

POLI 344-001  
Fall 2016, MWF 9:00-9:50 a.m.  
Office Hours, MW 1:30-3:00 p.m.  
TR 9:30-11:00 a.m. and by appointment

John Creed  
26 Coming St. (201)  
953-8137 (office)  
953-5724 (messages)  
email: [creedj@cofc.edu](mailto:creedj@cofc.edu)

## *Politics of the Middle East*

### **Course Objectives**

For more than five years, the Middle East has experienced an extraordinary period of upheaval and transition. What many in the West have come to call the “Arab Spring” (but what people of the region have preferred to call the “Arab citizen revolts”) has featured popular protests demanding change in countries across the region, the departure of long-standing rulers in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen, violent political standoffs between regimes and populations in countries as diverse as Syria and Bahrain and portions of the region that seem quiet but are not unaffected by events. As some states have tried to move on from the protests to create new political processes and structures (from “revolution” to “reform”), other systems and elites have doggedly resisted the impulses for change, prompting observers to suggest the period following turmoil has been far less inspiring than the hopes which spawned it and that these aftermaths share more with the preceding period than some might have originally anticipated. Why have these events arisen (and why did they seemingly catch so many, policymakers and regional specialists alike, by surprise)? How do the events in these different countries compare? What do they share in terms of similarities and differences? What do these events “mean” for the region and what kinds of futures might they forecast for the peoples who have played integral roles in their emergence?

This course is designed to help you gain an understanding of the nature and content of Middle East politics with a particular eye toward seeking to comprehend recent regional events. We will strive for a synthesis of knowledge about Middle East politics rather than a detailed and descriptive survey of individual states and societies, although when thinking about the recent events in the region, attempts to differentiate dynamics in various states will be part of the task. Though historical information will be provided, emphasis will be placed on the post-World War II period. Overall, the discussion will be topical and conceptual, not chronological, and it will culminate with an analytical exploration of the region’s contemporary dynamics.

### **Course Content**

This course will revolve around two sets of themes. The first set relates to the enduring dynamics of Middle East politics and includes the historical and cultural setting of politics, as well as social, economic and political institutions and processes. In this context, we will be examining topics and concepts such as nationalism, imperialism, authority, modernization, class, civil society, the military, the clergy, and social liberation movements as they relate to the region.

The second set of themes revolves around patterns of continuity and change present in contemporary Middle East politics, patterns that are derived from the dynamics of the area and which today give rise to conflicting prognostications of the region’s future. This portion of the course will explore topics like ongoing efforts at social and economic development and reconstruction and the effects of an emerging “youth bulge” that is straining the area’s politics. Among the specific issue areas to be examined are the Arab-Israeli conflict; the effects of globalization on the region’s economies and politics; the perception that Islam in the Middle East poses an ominous challenge to regional prospects for freedom; and the Middle East’s participation in the global “spread of democracy” with an eye toward examining whether meaningful political change is now underway in the region.

Because this course also counts as an elective offering for the College’s Geography minor, there will be a significant emphasis on the role that space plays in the region’s politics. Portions of this focus will emerge throughout the course content, most notably in opening class discussions and later during deliberations over the contemporary Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

## Foreign Language Alternative

This course has been approved to satisfy Category 3 of the Foreign Language Alternative program. Upon the completion of this course, students will contextualize and analyze artifacts, practices, and perspectives from cultures in the Middle East region (Program learning outcome 3).

## Learning Outcomes and Skills This Course Will Seek to Improve

This course contains several learning outcomes and objectives. **In conjunction with the program outcomes of the Political Science Department, upon completion of the course, you will contextualize and analyze artifacts, practices, and perspectives from the cultures of the Middle East.** This means in part that after having taken this course, you will have a demonstrably stronger and more informed perspective on the Middle East region, its politics, economics, cultures and societies. This includes seeing elements of continuity and change in the region's politics and recognizing the fallacies of prevailing myths about the region and its political relationships. At the end of the semester, you should be conscious of your understanding and be able to better and more substantively articulate to others the appreciation of the region you have acquired. In addition, this course will push you to comprehend the specific nature of comparative political inquiry and you will know how to begin applying concepts and theories comparatively in order to deepen your knowledge of a state in the region that is of particular interest to you. As part of this effort too, you will emerge with an understanding of how geography – and particularly the concepts of place and space – can meaningfully influence the politics of a region like the Middle East.

This course will attempt to challenge and improve a number of your skills that are considered vital for students of Political Science (and students of the Liberal Arts and Sciences more broadly) to master. These include:

- \*\* contextualizing and analyzing artifacts, practices and perspectives from the cultures of the Middle East (through the concept application paper assignments)
- \*\* oral communication (through regular class participation and class discussions);
- \*\* reading comprehension (through regular reading assignments that will provide the basis for many class discussions, as well as questions on the term and final exams);
- \*\* critical thinking and analysis (through class reading, discussion of scholarly work about the region, concept application paper assignments, exam essays);
- \*\* effective, concise writing and development of critical analysis (through exam essays and concept application paper assignments);
- \*\* applying theories and concepts to new situations (through class discussions, concept application paper assignments and class exams);
- \*\* research, including literature reviews, utilization of data bases and testing of specific propositions (through concept application paper assignments);
- \*\* comprehending the views of others and articulating, defending one's own position (through class readings, discussions and concept application paper assignments).

## Intended Long-Term Impact of the Course

Beyond helping you learn about the Middle East, this course seeks to make a more lasting impact on your professional development in anticipation of your transition to the workplace. As one employer of college graduates recently observed, young employees “are very good at *finding information* but not as good at *putting it into context* ... they are really *good at technology*, but not at how to take those skills and *resolve specific problems*” (emphasis added). Skills and abilities

that employers repeatedly say they most value in their young employees include: written and oral communication skills, adaptability and flexibility, the ability to deal with ambiguity and complexity, managing multiple priorities, collaboration and interpersonal skills, the capacity to make decisions and the ability to creatively solve complex problems. Firms want graduates with “soft skills” – those who can work well in teams, write and speak clearly, engage in critical thinking, adapt quickly to changing conditions, solve problems on the fly, handle pressure effectively, interact with colleagues from different countries and cultures. As another employer said “soft skills tend to differentiate good college graduates from exceptional college graduates”.

This course seeks to work on many of those “soft skills” both directly and indirectly and it offers you space to improve in many of these areas. These efforts are supplemented by the Department’s new Career Café initiative involving faculty and alumni that you should consider participating in. Additionally, you should consider accessing the many underutilized resources available through the College of Charleston’s Career Center as you begin to think about and plan for life after college. For more information, consult the Career Center’s website at <http://careercenter.cofc.edu>, visit the office in the Lightsey Center, Room 216 or call (843) 953-5692.

### **Method of Presentation**

One underacknowledged truism in education is that we all learn differently. Some of us are primarily visual learners -- we need to see information and we retain and retrieve knowledge through an elaborate mental notecard system. Others of us are more auditory learners -- we thrive on hearing material and we store and access facts and ideas through auditory tapes we play in our minds. Still others of us are more kinesthetic learners -- we need to feel and experience material and we draw upon those feelings and experiences when processing and recounting what we know. While most of us learn using all of these broad channels to some extent, each of us has a "favorite" channel through which we absorb, process, retain and apply knowledge best. Thus, we have our own individual reactions to different modes of communication and teaching techniques.

This class is designed, to the extent possible, to try to hit everyone’s primary channels of learning as often as possible and to further develop your less preferred paths through the use of a variety of teaching techniques. Because I am an important source of learning in this course, sessions will tend to be more lecture oriented than some other courses I teach, with lecture material designed to complement the required readings. It is important to underscore that lectures **will not** be a rehashing of the information in the assigned texts. Simply coming to class and digesting the material discussed will not insure your success in the course. **You must read to succeed.**

While significant portions of the course will be devoted to the presentation of additional information and context, there will be time set aside in each session for discussion and there will occasionally be group exercises conducted to emphasize points. The interactive nature of the class can increase if you come prepared and are willing to take some initiative in this regard.

If specific techniques work best for you or if you know of additional methods that you've seen work well in other classes, feel free to suggest them and if they can be incorporated into the class, we'll try to do it.

**Please note:** In constructing this class, I do not assume that any of you have previous knowledge of the Middle East region, even though some of you may have had other courses in Middle East history or politics. I do presume, however, that we all have some general familiarity with broad concepts in comparative politics and international relations, as well as some analytical and comparative skills. If you sense you need supplementary help in order to enhance your understanding and performance in this course, do not hesitate to come by and we can talk about your needs and how to meet them.

### **Class Participation**

Class participation is a vital component of this course and your active involvement in class sessions is therefore strongly encouraged. Participation in class discussions and group exercises is expected and will be considered in final course evaluations. Participation includes listening carefully and critically to the views expressed by classmates, as well as the expression of personal views. You should always be prepared during each class session to discuss current political events as they relate to the region and the specific themes under consideration.

The minimum level of class participation is class attendance. Due to the structure of the course, you should not expect to do well without regular class attendance. **A general guideline is that any absence rate greater than fifteen percent (excused and unexcused) is excessive and will lower your grade for participation.** If you do miss a class, you are still responsible for all materials covered.

### Special Circumstances

If you have any kind of special circumstances that I should know about, please make me aware **right away**. For example, if you have a diagnosed (or undiagnosed) learning challenge, if you have a physical impairment of any kind, or if you are an athlete or club member who will travel, I need to know at the start of the semester in order that we can make certain that your needs can be met. It may be infinitely more difficult to accommodate you sufficiently if you delay in disclosing your needs. In addition, if you are a student who has problems writing, taking exams, or taking class notes, there are many resources and programs you can take advantage of to improve your class performance. All you have to do is ask.

**Please Note: If you are a SNAP student eligible for accommodations, you must provide me with a copy of the notification letter you have been given by the SNAP office well before the need for any accommodation arises. If you are a student athlete who will miss class time due to away events, you must follow the procedures set out by the College in order to expect due consideration. In both cases, I will not guarantee granting your requests if I have not been given sufficient notice.**

### Office Hours

I have two sets of office hours scheduled that are for you to use. Do not be afraid to come by my office at these times, **especially if you have questions that are left unanswered from class or if you are experiencing any difficulties or uncertainties in the course.** If these hours conflict with your schedule, we can work out a mutually convenient time to meet. I'm around a lot--don't hesitate to come by and talk.

### Course Groundrules

**Attendance:** Absence from more than fifteen percent of the scheduled class sessions, whether excused or unexcused, is excessive. (Note: an absence memo from Student Affairs is for my information only – it does not buy you an “excused” absence. I make no distinctions between “excused” and “unexcused” absences). Students missing more than five class sessions will lose one full letter grade from the participation portion of their total average for each additional absence.

**Late Work:** Late work will be severely penalized. Work that is turned in after the date and time due will lose five points off the total automatically (i.e. a paper with a numerical grade of 75 becomes a 70) and an additional five points will be deleted for every subsequent extra day. Work is considered late (and the clock begins ticking) if it is not handed in at the time requested. A student who does not inform me of a missed exam within 24 hours and cannot produce a legitimate, substantiated reason for absence will fail the missed exam automatically and will have no opportunities for a make-up test.

**Electronic Submissions:** **NO** work may be submitted to me electronically for credit under any circumstances. You must have legible printed copies of work for me to collect and read when assignments are due.

**Academic Dishonesty:** When you enrolled in the College of Charleston, you were bound by an Honor Code. I expect you to abide by that code. If you are found to have cheated on an exam or plagiarized any of your written work, you will fail this course and be turned over to the Honor Board for further disciplinary action. If you have any doubts about what constitutes cheating or plagiarism, ask before you act.

**Courtesy and Tolerance:** As this course progresses, you will doubtlessly find that your ideas about Middle East politics do not always match the views of your fellow students, the authors of your texts, or your instructor. This is the stuff of Middle East politics. However, if this course is to prove rewarding for everyone (as it should), it is absolutely essential for each participant to respect and tolerate the ideas and opinions of others in the class. It is equally important for everyone to discuss issues on the basis of information and analysis rather than emotion and volume. By adopting such a posture, you will

hopefully find the class to be a challenging and enlightening experience where you will have many opportunities to rethink what you know or believe to be true about Middle East politics. In keeping with courtesy, I will insist that all cell phones and other personal electronic devices must be **turned off** before class and remain OFF throughout the class session.

**Time Spent Outside of Class:** I have high expectations for you in this course and have crafted it with that thought in mind. I envisage that to successfully complete the work in this course, **you will need to consistently spend two to three hours working outside of class for every hour you spend inside the classroom**, and there may be occasional periods where more time is required. Students who are not committed to spending that kind of time studying and preparing for class should expect to struggle. It is important to note, as well, that time alone does not automatically ensure success — the kind of time you devote to studying and how you approach the endeavor may be just as critical. You can devote time to preparing and studying that is effective and ineffective. If you ever wish to discuss these kinds of issues with me, feel free.

### Method of Evaluation

Final course evaluations will be based upon class participation and involvement in class discussions, completion of six concept application paper assignments (nine total opportunities), two term examinations and a cumulative final exam. Term examinations will be composed of three types of questions: identification of key terms and short answer questions (for the in-class portion) and a take home essay. All examinations will cover lectures, class discussions and required readings. A detailed study guide will be distributed prior to each exam containing terms to define and sample short answer questions. Guidelines for the concept application paper assignment will be distributed in a separate handout, including an example paper and explanations of the writing process.

Grading will be based on the following distribution of credit:

Class participation	10 percent
First term exam (in-class and take home essay)	15 percent
Second term exam (in-class and take home essay)	20 percent
Concept application paper assignments (6 total)	35 percent
Cumulative final exam	20 percent

A numerical and literal translation of grades assigned is as follows:

A – Superior (100-92)	A minus – Excellent (91-89)	B+ -- Very Good (88-86)
B – Good (85-82)	B minus – Promising (81-79)	C+ -- Fair (78-76)
C – Average (75-72)	C minus – Acceptable (71-69)	D+ -- Barely Acceptable (68-66)
D – Marginally Passing (65-62)	D minus – Barely Passing (61-59)	F – Failure (58-0)

Opportunities for "extra credit" are not available.

If it appears the class is insufficiently prepared, I reserve the right to give unannounced quizzes and the grades will be factored into your participation totals. However, quizzes waste a lot of everyone's time; it will be a measure of our collective success if we manage to avoid them.

**Note: A failing grade will be given to any student who misses an exam and does not notify me within 24 hours (messages may be left in the Political Science office). A legitimate, substantiated reason for absence (medical excuse from a doctor) must be produced.**

### Reading and Texts

Specific reading assignments are listed in the course outline. Students are responsible for completing the assigned reading **prior to the class period date for which it is assigned**.

Michele Penner Angrist, ed. Politics and Society in the Contemporary Middle East 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2013)

Reza Aslan, No god but God updated edition, (New York: Random House, 2011)

Robert Worth, A Rage for Order: The Middle East in Turmoil from Tahrir Square to ISIS (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2016)

Shadi Hamid, Islamic Exceptionalism: How the Struggle over Islam is Reshaping the World (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2016)

All required texts are available at the College of Charleston Bookstore. There are also any number of other ways to acquire these texts, including renting books, buying books on-line, or buying electronic versions. How you handle accessing this material is your choice – the only imperative is that you have access to all of these books throughout the semester. Additional course readings are indicated with a (\*) in the course outline and will be made available through the course OAKS page.

It is also important for you to keep up with current events and developments in the Middle East as you take this course. Unfortunately, the Charleston Post and Courier will be of limited help in that regard. I suggest reading The New York Times as often as possible. Discount subscriptions to The New York Times are available through the New York Times website. This arrangement allows you to purchase the paper on weekdays for a significant savings over the newsstand price. **I highly recommend taking advantage of this opportunity if you do not already have regular access to one of the newspapers listed below.** The additional resources listed below are also helpful in keeping up with the pressing issues and debates in Middle East politics and are strongly recommended:

#### Newspapers

- The New York Times
- The Christian Science Monitor
- The Washington Post
- The Economist
- The Wall Street Journal
- The Financial Times

#### Journals

- Middle East Journal
- Middle East Studies
- Middle East Quarterly
- Middle East Policy
- Middle East Review of Int. Affairs
- Middle East Affairs
- Middle East Critique
- Journal of North African Studies
- Arab Studies Journal
- Israeli Affairs
- Israel Studies
- International Journal of Middle East Studies
- Journal of Palestine Studies
- Middle East Report
- Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies
- Mediterranean Quarterly
- Iranian Studies
- Contemporary Arab Affairs
- Arab Studies Quarterly
- Journal of Middle East Media

#### TV/Radio

- National News (ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, FOX)
- Nightline (ABC)
- The PBS Newshour (PBS)
- Fox News Sunday (FOX)
- Fareed Zakaria GPS (CNN)
- This Week (ABC)
- Meet the Press (NBC)
- Face the Nation (CBS)
- 60 Minutes (CBS)
- Frontline (PBS)
- Washington Week in Review (PBS)
- Morning Edition (NPR)
- All Things Considered (NPR)
- Weekend Edition (NPR)
- Wide Angle (PBS)
- The World (BBC/PRI)

#### Websites (with scholarly material)

- Council on Foreign Relations  
[www.cfr.org](http://www.cfr.org)
- Carnegie Endowment  
[www.carnegieendowment.org](http://www.carnegieendowment.org)
- Center for Strategic and International Studies  
[www.csis.org](http://www.csis.org)
- U.S. Institute for Peace  
[www.usip.org](http://www.usip.org)
- International Crisis Group  
[www.crisisgroup.org](http://www.crisisgroup.org)
- Al-Monitor  
[www.al-monitor.com](http://www.al-monitor.com)

- Iran Review
- Turkish Studies
- Journal of Arabian Studies
- Middle Eastern Law and Governance
- Mediterranean Politics
- Review of Middle East Economics  
And Finance

In addition, blogging has become a significant communication and political activity inside the region and outside the region among many scholarly commentators. The scholarly blogs you might peruse during the term include those maintained by the University of Michigan's Juan Cole ([www.juancole.com](http://www.juancole.com)), the University of Oklahoma's Joshua Landis ([www.joshualandis.com/blog/](http://www.joshualandis.com/blog/)), and independent journalist Helena Cobban (<http://justworldnews.org>). These blogs all have links to many other blogs from and about the region. The Foreign Policy website also hosts "The Middle East Channel" as part of its regions section which contains posts from journalists and scholars from throughout the region writing on topics often neglected by the mainstream media. George Washington University's Marc Lynch directs The Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS) that includes blog material as well as academic work authored by many of the strongest young scholars of the region ([www.pomeps.org](http://www.pomeps.org)). Take note that while the narrative content of blogs is typically heavily opinionated, the views of individual bloggers are often informed by scholarly work and they do periodically provide roadmaps to scholarly research and primary source materials originating with others inside and outside the region.

### **Hints for Reading and Writing -- Survival Tips**

When seeking to understand the Middle East and its place in the world, it is important to wrestle with the region's complexities and appreciate the many key events and facets of life that help define the region's political, social and economic experience. We will be reading several books and articles through the semester that will help us in this endeavor. At times, the reading may prove to be difficult for some of you and reading assignments will quickly become burdensome if you choose to procrastinate and leave them to just before the exam. Thus, I have some suggestions to help you in your reading.

**First**, do the assigned reading before you come to class on the day we are slated to discuss the topic. My purpose here is not to torment you. Rather, if you have even a vague familiarity with the subject matter upon entering class, you will find that our discussions will mean more to you. You will be able to more readily recognize important points and add context to what you have read. Our class discussions are also the perfect time to ask questions about readings and get clarification on issues or points you do not fully understand or feel comfortable with. If you wait and read later, you are unaware of what problems you might have and the opportunities to work them out sufficiently will have often vanished.

**Second**, after you read an article or chapter for the first time, consider going back and taking some notes as well. Much of what we read we do not retain for very long. However, committing information to paper in our own words can help stretch our retention capabilities. Attempting to summarize what someone is saying in your own words can also be a useful way of discovering what you understand and do not understand. In addition, notes are a helpful study tool when you are reviewing for exams or considering ideas for writing assignments. The notes you take on readings need not be extensive or recount every detail. You might simply seek to identify what the major themes and key points of a reading are, identify and try to define new terms used in the work, and think about why the material is important and how it relates to other topics we have already discussed in the course.

**Third**, once we have discussed a topic in class, you should consider reviewing the assigned readings and your notes to see that you have indeed identified the major points and that you feel you understand the material sufficiently. If the readings were very confusing when you read them before class or you did not feel you got much out of them, you might even reread the material after the discussion to see if you understand it any better. There is an unstated (and faulty) assumption among many students that we should only read pieces once in order to gain a full appreciation of them; however, it often takes two or three readings to attain the full measure of what an author has to offer. We often see more if we give ourselves the opportunity of a second time around.

\*\*\*If you want more information on developing strategies for critical reading, please ask for the handout with examples which I am happy to provide you.

To succeed in this class, it will also be important for you to hone your writing abilities. During the semester, you will complete several concept application papers designed to help you develop your skills in synthesizing other's ideas and constructing your own. Just as reading effectively is a process with many often overlooked stages, so too is writing. As you prepare written work for this class, consider the following steps:

**Invention:** When you prepare to write, allow yourself ample time to think about what it is you intend to say, how you wish to say it, and who will be your intended audience. The process of invention is one that can and probably should begin long before you actually start writing your assignment. This is the time when you should be finding out about what it is you intend to write on, which strategies for writing you intend to employ to reach your audience effectively, and what tentative main point or thesis you hope to express and substantiate in your paper. As you make decisions and come up with ideas, it is useful to commit them to paper.

**Drafting:** Once you think you have some direction for your written work, begin setting more concrete goals of what you want or need your paper to say, what kind of opening you will use, what kind of end message you want your reader to walk away with. Plan the organization of your paper by constructing an outline of the entire work and then after refining that plan, write a rough draft. Allow yourself plenty of time before the due date to complete a rough draft. No narrative ever emerges from one's head to paper in perfect form and most do not emerge in anything close to what we are finally capable of producing. The more opportunities you allow yourself to create, rethink and rewrite, the stronger your final effort will be.

**Revising:** With a rough draft of your ideas committed to paper, it is infinitely easier to begin the process of recrafting your thoughts and words into a successful final version. Hopefully, you've given yourself time to allow your paper to sit idle (preferably for at least a day or two) before you go back to working on it. Getting a little distance and perspective on your ideas often helps you to see weaknesses, flaws and areas of new potential that otherwise go unnoticed. When you return to your paper, evaluate your work in terms of its focus (Am I saying exactly what I want to say?), organization (Is my paper structured appropriately to make my points?), content (Is my work complete and authoritative? Does it include all the necessary information but not too much?), and readability (If I were the reader and not the author, could I follow my points easily?). Revise your draft until you are satisfied that you have attained your goals.

**Proofreading:** Once you have finished making substantive changes in your draft, always proofread it for errors in spelling, usage and punctuation.

In both the case of reading and writing, allowing yourself plenty of time to do the work required is vital -- last minute efforts are always less successful and often reflect badly on your abilities and performance.

### Dates to Remember

Wednesday, September 21	First Concept Application paper due (4:30 in my office)
Monday, September 26	First in-class term exam
Friday, September 30	Second Concept Application paper due (4:30 in my office)
Monday, October 3	First term exam take home essay due (4:30 in my office)
Monday, October 10	Third Concept Application paper due (4:30 in my office)
Monday, October 17	Fourth Concept Application paper due (4:30 in my office)
<b><i>Must have turned in <u>three</u> concept application papers by this date to receive full credit</i></b>	
Monday, October 24	Fifth Concept Application paper due (4:30 in my office)
Friday, October 28	Second in-class term exam
Monday, October 31	Sixth Concept Application paper due (4:30 in my office)
Friday, November 4	Second term exam take home essay due (4:30 in my office)
Friday, November 11	Seventh Concept Application paper due (4:30 in my office)
Monday, November 28	Eighth Concept Application paper due (4:30 in my office)
Wednesday, December 7	Ninth Concept Application paper due (4:30 in my office)
Wednesday, December 14	Cumulative final exam essay due (11:00 a.m. in my office)

## Course Outline and Required Readings

Along with a listing of topics to be covered in the course and due dates for reading and assignments, you will notice that there are study guides for each of the topic areas which include key questions, key concepts and key terms. These are specifically designed to help you as you read and attend class sessions – if you are able to begin to answer questions, recognize and start defining concepts and terms after you read, you are adequately preparing yourself for class sessions and pointing yourself in a promising direction for exams. Material should be that much more familiar to you once you have attended class, although we will not work through questions and terms listed below in any conscious or explicit fashion. The questions below are not exactly the same as those you will encounter on exams, and you will not be expected to know all the concepts and terms listed below. However, you will notice some overlap between exam study guides and the material below – hopefully again in ways that allow you to feel more prepared to study for exams by keeping up with assignments and using these aids effectively. If you are interested in obtaining more background on particular topics for your own intellectual curiosity – now or in the future – some suggested further readings have been included under each course heading. These are not required for the class and you will not be expected to have accessed any of them – they are simply there for you to consult as you desire.

(\* denotes reading located on course OAKS page)

### ***I. (August 24-26) Course Introduction – This portion of the course provides a broad overview of the region and begins to compare the popular images of the region with the realities that prevail. It also starts to introduce material related to the dramatic shifts underway in the region that “began” in December 2010.***

Key Questions: How do common images of the Middle East typically represent the region? Where do many of these images come from? Why are many of these images distortions or oversimplifications? What do they potentially conceal about the region? How do people of the region identify with one another? Where has the region made progress and what persistent problems remain? How are the region and its member states classified politically and economically? Why were so many caught by surprise at the upheaval which struck the region in 2010-2011? What are some of the factors that people are now starting to focus on as potential causal or contributing factors to the regional upheaval? What specifically does Bayat regard as the ideological content of the revolutions? What did scholars assume about the region and its politics that must be rethought in the wake of the 2010-2011 events?

Key concepts: durable authoritarianism, pan-Arabism, “Arab Spring”, ruling bargains, revolution, refo-lutions

Key terms: Orient, Shirin Ebadi, Edward Said, clash of civilizations,

- Readings:**
- Angrist in Angrist, pp. 1-29;
  - (\* ) Dona Stewart, “The Middle East and North Africa: Between Image and Reality” in ***The Middle East Today*** (New York: Routledge, 2009), pp. 3-15;
  - (\* ) F. Gregory Gause, “Why Middle East Studies Missed the Arab Spring: The Myth of Authoritarian Stability” ***Foreign Affairs*** 90 (July/August 2011), pp. 81-90;
  - (\* ) Asef Bayat, “The Arab Spring and its Surprises” ***Development and Change*** 44 (May 2013), pp. 587-601.

***Further Suggested Reading:*** There are any number of basic texts and introductions to the region that you can consult if you are interested. One wide-ranging work on the Arab world by an author who has directed Arabic language training for the United States Foreign Service that contains practical cultural as well as political information is Margaret Nydall, ***Understanding Arabs: A Contemporary Guide to Arab Society*** 5<sup>th</sup> edition (New York: Nicholas Brealey Publishing, 2012); another is Donna Lee Bowen and Evelyn Early, eds. ***Everyday Life in the Muslim Middle East*** 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014).

**II. (August 29) Where Is the Middle East? – While people assume they know what part of the world is being discussed when the term “Middle East” is invoked, in reality the existence and boundaries of any such region are quite vigorously debated and contested among peoples in the region and scholars of the region. This course component begins to explore the conceptions of a “Middle East” region, its origins, evolution and relationship with other world regions like Central Asia, South Asia and southern Europe. It also introduces a number of spatial and temporal elements of the area, including its demography, languages, cultures and geostrategic importance.**

Key questions: Where did the term “Middle East” come from? How is it distinguished from “Near East”, “Southwest Asia” and “Far East”? Where is the geographers’ Middle East? Is the Middle East a region? Why have different maps and atlases identified a place called the Middle East so differently? How is the region described geographically? What are its prevailing geographic features? What are some of the region’s key cities, rivers and landmarks? Where are they located and what are their defining features? Who are the peoples of the region? What factors influence population growth and distributions in the region? What are the socioeconomic consequences of high population growth rates? How have natalist policies in the region changed? How are they similar and different in terms of demographics, language, culture? Why is the Middle East considered an area of geostrategic importance? What has made it so and continues to make it so? How have geographical, environmental factors shaped the Middle East’s ancient and more contemporary history? How has water in particular influenced the region?

Key concepts: counter-mapping, counter-cartographies, core vs. peripheral states, pan-Arabism

Key terms: “Middle East”, Arab Homeland, region, regional geography, cultural regions, Arabs, Muslims, Mashriq (Levant), Maghreb, Northern Tier, the Nile River, the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers, the Shatt al-Arab, Alfred Thayer Mahan, Ottoman Empire, colonialism, the Western Sahara, Cyprus, Arab Gulf vs. Persian Gulf, Red Sea, Jordan River, Copts, Maronite Christians, Berbers, Iranians (Persians), Kurds, Turks

- Readings:**
- (\*) Ian Manners, Barbara McKean Parmenter and Ryan King, “The Middle East: A Geographic Preface” in Jillian Schwedler, ed. Understanding the Contemporary Middle East 4<sup>th</sup> edition (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2013), pp. 9-39;
  - (\*) Michael Bonine, “Of Maps and Regions: Where is the Geographer’s Middle East?” in Michael Bonine, Abbas Amanat and Michael Ezekiel Gasper, eds. Is There a Middle East? (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), pp. 56-99;
  - (\*) Karen Culcasi, “Mapping the Middle East from Within: (Counter-) Cartographies of an Imperialist Construction” Antipode 44 (September 2012), pp. 1099-1118.

**Further Suggested Reading:** In addition to Bonine, Amanat and Gasper’s edited volume, Dan Smith’s The Penguin State of the Middle East Atlas, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (New York: Penguin Books, 2016) provides a broad geographic overview of the region, although in keeping with the theme of this course component, Smith does not consider states like Turkey or Sudan to be a part of the region and therefore leaves them out of his short topical narratives. Colbert Held and John Thomas Cummings Middle East Patterns: Places, Peoples and Politics 6<sup>th</sup> edition (Boulder: Westview Press, 2014) offers biophysical, ethnographic, economic and geopolitical insights into the region broadly and has chapters that focus on particular states as well.

**III. (August 31-September 2) Classical Islam – Although Islam is not the religion of all the region’s peoples, it plays an increasingly important role in the politics and culture for all in the area today. Moreover, its core beliefs are quite familiar to the adherents of many other monotheistic faiths and its emergence is deeply intertwined with Judaism and Christianity in particular. This course component seeks to introduce you to the fundamentals of Islam and allows you to see how the initial evolution of the faith was deeply connected to the politics and economics of the day.**

Key questions: What existed in the Middle East religiously, economically and politically before the rise of Islam?

What does it mean to be Muslim? What are the origins of Islam? How did Islam respond to the prevailing conditions of the time in the Middle East? What is Islam's initial and historical relationship with the other monotheistic and polytheistic religions of the world? What are the five pillars of Islam and why are they important? Why is Islam considered a "political" religion? How do issues of political succession influence the direction of Islam? What are the key differences between Sunni and Shi'ite Muslims? What are other important sects, branches of Islam and how do these groups relate to one another?

Key concepts: prayer, almsgiving, pilgrimage, jihad, martyrdom, occultation, shari'a, caliphate

Key terms: Mecca (Yathrib), Medina, Muhammad, hijra, ummah, caliph, imam, Hajj, Ramadan, Rightly Guided Caliphs, Ali, Kharijites, Umayyads, Karbala, Ashura, Sunnis, Shi'ites, Husayn, Mu'awiya, shari'a, Qur'an, sunnah, Druze, Alawis, Sufism

**Readings:** Aslan, pp. xiii-xxvi; 3-75;  
(\* Akbar S. Ahmed, "What is Islam?" in Islam Today: A Short Introduction to the Muslim World (New York: I.B. Tauris, 1999), pp. 12-51.

**Further Suggested Reading:** The number of books in English on the origins and fundamentals of Islam has proliferated over the past decade or more, especially in the wake of the September 11 attacks. Any work authored by John Esposito is worthy of consideration – he is one of the country's foremost authorities on Islam and he has written many books, as well as edited a multi-volume encyclopedia on Islam published by Oxford University Press. Other recent important surveys of the evolution of Islam include work by Karen Armstrong – Islam: A Short History (New York: Modern Library, 2000) and Akbar Ahmed Discovering Islam: Making Sense of Muslim History and Society revised edition (New York: Routledge, 2003). Biographies of Muhammad include work by Karen Armstrong, Muhammad: A Prophet for Our Time (New York: Harper Collins, 2006) and Maxime Rodinson, Muhammad (New York: New Press, 2002).

**IV. (September 5-7) Religion, Society and Politics – Relatively soon after Muhammad's return to Mecca, the Islamic community began to grow rapidly and it eventually controlled a swath of territory extending from portions of the Iberian Peninsula to beyond the borders of what is today Iran. In particular, the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties of this period are not only historically important, but elements of their times still resonate in the politics of the region today. This course module examines the spread of Islam and the politics of this dynamic, as well as the elements of this history that remain in the forefront of Middle Eastern Islamic politics today.**

Key questions: What were the three major Islamic dynasties and how did they develop? What factors precipitated the rise and decline of each dynasty? What is each known for having created in the Middle East and left as a legacy? What is specifically significant about the Abbasid caliphate? How did it evolve? To what extent is that legacy visible in the region today? How did the European powers influence the region in the 19<sup>th</sup> century? What are the limitations of America's characterizations of its struggle with Islam as one over values? What are the various sources of conflict between political Islam and the West? What is jihadist Islam's view of the struggle between Islam and the West and what are the dangers of generalizing from that view? What are the trends in perceptions between America and the Islamic world today? Why is knowledge of history so important for evaluating contemporary trends in the region?

Key terms: Umayyads, Abbasids, Mu'awiya, Yazid, Ottomans, caliphate, Damascus, Samuel Huntington, clash of civilizations, jihad, "soft power", democratization, Crusades, Jerusalem, Mongols, Safavids, Ottoman Empire, first and second *fitnahs*, Sasanian Empire

**Readings:** Aslan, pp. 76-198;  
(\* Amira Bennison, "A Stormy Sea: The Politics of the Abbasid Caliphate" in The Great Caliphs: The Golden Age of the Abbasid Empire (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 10-53.

**Further Suggested Reading:** The growth in popular interest about Islam overall has spurred renewed attention to the dynastic periods of the religion. The recent work of Hugh Kennedy – When Baghdad Ruled the Muslim World: The Rise and Fall of Islam's Greatest Dynasty (New York: Da Capo Press, 2004); and The Great Arab Conquests: How the Spread of Islam

Changed the World We Live In (New York: Da Capo Press, 2007) is both scholarly sound and readily accessible. Another useful work of this time period (which you are reading an excerpt of) is Amira Bennison, The Great Caliphs: The Golden Age of the Abbasid Empire (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009). Although it receives less direct treatment in this component of the course, work on the Ottoman Empire is certainly relevant to this module as well. Key recent resources on this topic include Donald Quataert, The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Karen Barkey, Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008) and M. Sukru Hanioglu, A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008). A popular rendering of the Ottoman time was Caroline Finkel, Osman's Dream: The History of the Ottoman Empire (New York: Basic Books, 2005).

***V. (September 9-16) Modernization and Political Development – The Case of Iran – the quest to become “modern” was one that gripped the region for some time in the wake of the world wars and the emergence of oil as a critical resource fueling the industrial age. This portion of the course examines the political and scholarly controversies surrounding the concept of “modernization” and illustrates many of the issues raised through an investigation of the Iranian experience from the end of World War I to the present.***

Key questions: What are the broad recent economic trends visible in the region? What are the key drivers of political change in the MENA region? What are the three enduring theories of political change? How are these illustrated in the region's politics? What future research opportunities present themselves in these areas? What is modernization and how is this idea different from political development? What are the connections between the two concepts? What is the controversy underway today in the region over issues of development? What happened in Iran in the early 1960's? How did the Shah attempt to change the country? What were the results of his reform efforts? How were these efforts tied to changes in the political economy of oil underway at the time? How have oil and money altered the calculations of regimes in the region regarding modernization and political dynamics? What impact did changes in the politics of oil have on the dynamic of reform underway in Iran during the period of the Shah? What arguments had the Ayatollah Khomeini made about the Shah's reforms? How did the Shah react? What ultimately led to the Shah's ouster from power and the return of Khomeini to Iran? How do the concepts of modernization and development help shed light on explanations for the dynamic of the Iranian revolution and its evolution? What do Bill and Springborg argue complicates the pursuit of political development in the Middle East? To what extent are these outside factors evident in the evolution of the Islamic Republic? How has Iran become a clientalist state and how has the government become militarized? How have the factions within the Iranian political system evolved since 1979? How have matters of political economy, gender relations, culture and religion changed? What were the results of the 2009 presidential election and why are these results considered to be so important? Why might it be said that the Islamic Revolution has not yet ended? How does such an interpretation clash with many accepted conceptualizations of the revolutionary phenomenon? What roles are played by the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) in Iranian politics today? How has their involvement in the political system changed the balance of power in the country and altered the course of political development? Who is Hassan Rouhani and why did he win the 2013 presidential election in Iran? What effects has this had on Iran's political development? What are the central tenets of Iran's reform movement? Why has this movement proved so resilient in the face of significant systemic challenges? What are its future prospects? What efforts have been made by the Islamic Republic to suppress dissent in the IRI?

Key concepts: modernization, political development, tradition, human development, populism, clientelism, nationalism, revolution, solidarity, creeping authoritarianism, fragmented elites, civil society, factionalism, masquerade coup d'etat, subcontractor state, social manipulation, politics of sadness

Key terms: Constitutional Revolution, Reza Shah, Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, White Revolution, Seven Sisters, OPEC, Tehran Accords, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, *valayat-e faqih* doctrine, Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC), *marja'a taqlid*, *basij*, Hashemi Rafsanjani, Mohammad Khatami, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, Iranian Constitutional Revolution, Mir Hossein Mousavi, elite actors thesis, civil society thesis, autocratic resilience thesis, constitutional politics, anatomy of a revolution, Green movement, principalists, reformists, neo-principalists, Hassan Rouhani, moderation project

**Readings:** Keshavarian in Angrist, pp. 251-283;  
 (\*) Mary Ann Tetreault, “The Political Economy of Middle East Oil,” in Jillian

- Schwedler, ed. Understanding the Contemporary Middle East 4<sup>th</sup> edition (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2013), pp. 259-286;
- (\*) James Bill and Robert Springborg, “Political Development and the Challenge of Modernization” in Politics in the Middle East 5<sup>th</sup> edition, (New York: Longman, 2000), pp. 1-20;
- (\*) James Buchan, “The Iranian Revolution of 1979” Asian Affairs 44 (November 2013), pp. 418-426;
- (\*) Said Amir Arjomand, “Has Iran’s Islamic Revolution Ended?” Radical History Review 105 (Fall 2009), pp. 132-138;
- (\*) Kevan Harris, “The Rise of the Subcontractor State: Politics of Pseudo-Privatization in the Islamic Republic of Iran” International Journal of Middle East Studies 45 (February 2013), pp. 45-70;
- (\*) Saeid Golkar, “Manipulated Society: Paralyzing the Masses in Post-Revolutionary Iran,” International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society 26 (June 2016), pp. 135-155.

**Further Suggested Reading:** Conceptually, some of the most influential (and ultimately controversial) renderings of modernization can be found in W.W. Rostow The Stages of Economic Growth: a Non-Communist Manifesto 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); critiques of approaches like Rostow’s can be found in Ronald Chilcote’s Theories of Development and Underdevelopment (Boulder: Westview Press, 1984). When thinking about works on Iran’s revolution and the processes of modernization and development, see Ervand Abrahamian, Iran Between Two Revolutions (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982) and Said Amir Arjomand, The Turban for the Crown (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988). Arjomand’s After Khomeini: Iran Under his Successors (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009) charts many of the important developments in post-revolutionary Iran. Important reflections on modernization and political development in the Arab world have emerged from a series of Arab Human Development Reports in the last decade.

**Wednesday, September 21 – First Concept Application assignment due (by 4:30 in my office)**  
**“How does modernization and development apply to your case?”**

**VI. (September 19-23) Political Ideology and the Middle East – The Cases of Israel, Egypt and Syria – the period following World War I brought a great deal of soul searching to the region and resulted in the emergence of a number of ideological movements that would seek to guide portions of the region’s politics and structure its decision-making institutions and processes as states gained their independence. This course module investigates three of the most important ideological directions of the time period and illustrates their evolution and lasting impacts on the politics of the area.**

**Key Questions:** What are the key identity groups and categories that characterize the region? What multiple identities do people of the region possess and how do these identities align with the states they live in? Why are these identities politically important? What is an ideology? What purposes do ideologies serve? How do they differ from opinions? What roles do ideologies play in state formation? What are the key tenets of Ba’athism and how do they compare with interpretations of Arab nationalism espoused by the Egyptian regime of the 1950’s? What are the key tenets of Zionism and how are divisions within the Zionist camp reflected in contemporary debates in Israel today? How has ideological struggle shaped the evolution of state institutions and how has it influenced relations between and among states in the region? What roles have the armed forces of the region played in shaping the formation and cultivation of state structures and nation-building? Where has the delicate balance emerged between professional militaries and civil authority? How does this balance vary across countries in the region?

**Key concepts:** identity, ideology, nationalism, pan-Arabism, socialism, Zionism, political liberalization, nation-building, state patriotism, primordialism, clientalism, authenticity

**Key terms:** Ba’athism, Arab nationalism, Zionism, Ze’ev Jabotinsky, Michel Aflaq, Free Officer’s movement, Gamal Abdul Nasser, United Arab Republic (UAR), Hafez Asad, Theodor Herzl, Mainstream Zionism, Revisionist Zionism, Labor movement, Likud movement, civil-military relations, Israeli Defense Forces (IDF), shadow military power, paramilitary forces, militias, millet system

- Readings:** El-Ghobashy in Angrist, pp. 33-51;  
 Lawson in Angrist, pp. 445-471;  
 (\*) John Devlin, "The Ba'ath Party: Rise and Metamorphosis," American Historical Review 96 (December 1991), pp. 1396-1407;  
 (\*) Donna Robinson Divine, "Zionism and the Politics of Authenticity" Israel Studies 19 (Summer 2014), pp. 94-110.

**Further Suggested Reading:** The literature on ideologies of the region is vast and varied. Many of the important works on the ideological movements of the Arab world are written in Arabic; likewise, many influential works in Zionism are written in Hebrew. Among the significant works on Arab nationalism written in English are Albert Hourani, Arabic Thought in a Liberal Age 1998-1939 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Bassam Tibi, Arab Nationalism (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981) and Rashid Khalidi, Lisa Anderson, Muhammad Muslih and Reeva Simon, eds. The Origins of Arab Nationalism, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991). Michael Barnett's Dialogues in Arab Politics (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998) details the regional impacts of conflict over the goals and norms of Arabism. With respect to Zionism, important works in English include Walter Lacquer, A History of Zionism (New York: Schocken, 2003), Gideon Shimon, The Zionist Ideology (Brandeis: 1995) and Shlomo Avineri, The Making of Modern Zionism (New York: Basic Books, 1981). An important recent contribution to contemporary ideology in the Arab world emerged with Michaelle Browers, Political Ideology in the Arab World (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

***Monday, September 26 – First Term Exam***

***Friday, September 30 – Second Concept Application assignment due (by 4:30 in my office)  
 "How does ideology apply to your case?"***

***VII. (September 28-October 5) Primordial Groups and the Genes of Politics – The Case of Lebanon – repeated assertions that politics in the Middle East are "different" from the west because they are characterized by the dynamics of family, clan and tribe are vastly overstated – there are not as many differences as the west may imagine. Nonetheless, the importance of non-associational, sectarian and primordial politics is vital to appreciating many of the dynamics of the region, even if one is careful not to overstate their uniqueness (or inevitability) to the area. Here, the critical elements of primordial politics are illustrated through the experience of Lebanon and its civil war – and the hazards of failing to appreciate the nature of such political dynamics (and also overemphasizing them) are underscored.***

Key questions: What is the range of political systems present in the contemporary Middle East? How do these align with prevailing political environments in the region? How has civil society evolved in the region? What factors have influenced the evolution of civic activism and protest activities? What roles do family and kinship groups play in Middle East politics? How do these roles intersect with, diverge from, the roles played by class and ethnicity? How do people in the US express their political interests and aspirations? How does this compare with how popular interests and aspirations are expressed in the Middle East? How does the distinction between associational and non-associational politics capture this distinction? What are the advantages and disadvantages of family rule in Middle Eastern states? How do these characteristics appear in different Middle East monarchies and republic states? What is the zu'ama system in Lebanon? How did it arise? What did it assume about the politics and demographics of Lebanon? When these assumptions prove incorrect in Lebanon, what happened? How did this affect the politics in Lebanon? How did the US get caught in the mix? What does the political system in Lebanon look like today? To what extent does the zu'ama system in Lebanon have parallels in US history? How did the system nearly collapse after the 2006 war with Israel and what expectations did the Doha agreement create? Why were western interpretations of the 2009 Lebanese parliamentary elections misleading and what was concealed in reports of the results? What issues of remembrance have emerged after Lebanon's civil war and how have these affected Lebanon's political system? How is Lebanese civil society attempting to challenge notions of sectarianism in the "democratic" system? How are welfare services used differently in the Middle East than in other regions of the world? Under what conditions do ethnic or religious groups seek to provide services to and beyond their own communities? How do service provisions affect electoral processes and the social status of groups in post-civil war Lebanon? What was the Cedar revolution and why did it fail to attain its goals despite so many favorable conditions

prevailing in Lebanese society? How has Lebanon seemingly succeeded in maintaining its sovereignty despite all its internal and regional challenges?

Key concepts: associational groups, institutional groups, non-associational groups, civil society, *maslahah*, family, ethnicity, clan, tribe, class, semi-democracies, consociational democracy, institutionalized sectarianism, political mobilization, weak state, bricks and mortar clientalism, vote trafficking, path dependency, hybrid sovereignty

Key terms: vertical vs. horizontal stratification, zu'ama system, za'ims, Ahmed Bay al-Asad, Lebanese National Pact, Maronite Christians, Ta'if Accord, Rafik Hariri, Emile Lahoud, Hezbollah, Fouad Sinoria, Shaykh Hassan Nassrallah, March 8 coalition, March 14 alliance, Future Movement, electoral game, regime game, in-group, out-group, Cedar revolution, alternative non-governmental organizations (ANGOs)

- Readings:** Carapico in Angrist, pp. 99-119;  
Patel in Angrist, pp. 145-165;  
(\* ) Joseph Jabbra and Nancy Jabbra, "Consociational Democracy in Lebanon: A Flawed System of Government," Journal of Developing Societies 17 (November 2001), pp. 71-89;  
(\* ) Melani Cammett "Sectarianism and the Ambiguities of Welfare in Lebanon" Current Anthropology 56 (October 2015 supplement), pp. S76-S87;  
(\* ) Faten Ghosn and Amal Khoury, "Lebanon after the Civil War: Peace or the Illusion of Peace?" Middle East Journal 65 (Summer 2011), pp. 381-397;  
(\* ) Janine Clark and Marie Joelle Zahar, "Critical Junctures and Missed Opportunities: The Case of Lebanon's Cedar Revolution" Ethnopolitics 14 (January 2015), pp. 1-18;  
(\* ) Waleed Hazbun, "Assembling Security in a 'Weak State': The Contentious Politics of Plural Governance in Lebanon since 2005," Third World Quarterly 37 (June 2016), pp. 1053-1070.

**Further Suggested Reading:** While there has been much written on Lebanese civil strife, only portions of the literature are particularly useful. See, for example, Samir Khalaf, Lebanon's Predicament (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), Samir Khalaf, Civil and Uncivil Violence in Lebanon (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Elizabeth Picard, Lebanon: A Shattered Country (New York: Holmes and Meier, 2002); Farid el Khazen, The Breakdown of the State in Lebanon, 1967-1976 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000); and Roschanack Shaery-Eisenlohr Shi'ite Lebanon (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008). New work on Lebanon's post-war years that may be particularly important when considering the dangers Lebanon faces today includes Reinoud Leenders, Spoils of Truce: Corruption and State-Building in Postwar Lebanon (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012); Are Knudsen and Michael Kerr, Lebanon After the Cedar Revolution (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); Imad Salamey, The Government and Politics of Lebanon (New York: Routledge, 2013) and Bassel Salloukh et. al. The Politics of Sectarianism in Post-War Lebanon (London: Pluto Press, 2015).

***Monday, October 3 – First Term Exam Take Home Essay due (by 4:30 in my office)***

***Monday, October 10 – Third Concept Application assignment due (by 4:30 in my office)  
"How do primordial politics apply to your case?"***

***VIII. (October 7-12) Patrimonialism and the Politics of Regime Change – The Cases of Iraq, Syria and Algeria – the enduring nature of leadership in the region, particularly since the 1970's, has been a topic of much scholarly debate, particularly given the "weak" nature of so many of the region's states. This component of the course looks at the nature of leadership in the contemporary period and examines the question of "durable authoritarianism" anew in light of ongoing regional leadership changes occurring in Iraq, Syria and Algeria.***

Key questions: What were the key sources of Muhammad's power as a political leader? How do these potentially illustrate the idea of charisma? What does patrimonial leadership consist of in the Middle East? What do

patrimonial leaders seek to create in a leadership structure? What must a patrimonial leader do in order to assure success? To what extent is Saddam Hussein an example of a patrimonial leader in the region? How does the structure of the Iraqi state embody aspects of a patrimonial system? How does knowledge of Saddam's leadership patterns begin to explain the failure of the world to oust him from power up until now? How have other leaders in the region displayed aspects of patrimonialism in their rule? Why is this sometimes seen in the west as evidence of a "Middle East Madman"? What kind of governing structure is emerging in Iraq after the overthrow of Saddam? How is that structure being superseded by the reconciliation work of tribal leaders? How are notions of hereditary succession being rethought in light of events in Syria? Why did Syrian elites accept Bashar al-Asad as president? How stable is leadership in Algeria today? How has it evolved since independence? What lessons does Algeria hold for assessing the power of patrimonialism in the region today? Why have republican states seemingly struggled to survive in the Arab Spring while monarchies have appeared to fare more favorably?

Key concepts: patrimonialism, charisma, power, legitimacy, "Middle East Madman", hereditary succession, personalism, *sulha*, *gumlukiya*, durable authoritarianism, dynastic republicanism, monarchical presidencies, postcolonial legitimacy

Key terms: balanced conflict, proximity, military prowess, religious rationalization, patronage, Saddam Hussein, Tikrit, Hussein Kemal al-Majid, Iraqi National Congress, Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI), Muqtada al-Sadr, Ayatollah Ali Sistani, Nouri al-Maliki, Ayad Allawi, Awakening Movement, *fasel*, *qabila shaykhs*, *ashira shaykhs*, *fakhd shaykhs*, Hafez al-Asad, Bashar al-Asad, National Liberation Front (FLN)

- Readings:**
- Lawson in Angrist, pp. 285-306;**
  - Zoubir in Angrist, pp. 189-215;**
  - (\* **James Bill and Robert Springborg, "The Politics of Patrimonial Leadership" in Politics in the Middle East 5<sup>th</sup> edition, (New York: Longman, 2000), pp. 101-130;**
  - (\* **Joseph Sasson, Saddam Hussein's Ba'th Party: Inside an Authoritarian Regime (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 162-226;**
  - (\* **Joshua Stacher, "Reinterpreting Authoritarian Power: Syria's Hereditary Succession" Middle East Journal 65 (Spring 2011), pp. 197-212;**
  - (\* **Muriam Haleh Davis and Thomas Serres, "Political Contestation in Algeria: Between Postcolonial Legacies and the Arab Spring" Middle East Critique 22 (Summer 2013), pp. 99-112;**
  - (\* **Robert Snyder, "The Arab Uprising and the Persistence of Monarchy" International Affairs 91 (September 2015), pp. 1027-1045.**

**Further Suggested Reading:** When considering the dynamics of leadership perpetuation and change underway in the region today, a good place to start is Roger Owen, The Rise and Fall of Arab Presidents for Life (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012). The literature on durable authoritarianism as it applies to the region is quite extensive; highlights include Oliver Schlumberger, Debating Arab Authoritarianism (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007); Stephen King, The New Authoritarianism in the Middle East and North Africa (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009); Jason Brownlee, Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007) and Joseph Sassoon, Anatomy of Authoritarianism in the Arab World (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016). When thinking about historical perspectives on Iraq, see Charles Tripp, A History of Iraq 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), Phebe Marr, The Modern History of Iraq 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (Boulder: Westview Press, 2011) and Toby Dodge, Inventing Iraq (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003). Joseph Sasson's Saddam Hussein's Ba'th Party: Inside an Authoritarian Regime (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012) is the best treatment of Iraq under Saddam. Perspectives on the Asad regime in Syria are available from (father) Patrick Seale Asad: The Struggle for the Middle East (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988) and (son) David Lesch, The New Lion of Damascus (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003) and Lisa Wedeen, Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric and Symbols in Contemporary Syria (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999). Joshua Stacher Adaptable Autocrats: Regime Power in Egypt and Syria ((Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012) offers a contemporary assessment of Bashar al-Asad at the start of unrest in the country. Useful work on Algeria includes John Ruedy, Modern Algeria: The Origins and Development of a Nation 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), Martin Evans and John Phillips, Algeria: Anger of the Dispossessed (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007). The many reports of the International Crisis Group and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace are valuable in monitoring developments in places like Iraq and Syria.

**Monday, October 17 – Fourth Concept Application assignment due (by 4:30 in my office)  
“How does patrimonialism apply to your case?”**

**IX. (October 14-19) The Rise of the Rentier State – The Cases of Kuwait, the UAE and Qatar – the concept of the rentier state was one that emerged partly to describe the seemingly enduring qualities of the oil producing states in the region – it later came to also be applied to some of the non-oil producing states that seemed to exhibit similar characteristics using other, more modest forms of “rent”. This portion of the course examines the make-up and evolution of so-called rentier states using the examples of some of the small oil and gas producing states of the region. It also explores the limitations of such a label for the political and economic dynamics underway in these places today.**

Key questions: How have the political economies of the region been structured to support the continued rule of leaders and the socioeconomic privileges of their primary constituencies? How are these structural conditions connected to citizenship and ideas of belonging in these states? What tensions have emerged with the coming of globalization? What kinds of natural resource bases exist in the Middle East and how are they distributed throughout the region? How has oil impacted the evolution of political economies in the region? What kinds of economic activities characterize different portions of the region? What is a rentier state? How have they arisen in the region? What has the rentier state created in terms of economic structures in places like Kuwait? What are considered to be the implications for democratic politics in rentier states? To what extent have the experiences of Kuwait, the UAE and Qatar exhibited these expectations for democracy to emerge in rentier states? How are these states changing and to what extent do these changes confirm or raise more questions about the nature of rentier states? What are the emerging relationships between political participation and economic diversification evident in rentier systems? How have the Gulf states sought to address imbalances in their societies that have emerged since 2000? How has the price of oil influenced these strategies? What unintended consequences have emerged from these actions? How did the global financial crisis of 2008 reveal some of these unintended consequences? How did these dynamics alter thinking about the Dubai model of economic diversification? To what extent has the Dubai model begun the challenge rentier dynamics in the GCC? What might be unique about the Kuwaiti case when considering its recent evolution? What were the goals of the Orange Movement? What were its predecessors? How did it pursue its goals? What factors most influenced its success? What were the consequences of its accomplishments? What were the unintended consequences of its work and how might the surprising results that emerged from the 2009 Kuwaiti parliamentary elections reflect some of those consequences?

Key concepts: state, rentier state, strong vs. weak states, extreme rentierism, poor rentierism, autocracy, transparency, allocation states, production states, citizenship, inclusion/exclusion

Key terms: labor remittances, expatriot workers, Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), Dubai model, vertical vs. horizontal integration, Suez Canal, pipeline politics, sovereign wealth funds, HADAS, Nabiha 5, Global Competitiveness Index, foreign direct investment, migration

- Readings:**
- Moore in Angrist, pp. 75-97;**
  - Herb in Angrist, pp. 359-391;**
  - (\*) Michael Herb, “A Nation of Bureaucrats: Political Participation and Economic Diversification in Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates” International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies 42 (August 2009), pp. 375-395;**
  - (\*) Zahra Babar, “The Cost of Belonging: Citizenship Construction in the State of Qatar” Middle East Journal 68 (Summer 2014), pp. 403-420;**
  - (\*) Sean Foley, “The Twenty-First Century Gulf” in The Arab Gulf States: Beyond Oil and Islam (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2010), pp. 133-165;**
  - (\*) Martin Hvidt, “Economic and Institutional Reforms in the Arab Gulf Countries” Middle East Journal 65 (Winter 2011), pp. 85-102;**
  - (\*) Adeel Malik and Bassem Awadallah, “The Economies of the Arab Spring” World Development 45 (May 2013), pp. 296-313.**

**Further Suggested Reading:** The concept of rentierism as it applies to the Middle East emerged in part through the work of Giacomo Luciani, ed. The Rentier State (New York: Routledge Kegan and Paul, 1987). It has since become a much debated concept inside and outside the region – see for example, Terry Karl, The Paradox of Plenty: Oil Booms and Petro-States (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), Kiran Aziz Chaudhry, The Price of Wealth (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), Michael Ross, The Oil Curse (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), Miriam Lowi, Oil Wealth and the Poverty of Politics: Algeria Compared (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009). When considering the prospects for political change in the Arab Gulf region, see Mary Ann Tetreault, Gwenn Okruhlik and Adrezej Kapiszewski, eds. Political Change in the Arab Gulf States (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2011).

***Monday, October 24 – Fifth Concept Application assignment due (by 4:30 in my office)  
“How does rentierism apply to your case?”***

***X. (October 21-26) Economic Reform and the Middle East – The Case of Saudi Arabia – the so-called “rentier” states are often characterized as resistant to economic reform, and particularly to processes of economic liberalization that have been pushed on the region in the advent of “globalization”. Here, the dynamics of economic change – and their political ramifications -- are explored, using the case of Saudi Arabia to illustrate the effects.***

Key questions: What are the residual economic legacies of colonialism still present in the region? What economic sectors remain crucial to Middle Eastern states? What kinds of demographic and labor challenges face the region today? How is wealth distributed in the region? What kinds of economic changes have been underway in the Middle East since the early 1980’s? What has precipitated these changes? How have experiences of economic restructuring varied across the region? What features have been more common? How have these changes affected the nature of states and leadership in the Middle East? How have they affected the nature of social contracts between citizens and governments? Why has the large working-age population that exists today in the Middle East not been able to create better economic and social outcomes for the region? Why are youth in the Middle East falling behind their peers in East Asia and elsewhere? What is the relationship between education and employment in the region generally? How have educational systems in the region failed youth and why? Why are labor market outcomes for many young people unsatisfactory? How have these trends affected social aspects in the region like marriage and family formation? What are the factors that distinguish the Middle East’s three life courses? How do the factors that have “stalled the transition to adulthood” affect youth on each of these life courses? How have these factors especially affected women? How does the case of Saudi Arabia illustrate many of these dynamics? What has been different about the nature of economic reform in Saudi Arabia? What are the critical challenges facing the Saudi economy in the future? How are environmental factors connected to these concerns? What are the potential political ramifications of these challenges? How does the Saudi experience compare with reform efforts underway in the Maghreb? How does economic reform impact prevailing gender relations in the region? How does the region move toward a new life course? What sectors of society have been most instrumental in shaping the region’s gender relations? How does Islam send mixed messages on gender issues? Where have women played significant roles in Middle Eastern societies? How do gender relations vary across states? Why is gender change difficult to foster or influence from the outside?

Key concepts: privatization, globalization, state capitalism, austerity, liberalization, urbanization, segmentation, state socialism, oligopolies, demographic transition, social exclusion, statism, social contract, human capital, authority, patriarchy, honor, ethnicity, feminism, equality, structural change

Key terms: import substitution industrialization (ISI), Washington Consensus, *infitah*, structural adjustment, International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, ‘Abd al’Aziz, fiefdoms, Aramco, SAMA, Faisal, World Trade Organization (WTO), brain drain, allocation states, production states, food security, business-state models, youth bulge, birth cohort, traditional life course, welfare life course, post-welfare life course, demographic gift, university lottery, brain drain, formal vs. informal economy, structural adjustment, vocational training, underemployment, push vs. pull factors, tracking, Human Development index, social insurance, honor crimes, veiling, family law codes, family planning, export diversification

**Readings: Okruhlik in Angrist, pp. 417-443;  
(\* ) Steffen Hertog, “Shaping the Saudi State: Human Agency’s Shifting Role in**

**Rentier-State Formation” International Journal of Middle East Studies 39 (November 2007), pp. 539-565;**

- (\*) **Tim Niblock, “The Challenge of Economic Reform,” in Saudi Arabia: Power, Legitimacy and Survival (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 114-142;**
- (\*) **Eric Rougier, “Fire in Cairo’: Authoritarian-Redistributive Social Contracts, Structural Change and the Arab Spring” World Development 78 (February 2016), pp. 148-171;**
- (\*) **Navtej Dhillon and Tarik Yousef, eds. Generation in Waiting: The Unfulfilled Promise of Young People in the Middle East (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2009), pp. 1-38; 240-251.**

**Further Suggested Reading:** The best overall introduction to the region’s political economy remains Alan Richards, John Waterbury, Melanie Cammett and Ishac Diwan A Political Economy of the Middle East 4<sup>th</sup> edition (Boulder: Westview Press, 2015). An examination of the region’s difficulties integrating into a globalizing world can be found in Clement Moore Henry and Robert Springborg, Globalization and the Politics of Development in the Middle East 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010). Important work on Saudi Arabia and its political economy includes Tim Niblock, The Political Economy of Saudi Arabia (New York: Routledge, 2007) and Steffen Hertog, Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010). For a general overview of Saudi Arabia, see Madawi al-Rasheed, A History of Saudi Arabia 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010) and Karen Elliott House, On Saudi Arabia: Its People, Past, Religion, Fault Lines – and Future (New York: Vintage Books, 2012). For a discussion of Saudi Arabia’s impending reforms, see Bernard Haykel, Saudi Arabia in Transition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

### ***Friday, October 28 -- Second Term Exam***

***Monday, October 31 – Sixth Concept Application assignment due (by 4:30 in my office)  
“How does economic reform apply to your case?”***

***Friday, November 4 – Second Term Exam Take Home Essay due (by 4:30 in my office)***

***XI. (October 31-November 9) The Geography of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict – no single conflict has more defined (or arguably influenced) the politics of the region than the conflict between Israel and the Arab states. Over time, this conflict has evolved to be far less central to the dynamics of many of the region’s states and has become more and more a struggle between Israeli and Palestinian peoples. Geography is central to the contemporary conflict and this examination of the differences separating Israelis and Palestinians will emphasize the contributions geography as a discipline can make to understanding.***

Key questions: When did the Arab-Israeli conflict originate? How did it originate? What have been the critical issues the conflict has been fought over? What are the central myths that surround the conflict and what are the facts that puncture these myths? What is the nature of the Israeli state? What have been the stages of conflict between the Arabs and Israelis? How has the outside world played a part in fostering conflict among these parties? Why do many today regard the Israeli-Palestinian issue as the crux of what must be resolved? What key issues divide Israel and the Palestinians? How are these similar to, different from the issues that divide Israel from other states in the Arab world? To what extent are these divisions reflected in the political divides *within* the Israeli state and the Palestinian Authority? Where do matters currently stand between the Israelis and Palestinians? How have geographical aspects of the conflict shifted by virtue of war and the policies of occupation? How are space and security intertwined in today’s conflict and the search for peace? How specifically are they intertwined in the structure and evolution of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip? What is the practical and symbolic significance of the West Bank separation wall for Israelis and Palestinians? How do these aspects of the wall play out in the confines of East Jerusalem? How are aspects of space and security captured in the tree planting patterns of Israelis and Palestinians? Why does tree planting have political significance to both communities? How have the economic policies and the ongoing nature of Israeli bureaucratic politics affected the recent evolution of the conflict? What impact does the Israeli-Palestinian conflict have on politics around the region? Why has peace between the parties proven so elusive? What is the situation of Palestinians living in Israel? How does their status

and condition impact the conflict today? How is the Israeli-Palestinian conflict being reassessed by scholars today? What are the cases for a one state solution vs. a two state solution? Why are many more pessimistic outlooks on resolving the conflict being advanced among both Israelis and Palestinians and how does geography potentially inform these assessments?

Key concepts: national identity, land for peace, enclavisation, separation, two-state solution, one-state solution, naturalization, bifurcation, lawfare, Heisenberg uncertainty principle, convergence, interspersed nation state

Key terms: Hussein-McMahon correspondence, Balfour declaration, Sykes-Picot agreement, UN partition plan of 1947, Six Day War, UN Resolution 242, October War, Camp David Peace Accords, Oslo Accords, Palestinian Authority (PA), Fatah, Hamas, *intifada*, Sephardic vs. Ashkenazi Jews, Roadmap for Peace, Unified National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLV), Marwan Barghouti, Annapolis Conference, Ehud Olmert, Beirut Summit Declaration, Ariel Sharon, treescaping, Article 78 of the Ottoman Land Code, legibility, legal visualization, Allon Plan (1967), Drobless Plan (1978), Operation Cast Lead, hilltop youth, price tag doctrine, Plan A vs. Plan B, entrenchment

- Readings:**
- (\* Simona Sharoni and Mohammed Abu-Nimer, “The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict” in Jillian Schwedler, ed. Understanding the Contemporary Middle East 4<sup>th</sup> edition (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2013), pp. 175-221;  
Dowty in Angrist, pp. 307-334;  
Brown in Angrist, pp. 393-415;
  - (\* Neve Gordon, “From Colonization to Separation: Exploring the Structure of Israel’s Occupation” Third World Quarterly 29 (February 2008), pp. 25-44;
  - (\* Polly Pallister-Wilkins, “The Separation Wall: A Symbol of Power and a Site of Resistance” Antipode 43 (November 2011), pp. 1851-1882;
  - (\* Merav Amir, “On the Border of Indeterminacy: The Separation Wall in East Jerusalem” Geopolitics 16 (December 2011), pp. 768-792;
  - (\* Ilan Troen and Shay Robineau, “Competing Concepts of Land in Eretz Israel” Israel Studies 19 (Summer 2014), pp. 162-186;
  - (\* Irus Braverman, “The Tree is the Enemy Soldier” in Planted Flags: Trees, Land and Law in Israel/Palestine (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 163-199;
  - (\* Arie Arnon, “Israeli Policy towards the Occupied Palestinian Territories: The Economic Dimension, 1967-2007,” Middle East Journal 61 (Autumn 2007), pp. 573-595;
  - (\* Ilan Peleg and Dov Waxman, “Palestinians in Israel: Separate and Unequal” in Israel’s Palestinians: The Conflict Within (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 19-46;
  - (\* Toby Greene, “Israel’s Two-States Debate” International Affairs 91 (September 2015), pp. 1009-1026;
  - (\* Nathan Witkin, “The Interspersed Nation-State System: A Two-State/One Land Solution for the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict” The Middle East Journal 65 (Winter 2011), pp. 31-54.

**Further Suggested Reading:** As vast as the literature is on aspects of Israel’s conflict with the Arabs and the Palestinians specifically, relatively little of that literature can be considered problem-free. Historical accounts are often tinged with the personal biases of their authors – and while having these judgments in such works is not always a detriment, it always bears watching. Solid historical works on the conflict’s scope and span include Mark Tessler, A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010); David Lesch, The Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Charles D. Smith, Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History with Documents 8<sup>th</sup> edition (New York: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2012) and Alan Dowty, Israel/Palestine 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012). There are any number of particular aspects of this conflict that have sub-literatures attached to this history – the bibliographies in these works can be a good initial guide to exploring those conflict offshoots.

***Friday, November 4 – Second Term Exam Take Home Essay due (by 4:30 in my office)***

**Friday, November 11 – Seventh Concept Application assignment due (by 4:30 in my office)  
“How does the geography of conflict apply to your case”?**

**XII. (November 11-21) The Arab Awakenings – Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, Syria, Libya and Bahrain --**  
*The politics of the region seemed to take a dramatic turn toward unexpected change when protests in rural Tunisia quickly resulted in the departure of Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali and the start of regime change in Tunisia. Within weeks, a long-standing leader in Cairo had been pushed aside and soon political change was emerging in places as far apart as Tripoli and Sana. Once change occurred in these parts of the region, the assumption of some was that the contagion effects would result in protests throughout the Arab world (and beyond) that would sweep out any number of autocrats. Protests came to places like Dar’a in Syria and Manama in Bahrain but they evolved into something quite different and foreboding – and change did not automatically accompany popular pressure in other places that were seen as potentially “ripe” for revolution. This section of the course examines factors that have differentiated both the coming of popular unrest and the consequences of protests when they have emerged. It also begins to look a bit more closely at what accounts for the relative quiet present in many monarchies and their relative success at suppressing public unrest when it has emerged, as well as the aspirations of Islamic political parties present in some of these different systems.*

Key questions: What were the common underlying conditions the region shared that contributed to the different uprisings? What were the intellectual roots of the uprisings? How has poetry, music and street art played a role in catalyzing events since 2010? What were the aims of the citizen revolts? Why are the answers to these questions still so hotly contested? What was the backdrop to Tunisia’s revolt? How had the Tunisian population protested prior to Bouazizi’s self-immolation? How have the country’s politics evolved since Ben Ali’s abdication? How do these background events compare with the Egyptian experience? What role have traditional movements – secular and religious – played in Egypt’s dynamic? How has the Egyptian “deep state” responded to political change in the country? What was the nature of Libya’s existential crisis? How have the multiple challenges facing Libya influenced the direction of political change in the country? What was the nature of Yemen’s existential crisis? How have the multiple challenges facing Yemen influenced the direction of political change in the country? What accounts for the resilience of the Syrian regime in the three-year civil war? What awoke the population in Bahrain? How has the regime responded? Why have changes proven so difficult to achieve and sustain in these settings? Why has Tunisia succeeded where others perhaps have failed? What are the key puzzles about the uprisings that must be resolved ... and how has the early scholarship begun to solve them?

Key concepts: deep state, structural adjustment, trickle-down development, collective action, *Al-Jazeera* effect, social media, revolution, social movement theory, ideational diffusion, dynastic personalism, slow violence, regime-making

Key terms: Kifaya, Houthi, Joint Meeting Party, “sharks and dinosaurs”, al Nahda, Bahrain Independent Commission of Inquiry, Mohamad Bouazizi, *mukhabarat*, Rashid al-Ghannouchi, Ennahda, Tawakkul Karman, Hamza Namira, Maher Zain, Beji Caid Essebsi, The Quartet, Abd al-Fatah al-Sisi

- Reading:**
- Worth, *A Rage for Order* (all);**
  - (\* Sean Foley, “When Life Imitates Art: The Arab Spring, the Middle East and the Modern World” *Alternatives: A Turkish Journal of International Relations* 12 (Fall 2013), pp. 32-46;
  - (\* Joshua Stacher, *Fragmenting States, New Regimes: Militarized State Violence and Transition in the Middle East* *Democratization* 22 (March 2015), pp. 259-275;
  - (\* Matthew Costello, J. Craig Jenkins and Hassan Aly, “Bread, Justice or Opportunity: The Determinants of the Arab Awakening Protests” *World Development* 67 (March 2015), pp. 90-100;
  - (\* Jason Brownlee, Tarek Masoud and Andrew Reynolds, “Why the Modest Harvest?” *Journal of Democracy* 24 (October 2013), pp. 29-44;
  - (\* Seam Yom, “The Arab Spring: One Region, Several Puzzles and Many

**Further Suggested Reading:** Given the contemporary nature of events underway in the region, the literature on this set of regional events is still developing. Most of the best work is still emerging in scholarly journals but there is a sample of published book length narratives which merit mentioning. Marc Lynch’s The Arab Uprisings: The Unfinished Revolutions of the New Middle East (New York: Public Affairs, 2012) and Lin Noueihed and Alex Warren, The Battle for the Arab Spring: Revolution, Counter-Revolution and the Making of a New Era (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012) were the best early efforts to chronicle and understand what had been underway in the region. More recently, Rex Brynen, Pete Moore, Bassel Salloukh and Marie Joëlle Zahar, Beyond the Arab Spring: Authoritarianism and Democratization in the Arab World (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2012) seek to place the political unrest in larger contexts. Some voices from the insurrections have been collected in Layla al-Zubaidi, Matthew Cassel and Nemonie Craves Roderick, eds. Diaries from an Unfinished Revolution: Voices from Tunisia to Damascus (New York: Penguin, 2013). Although the outcome of these events is far from certain, some new assessments are already suggesting the region is irretrievably changed, including BBC Middle East correspondent Paul Danahar, The New Middle East: The World After the Arab Spring (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013); Paul Amar and Vijay Prashad, eds. Dispatches from the Arab Spring: Understanding the New Middle East (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013); Mohammed Ayoob, Will the Middle East Implode? (London: Polity Press, 2014), Adeed Dawisha, The Second Arab Awakening (New York: Norton, 2013) and Fawaz Gerges, ed. The New Middle East: Protest and Revolution in the Arab World (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014). Newer collections of assessments include David McMurray and Amanda Ufheil-Somers, The Arab Revolts: Dispatches on Militant Democracy in the Middle East (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2013); Marc Lynch, ed. The Arab Uprisings Explained: New Contentious Politics in the Middle East (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014); Fahed Al-Sumait, Nele Lenze, and Michael Hudson, eds. The Arab Uprisings: Catalysts, Dynamics and Trajectories (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2014) and Mark Haas and David Lesch, The Arab Spring: Change and Resistance in the Middle East 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Boulder: Westview Press, 2016). Recent explanatory work on the uprisings comes from Jason Brownlee, Tarek Masoud and Andrew Reynolds, the Arab Spring: Pathways of Repression and Reform (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015) and Marc Lynch, The New Arab Wars: Uprisings and Anarchy in the Middle East (New York: Public Affairs, 2016). For a look at the influence of symbolic politics, see Charles Tripp, The Power and the People: Paths of Resistance in the Middle East (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

***November 23-25 – Thanksgiving Break (no class)***

***Monday, November 28 – Eighth Concept Application assignment due (by 4:30 in my office)  
“How does political reform (and the Arab Spring) apply to your case?”***

***XIII. (November 28-December 2) The Politics of Islam – Egypt, Jordan, Tunisia, Kuwait, Palestine and Turkey – While the role of Islam in politics has been a focus (some might say an obsession) of the region and those who comment on it over the last thirty years, how Islamist actors have behaved in the region’s politics (and why) remains less well understood and appreciated. This course module seeks to empirically and critically examine how operating in regional politics has shaped Islamic movements and how Islamic actors today are affecting politics in Egyptian, Kuwaiti, Jordanian, Palestinian and Turkish contexts.***

Key questions: What is conceivably “different” about Islam? How might it be said to be “exceptional”? Why might it be the most “modern” of religions? Why is a reformation of Islam unlikely? What is Islam’s relationship to the state and why is this an important question for the region and the world to wrestle with? How has politics changed Islamic movements in Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait and Palestine? What have been the political priorities of Islamist organizations in the region historically? How have such movements been politicized? What is theoretically and practically difficult about Islamist politicization in semi-authoritarian states? How have specific Islamist movements confronted these difficulties? To what ends politically and organizationally? How have secular states in the region responded to Islam and how have Islamist movements been used by regimes? What have Islamist movements learned from the experiences of others? What have Islamist movements learned from the Egyptian experience? How have movements in Jordan, Kuwait and Palestine implemented and altered the Egyptian model? What key characteristics define Islamist politics ideologically and organizational in the region? What are the organizational and ideological effects of political participation on Islamist organizations and the political systems they operate in? What is the “Turkish model” and how has that influenced debates over the role of Islam in the

region? How have matters evolved over the last several years in Turkey and what has this changed about the idea of a “Turkish model”? What is the “ISIS model” and what explains its relative recent success? What makes religion matter in an era of secularization? How does all this influence how Arab political systems operate today ... and how they might operate in the future? How have statist and non-statist Islamists affected (and been affected by) the Arab Spring? How has the Muslim Brotherhood evolved in Egypt and elsewhere? Why did the recent political experiment with Islamic government in Egypt fail? What challenges has Tunisia’s experiment with Islam and democracy faced? Why might Islam play an outsized role in Middle East politics for the foreseeable future? To what potential ends?

Key concepts: Islamic modernism, semi-authoritarianism, victory avoidance, Social Democratic model, Christian Democratic model, nondomination, inclusion-moderation thesis, politicization, Muslim Brotherhood model, Turkish model, Muslim nationalism, façade democracy, pseudo-democracy, consensual democracy, secularization, liberalism, post-populism, Islamic exceptionalism, liberal determinism, winner-take-all politics, ISIS model

Key terms: Hasan al-Banna, boycott strategy, cross-ideological alliances, Hamas, Hizb al-Wasat, Salafi movements, caliphate, Islamic Action Front, Sayyid Qutb, Hadas, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Justice and Development Party (AKP), Rashid al-Ghannouchi, Ennahda ISIS, Jahbat al-Nusra, statist vs. non-statist Islamists, *asabiyah*, Mohamed Morsi, Rashid Rida, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi

- Reading:** Hamid, *Islamic Exceptionalism* (all);  
Schwedler in Angrist, pp. 121-143;  
Brown, Shahin and Stacher in Angrist, pp. 217-249;  
Ryan in Angrist, pp. 335-358;  
Patton in Angrist, pp. 472-499;  
Aslan, pp. 225-292;  
(\* Adham Saouli, “Back to the Future: The Arab Uprisings and State (Re)Formation in the Arab World” *Democratization* 22 (March 2015), pp. 315-334;  
(\* Fredric Volpi and Ewan Stein, “Islamism and the State after the Arab Uprisings: Between People Power and State Power” *Democratization* 22 (March 2015), pp. 276-293;  
(\* Mehmet Gurses, “Islamists, Democracy and Turkey: A Test of the Inclusion-Moderation Hypothesis” *Party Politics* 20 (July 2014), pp. 646-653;  
(\* Jenny White, “Turkey at a Tipping Point” *Current History* 113 (December 2014), pp. 356-361.

**Further Suggested Reading:** At one level, the literature on contemporary political Islam is vast; but at another level, much of it is consumed with rendering normative judgments about its political role – is it good or bad? Should the west engage with it or resist it? Serious empirical work is less common. One useful overall treatment is L. Carl Brown, Religion and State: The Muslim Approach to Politics (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000). Studies of Islam’s role in the region’s state politics include Nathan Brown, When Victory is Not an Option (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012) and Shadi Hamid, Temptations of Power (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014). For examinations of Islam’s social welfare networks and political activism, Janine Clark Islam, Charity and Activism: Middle Class Networks and Social Welfare in Egypt, Jordan and Yemen (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004) and Quintan Wiktorowicz, ed. Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Approach (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004) are helpful. For discussions of political parties, see Jillian Schwedler, Faith in Moderation: Islamic Political Parties in Jordan and Yemen (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood is the most chronicled of the regional Islamic organizations; Richard Mitchell, The Society of Muslim Brothers (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969) remains a standard starting point and Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, The Muslim Brotherhood: Evolution of an Islamic Movement (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013) is the best contemporary treatment of the group. Thomas Pierret, Religion and the State in Syria (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013) examines the networks and perspectives of the Sunni religious leaders before and after the outbreak of civil war in Syria. For discussions of salafī movements in the region, Roel Meijer, ed. Global Salafism: Islam’s New Religious Movement (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009) is a valuable starting point, as is Henri Lauziere, The Making of Salafism: Islamic Reform in the Twentieth Century (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015).

*Wednesday, December 7 – Ninth Concept Application assignment due (by 4:30 in my office)  
“How does the politics of Islam apply to your case?”*

*XIV. (December 5) Conclusion – This final day of the course begins a process you will continue in your cumulative final exam -- putting the events of the last five plus years in the larger context of the semester’s course perspective.*

- Reading:** Angrist in Angrist, pp. 503-509;
- (\*) Koenraud Bogaert, “Contextualizing the Arab Revolts: The Politics Behind Three Decades of Neo-liberalism in the Arab World” Middle East Critique 22 (Fall 2013), pp. 213-34;
  - (\*) Raymond Hinnebusch, “Conclusion: Agency, Context and Emergent Post-Uprising Regimes” Democratization 22 (March 2015), pp. 358-374;
  - (\*) Massoud Karshenas, Valentine Moghadam and Randa Alami, “Social Policy after the Arab Spring: States and Social Rights in the MENA Region” World Development 64 (December 2014), pp. 726-739;
  - (\*) Valerie Bunce, “Rebellious Citizens and Resilient Authoritarianisms” in Fawaz Gerges, ed. The New Middle East: Protest and Revolution in the Arab World (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 446-468.

*Wednesday, December 7 – Ninth Conceptual Application assignment due (by 4:30 in my office)  
“How does the politics of Islam apply to your case?”*

*Wednesday, December 14 – Cumulative Final Exam Essay due (by 11:00 a.m. in my office)*

Please don't throw away this syllabus -- **RECYCLE IT INSTEAD**