

Twentieth Anniversary of Lisa Wedeen's *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria*

Introduction to the Symposium on the Twentieth Anniversary of Lisa Wedeen's *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria*

Jillian Schwedler, *City University of New York, USA*

In *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria*, published more than 20 years ago (Wedeen 1999), Lisa Wedeen asks: Why did the Syrian regime spend so much time and so many resources promoting a cult-of-personality campaign for President Hafez al-Asad when ample evidence existed that many citizens neither loved the president nor believed other Syrians' public expressions of love and adoration? Why invest scarce resources in a cult that Syrians clearly did not believe? These straightforward questions and their answers are unpacked in 160 beautifully written pages, including 10 pages of published and unpublished cartoons. Wedeen's answer is what she calls a "politics of *as if*": it mattered little what Syrians really believed because as long as they acted as if they revered the president and reproduced the images and symbolism of the cult, their public compliance with the cult would work to shore up the regime's power—even when people viewed the cult as patently "bogus." Based on several years of

ethnographic research and semiotic analysis—undertaken under extraordinarily difficult field conditions—Wedeen examines the stories, jokes, cartoons, television shows, and other images that circulated publicly and allowed citizens to quietly signal their disbelief in the cult while publicly complying with the regime's demand that they act as if they believed the cult's ridiculous claims. One of the book's lasting contributions is the "politics of *as if*" as a political category—a contribution with theoretical purchase beyond an analysis of the Asad regime in Syria.

Wedeen's analysis of how acting "as if" worked to produce political power provided a refreshing and compelling counterpoint to arguments about authoritarianism in the Middle East that emphasized the capacity for coercion, intimidation, and physical repression. Most analyses ignored the cult or else took at face value expressions elicited by the cult: Syrians (like North Koreans and others) really love their strongman leader. The shadow of Orientalist assumptions about Middle Eastern societies as backward provided fertile soil for leaving unquestioned the apparent devotion of the masses to monstrous and violent regimes. Whereas less-Orientalist analyses also often dismissed "culture" as epiphenomenal, Wedeen set about understanding how the cult actually worked. Indeed, *Ambiguities* reshaped how we think more broadly about popular support for authoritarian regimes by rejecting "false-consciousness" arguments and unpacking distinctions among consent, compliance, and resistance—distinctions that Wedeen (2019) continues to explore in her most recent book, *Authoritarian Apprehensions*.

This symposium reflects on the continued impact of *Ambiguities* on both the study of Middle East politics and related themes in the discipline. The contributors critically examine the work in the context of the scholarship produced since the first edition was published in 1999, including authoritarianism, state repression, public opinion, the politics of obedience, political violence, and political performance. *Ambiguities* also critiques the way much of political science has embraced Weberian notions of the state and the idea that legitimacy sustains the rule of those who wield power. The symposium contributors reflect the diversity of the field in terms of epistemological commitments and methodologies as well demographics and career stage.

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