viewpoint.

Each of the three works under consideration brings forth some insight to the understanding of political phenomena, as explained in the text. They differ, however, in their susceptibility for scientific validation.

Nuseibeh's is evidently the most interpretive and, therefore, the least amenable to such validation. Values abstracted from a review of "considered opinions" could only suggest possible guides to future events, but they are not formulated in terms of testable hypotheses.

Halpern's functional methodology has the analytic structure of a scientific schemata with very little explanatory or predictive import. Its only explanatory value consists of an inventory of the range of instruments for political modernization that exist. Its logic takes the form : "Some one of the items included in a class of empirically sufficient conditions that satisfy the normal functioning of a system is present in the system at a time t".⁹ Its utility for prediction lies in drawing the possible future contours of a tranformed Middle East. It's logic takes the form : "If a system functions adequately in a setting of kind c at time t, then some one of the items in the class of empirically sufficient conditions that satisfy the normal functioning of the system is present in the system at time t".¹⁰

The scientific status of Lerner's work is linked to the value of his factorial theories, or character typologies. The Modern, Transitional, and Traditional ideal-types were abstracted from responses to sample surveys and assumedly allow prediction. It must be remembered, however, that the three types are themselves but analytic constructs with no empirical referents. Ideal-types do not exist in reality. As Max Weber has noted, they are developed from "the analytic accentuation of certain elements of

seeks to analyze the ideational system of the area as it manifests itself in contemporary nationalist literature. Halpern, seemingly the most inclusive, explores the functional interrelatedness of contemporary social institutions to understand how they contribute to the maintenance of social equilibrium. Lerner, on the other hand, tries to measure behavior patterns within these changing societies in order to discern the progress being made toward a specified goal.

Each of these has quite naturally resulted in a very different method of data collection. Hazem Zaki Nuseibeh's is an interpretive analysis of the nationalist literature. Halpern's is the most speculative of the three, as he proclaims the great gap in information available on the area and states his task as one of abstracting specific examples or illustrations from this incomplete data to support his hypotheses. Thus, his material is randomly selected from a wide bibliographical inventory of primary and secondary sources on the Middle East, rather than on any intensive field research. Finally, Lerner's work is the most specific because of the attempt to correlate quantified data from questionnaires with other statistical input.

As for the forms of reasoning employed by the three authors, or the manner in which they process and analyze data, it would be more meaningful to compare them by reference to their scientific value. In this regard, two conceptions of the scientific method will be utilized : the positivist and the instrumentalist. With respect to the former, Carl Hempel, in his article on the "Logic of Functional Analysis," outlines what he conceives the explanatory method of empirical science to be. Primarily, Hempel argues that explanation of a given phenomenon is performed by "subsuming it under laws". These laws are either straightforward and universal of the form "If A then B" or probability laws. Because of their structure, they enable us to make predictions.⁸ If judged by such standards, the three authors fail to explain the phenomenon of social change.

The value of systems analysis would be better appreciated, however, were it to be judged by reference to an instrumentalist conception of the scientific method. This conception recognizes the

great deal of light on the problems of developing societies, namely, macro - economic analyses of the countries concerned, and traditional participant observation, of an anthropological nature, at the micro-level.

CONCLUSION

It should be pointed out that while the three works treat the same core system, the Islamic Middle East, each of the authors limits the scope of his particular study to a set of specific geographic boundaries. Nuseibeh concerns himself exclusively with the Arab World. Halpern opts to treat nations imbued with the Islamic culture, extending from Morocco to Pakistan, but, interesting enough, he chooses to exclude the Gulf States from his study. Lerner focuses his study on six states; Turkey, Iran, Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon. We can assume that Lerner considers these to be representative of a larger universe, the Middle East, which he does not define.

It is interesting to note that while all three writers set out to study the same analytic problem, i.e. social change in the Middle East, they do not perceive the direction of that change as the same. Nuseibeh believes that the societies of the Middle East can absorb the technology of the West and yet maintain the essence of their own social organization, along with their unique moral and philosophical heritage. He defends this position by an analytic distinction between culture and civilization.⁷

Halpern, on the other hand, clearly assumes a total change in both values as well as socio-economic and political institutions, and poses these in terms of mutually exclusive alternatives, ranging from Western style democracy to totalitarianism. He sees the force of these changes to rest with indigenous nationalist elements.

Lerner's view of the direction of change is the most clear cut. He equates the process of "modernization" with the acquisition of what he considers to be the characteristic elements of Western society.

As to the framework of analysis used by each of the authors concerned, each seeks to find an understanding of the same process of social change by exploring a different level of reality. Nuseibeh

modernization. (P. 45) This picture hardly accounts for the growing religious fervor that seems to be accompanying rapid socio-economic development in the Middle East. Nor, for that matter, does it take into account the role of religion in the modern "secular" nations of the West.

This points up a fundamental weakness of the book, namely, its extremely simplistic treatment of the meaning of modernity and modernization. The result is an extremely stereo-typed picture of the modernized West and an a priori assumption that the processes which nations in the Middle East are now undergoing are necessarily leading them in the direction of this Western model. For this reason, the book fails to explore the alternative patterns of modernization that may indeed emerge in these countries.

The Passing of Traditional Society is an attempt to answer a set of empirical questions : "Who was changing ? From what to what ? How fast ? With what effects ?". To quote the author, "We focus on ... The transformations worked into the daily lifeways of individuals by these large historical forces". (P. 83) As such, it is essentially a behavioral study. But, a look at Lerner's combination of census data, media statistics, and attitudinal surveys, reveals a strong eclecticism. Furthermore, though the data from these various indices are correlated, a causal relationship between them is implied, but again without logical justification. This, we can clearly see, is not a purely behavioral study, and results in some particularly "subjective" statements, such as "modern in Syria tends to be an active and articulate young man, whereas in Jordan he is usually a disgruntled refugee from Palestine. Whereas transitionals in modernizing Turkey are generally productive, optimistic and self-confident, opposite numbers in Egypt are more often frustrated, dysphoric and ambivalent." (P. 45) It is rather hard, in fact, to see how statements of this order can be deduced from a correlation of the data presented.

Indeed, while Lerner's data are not without value, they would have been better presented within the scope of a more comprehensive approach, and one that is more logically defined in terms of both model and application. As it stands, the work suffers from the absence of two rather basic elements that would have shed a

characterizations of the modern world, including such phenomena as : industrialization, urbanization, literacy, media and political participation. Traditional society is seen as possessing the opposite characteristics (P. 46) These manifestations are, in turn, taken as indices of the modernization process, along with other phenomena, such as shifting modes of communication. (P. 57)

Lerner uses these ideal-types as categories in an a priori manner. Thus, the fact that this relationship between the existence and development of mass media and his presumed stages of modernization is not logically justified in his theoretical chapter is a very serious omission. This is particularly true since it seems to be the quantitative presence of media, not the content of the media message that is the object of Lerner's investigation.

This is not to say that communications media, as such, are not without significance. On the contrary, as Marshall McLuhan has shown, it is a worthy phenomenon indeed.⁶ But a review of Lerner's questionnaire and statistical data would indicate that he has hardly delved into any sophisticated study of communications patterns and their impact on the individual psyche. The role of communications media is an intriguing issue as the media are being used, both in the "modernized West" and in the "modernizing" Third World to disseminate a full range of messages, from the most "modern" to the most "traditional", regarding all aspects of man's life, from religious beliefs to health practices. Nowhere has Lerner demonstrated how exposure to the media and its messages leads to changes in behavior patterns or adaptation to modernity. This seems to be assumed. One might ask, for instance, how a radio knowledge of the government apparatus and its functionaries would help a member of the society under study manipulate the bureaucratic system.

Beyond the rather general contrasts between literate and illiterate, agrarian and industrial societies, that are used to characterize his three stages of development, there is an underlying assumption that "modernization" brings with it a new "rationalist and positivist" spirit. This, in turn, implies (again without any stated evidence) that thought characterized by Lerner as pre-modern is somehow lacking. Because of this, Lerner agrees with those authors that consider Islam as absolutely defenseless against this onslaught of

remains one of the very few comparative studies of the area that employs a behavioral approach. Though the book examines the institutional changes that have occurred, its interest is primarily directed to an examination of the "prevailing personal style" or the "characterological transformation" typical of the level of modernization that society has reached. (P. 69) Lerner tries to illuminate the processes affecting and shaping the attitudes, motivations and perceptions of the individual. Using the sample survey for collecting data, Lerner makes the assumption that the responses of individuals correlated with statistical data on media consumption and general census data would allow prediction of future behavior. (P. 439) Because of the susceptibility of such a technique to quantification, Lerner has attempted to empirically demonstrate the variances between traditional, transitional and modern types by reference to the personality type representative of each. His basic hypothesis is that a measurement of the functional level of empathy would identify the degree of modernization reached. Moreover, his proposition that communication systems reveal the level of modernization equipped him with indicators to study the direction and degree of social change.

To Daniel Lerner, modernization offers a unifying principle for the study of an extensive geographical area, the Middle East. This phenomenon poses a challenge and causes a change in both style of communication and in attitudes. (P. 45) According to Lerner, modernization is composed of several interrelated conditions, which form a system. These conditions either grow mutually or are conjointly arrested. (P. 55)

This study raises several conceptual and methodological problems that are crucial to contemporary social and political studies, especially where these concern the concept of "modernization" as it has been used by Lerner and others. This model, abstracted from the Western historical experience, has been applied to the study of developing societies in other parts of the world. The appropriateness of this attempt, of course, has been widely discussed.⁵

Particularly troublesome with Lerner's use of the model is that neither modernization as a process, nor modernity as an end result are clearly defined. What is put forth is a set of highly idealized

ing class of unfortunate workers. What is striking about this analysis is that it does not present anything unique about Middle East societies, and that these are features common to all developing countries. This is a further cause to question the validity of Halpern's Islamic model.

Two final observations need to be made. The first concerns the range of political choices that the author assumes to be available in the Middle East. It is highly questionable, in view of the experiences of the past two decades, whether some of them had ever been a possibility. Also, whether these choices are individually exclusive and mutually inclusive. For example, has communism, either as a movement or as a model, ever been a viable functional alternative in the Middle East ? Does nationalism preclude reformist Islam or the establishment of democracy ? There is no reason to believe that this has been the case. The second observation relates to the limitation in the author's treatment of the instruments of political modernization. This treatment remains descriptive, supplying useful information, but is totally lacking in predictive value. Each of these instruments, the author ascertains, may or may not be a modernizer, i.e., it is capable of performing positive or negative functions in the modernizing process. For example, the trade unions, the author explains, can be dependent, mediating or independent forces. "They can remain impotent ... they can allow themselves to be subverted ... they can acquiesce in dependency ... they can choose to ally themselves ..." (P. 336) With such a universe of alternatives, little can then be said with certainty about the future prospects of labor unions in the Middle East. If labor unions can be everything and anything, and the same applies to the other instruments of modernization Halpern lists, such as the armies, political parties and bureaucracies, then little practical use can be made of the analysis. Clearly, Halpern's study may be said to have limited explanatory or predictive import. The reason for this lies perhaps in the very methodology of the study and its application, as will be shown in our conclusion.

III. Daniel Lerner : The Passing of Traditional Society⁴

Lerner's study of the transitional societies of the Middle East

and economic diversities and pluralism of the region should not excuse the pronouncement of such broad and unsubstantiated generalizations. Moreover, Halpern's analysis of past Islamic societies is primarily directed to a description of the discrepancies existing between the "model community" prescribed in religious doctrine and actual rivalries, antagonisms, wars ... etc. One is then continuously reminded of the contrast between vision and reality, which Halpern explains to be the cause of both continuous turmoil as well as resiliency and permanence. Halpern, obviously, does not give sufficient attention to two things : 1) the many intellectual streams within Islam, especially among the Shi'a, and 2) the many dramatic changes within the socio-economic structure of Moslem countries during the past 1300 years. The permanence Halpern alludes to derives, therefore, from the rhetoric of Islamic writings rather than from the actual pattern of Islamic history. The roles and functions of institutions and structures that persisted over long periods such as those of the Caliphate, qadi, 'alim, shaykh al-Islam, taxation, land-tenure, commercial practices and others, differed significantly from one period to the other, and between one country and the other. It might, therefore, be more valid to treat the historic Middle East analytically as constituting several systems. To illustrate, the Caliphate during the Fatimids and Mamluk eras was a radically different institution than it was under the Umayyads and Abbasids, the land-tenure system in Lebanon differed from that of the Nile Valley, the authority of the qadi in the eighteenth century Ottoman Empire was radically altered in the nineteenth century, and the nature of political authority in nomadic societies cannot possibly be seen as equivalent to that of urban centers. Is it not reasonable, therefore, to question the efficacy of interpreting Middle East history in terms of a single model?

Halpern's outline of the present state of the Middle East system derives from his earlier conception. Since their inherited norms and institutions are similar, and they presently face the same challenges, Halpern assumes that their societies are experiencing similar transformations in social structure. These, he enumerates, as a declining traditional elite, a rising new middle class, a large peasantry that is starting to take part in national life and a grow-

traditional kingship, feudalism and bourgeoisie are declining while, at the same time, a new middle class is in the process of forming the leadership in the Middle East. Third, Halpern examines the range of political choices : reformist Islam, neo-Islamic authoritarianism, communism, nationalism, and democracy. Fourth, Halpern reviews the instruments of political modernization: army, bureaucracy, political parties and trade unions. Fifth, and last, he reviews the consequences of each of these choices to the Middle East : domestically, regionally, and internationally.

As can be surmised from this exposition, Halpern employs the concept of system and treats it from a structural - functional point of view. He makes use of such concepts as system maintainance and development, structural differentiation and integration and allocation of power and responsibility.

As seen from the above review, Halpern's study attempts to deal with the issue of social change by providing an answer to two questions : 1) From what to what ?, and 2) what are the future prospects ? To answer the first question, the author sets to delineate his conception of what the traditional system in the Middle East was like, and what it is turning into. This is done in parts I & II of the study. The remaining parts contain his answer to the second question. Since the soundness of his second accomplishment, i.e., the analysis of future prospects, must either be logically or empirically dependent on his first accomplishment, i.e., characterization of the past and present state of Middle East societies, it would be appropriate to begin by examining the latter.

The most striking observation is Halpern's stereo-type characterization of the network of structures and functions in past Middle East societies. The Islamic past of the region extending from Pakistan to Morocco is held to be a sufficient basis for assuming the prevalence of a common system. Halpern's own observations that the volume of literature on the social history of the region is scanty, (p x) and that there is an ignorance of facts, (P. xii) do not deter him from issuing statements such as "a way of life that endured nearly 1300 years" (P. vii), or "traditional Islam ... survived over large areas as a single political system and always as an interrelated pattern of faith and action for nearly 1300 years". (P. 4) The absence of serious scholarly studies dealing with the social

order to define the character and scope of the forces of change as well as single out relevant policies, Halpern discusses the present social transformation in Middle Eastern and North African societies in terms of their Islamic past and present. He starts with a description of the Islamic community and its inheritance as one infected with disunity and lawlessness. It was marked, he states, by constant paradox : by isolation and conquest, by acquiescence and rebellion, by the quest for unity and the fact of factionalism. Its continued existence was due to its success in balancing tensions and conflicts. Within the system, the roles, values, orientations, and actions of the various groups were set in rigidly defined patterns. Though the combinations in the system may vary, the system as a whole remains stereotype and unchanged. Faced with a corrupt reality, folk Islam developed an attitude of acquiescence which discouraged innovation and explained both Islam's continued existence and its inability to meet the challenges posed by the modern age.

Halpern believes that the introduction and growth of ideas, modes of production and bases of power which were alien in origin to the Islamic system have, in the modern age, penetrated the system and undermined its foundations. The transformation taking place, therefore, is fundamental and the change is qualitatively different from any previous one. Among the institutions which Halpern enumerates as having either collapsed entirely, i.e., withered away, or are in the process of fundamental change are the Caliphate, the Islamic Empire, the class of the ulema and the code of the Sharia, the guilds and religious brotherhoods, and finally, the patriarchal family and its offshoots. In addition to the upsetting of the institutions, Halpern argues, social relationships in the Islamic community have also been fundamentally altered. The latter include a growing gap between the old and the new generation, rich and poor, urban and rural residents ... To Halpern, therefore, the above changes necessitate a reconstruction of the existential foundations of Moslem life. They ushered a period of decisive choice and innovation. The latter comprise the parameters of the revolution taking place in the Middle East and North Africa. (PP. 3-27).

Second, Halpern outlines recent changes among both categories of social classes : the traditional and the new. He explains that

isms, the study allows only a statement of what is conceived by the articulate political community to be the elements that are shared by its members, and those that distinguish it from others. It is not a substitute for an indepth field survey of the prevalence of such ideas among the populace as a whole. Finally, the level of receptivity to modern values and the specification of what is desirable can only be vaguely surmised from a study of nationalist literature. There are serious limitations to classifying attitudes into three ideal - types, i.e., zealotry, discrete and comprehensive. Through generalization and reductionism, it oversimplifies rather than clarifies reality. Thus, the most serious flaw in the study is the author's inability to specify how he correlates thought-patterns with behavior.

II. Manfred Halpern: The Politics Of Social Change in The Middle East And North Africa³

Halpern's work follows in the tradition of the structural-functional approach. Among other things, it surveys the analytic and informal structures within society, specifies the relationships between the various parts or subsystems, and defines the functions these parts perform in the actual maintenance of society. The study lists the political choices or functional equivalents available to the leadership and estimates their costs and consequences. The study is guided by a two-fold objective : the analysis of the process of social change taking place in the area extending from Morocco to Pakistan and the estimation of future trends in the politics of this region. (P. vii)

The study relies upon two modes of analysis which, in turn, present certain underlying methodological assumptions. First, that in addition to examining the facts of a situation, the structural and functional requirements of that situation should also be explored. This, he believes, would allow discussion of the "potentials" of the situation. Second, that institutions, groups, behavior and ideas performing functionally equivalent roles in a similar context lend themselves to a useful comparison. This second mode of analysis, the author explains, is used in order to draw broad generalizations from insufficient data. (PP. xi-xiii)

Halpern imposes a five-fold pattern on his subject. First, in

manifest themselves in observable patterns which could be evaluated with a high degree of precision, the latter, such as "attitudes of mind and spirit," are not amenable to the same kind of investigation and require other techniques. (P. 200) A second, though not as explicit an assumption, is that the Arab world is presently undergoing a process of integration in which its interrelated component parts (spiritual, material, political, economic and social), are in a state of disequilibrium. (PP. 179, 206). The notion of "system" is inherent in the author's conceptual framework and Nuseibeh maintains that nationalism is the principal movement by which a restored equilibrium in this system is sought. (P. 207)

The author makes three claims supporting his approach. First, he is convinced that a study of Arab nationalism introduces him to the thought-system with which nationals are equipped to face the transformation that their country is undergoing. Ideology is seen as the instrument for cohesion in a society experiencing radical changes. It serves this function while societal attitudes and values consonant with modernization are established (P. 206). Second, this study allows the researcher to identify that which is unique in the phenomenon of Arab nationalism, as well as its similarities with others (P. 207). Finally, the third claim made by the author in favor of his approach is that a study of nationalist thought would indicate the level of acceptance of modern values in Arab societies. (PP. 160 - 179)

While the above claims are not without merit, they need to be qualified. Nationalism has admittedly been a potent force in the Arab world, but only as one of several competing ideologies. Emerging local nationalisms, as well as various radical and conservative ideologies, are among the most important of the latter. The study makes no mention of how these are related or the circumstances under which a choice between one or the other is made. The continued state of disunity, despite the elapse of two decades since the publication of Nuseibeh's book, cannot be understood without proper recognition of this fact. The study of nationalism, therefore, allows only partial insight into what motivates people to act and does not, as the author claims, provide "a theory of human life". (P. 211) As to the success of the approach in delimiting comparative national-

political studies, three prominent books dealing with the Middle East, each representative of one of the above analytic approaches, have been selected. These are reviewed, and the contribution of each to the understanding of social change in the Middle East is reassessed. The three works are discussed in terms of the four elements cited above and their methodologies examined.

I. Hazem Zaki Nuseibeh : The Ideas of Arab Nationalism²

To Nuseibeh, the analysis of ideas and beliefs, as they are discernible in contemporary nationalist thought, is the most appropriate method for gaining insight into the dynamic forces directing change in Arab societies. These ideas and beliefs, comprising "their hopes and aspirations" for a "new order", or what Arab society ought to be, makes this study representative of the normative approach. (P. v)

The author starts by investigating the historical roots of Arab nationalism. To him, the pre-Islamic, Islamic and modern periods are represented by different ideologies, and contemporary Arab nationalist thought is considered a product of all three. (P.1) Nuseibeh, then, explores the sources of contemporary Arab nationalism and concludes that they comprise, on the one hand, language, tradition and historical experience, and those formulations borrowed from the West and blended with indigenous traditional values, on the other. (PP. 66-67) Nuseibeh proceeds to depict the current political theories, attitudes and tendencies in the Arab world from the study of ideological and programmatic statements. (P. 99) In the final chapters of his book, the author discusses attitudes toward social change as they are discerned in the literature on Arab nationalism, and identifies the following three : an attitude of zealotry or the opposition to all change, a discrete atomistic and selective attitude which accepts only the mechanical and scientific techniques of Western civilization, and the comprehensive attitude which is manifested in the willingness to assimilate the material and non-material aspects of Western civilization and culture. (PP. 180-182)

Nuseibeh's study is premised on two assumptions. The first is that the dynamic factors involved in social change have tangible and intangible aspects. Whereas the former, such as industrialization,

THREE STUDIES OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE MIDDLE EAST : A RE-EVALUATION

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INTRODUCTION :

The past two decades have witnessed the development of a significant body of literature on the political and social system of the Middle East focusing in particular on the rapid social change that the area has been undergoing. It is at this point that it would be a value to review and reassess some of the earlier standard works that have set the framework and trend for most of the studies made subsequent to them.

In their review of the literature in the field of Comparative Government, David Apter and Charles Andrain note three trends in the study of the developing world. Viewing political systems as systems of choice, this division is based on whatever particular aspect of choice the author is concerned with; i.e., the norms and values involved in what ought to be chosen, the pattern observed in what is chosen, or the choices that are actually made by the citizen. Each of these concerns distinguishes a certain approach; either a normative, structural or behavioral one. The three approaches can be assessed in terms of four common elements : the analytic problem that they pose, their framework of analysis, the techniques they use in collecting information and, finally, the techniques employed by each method to process and analyze the information obtained.¹

Based on the above characterization of recent comparative

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