

POLITICS OF MIDDLE EAST
PSC/MES 344 – SUMMER 2018

Department of Political Science
Syracuse University
Monday to Friday 08.30-12.30 at Shaffer Art Building 205
Instructor: Aykut Ozturk

Contact Information

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Course site: blackboard.syr.edu

COURSE DESCRIPTION

For the past century, Middle Eastern politics has been marked by coups, revolutions, inter-state wars, and sectarian conflict. The cost of political instability has been exorbitant for the countries in the region and most have witnessed episodic interruptions in their march toward social and economic progress. A conventional view attributes the predicament of the Middle Eastern countries to their culture, religion and geographical structures. The main purpose of this course is to critically examine the above assumption by analyzing the role of political actors – domestic and international - and institutions in shaping the political trajectory of the region from the early 1900s until now.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this semester, students are expected to develop a basic familiarity with the Middle East region and its people by recognizing key social, intellectual, and religious facets, and understand the interdisciplinary framework of Middle Eastern area studies by being exposed to a variety of methodological and theoretical approaches.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND EVALUATION

Grades are comprised of four components:

- Participation 30%
- Discussion leader 10%
- Reading questions 10%

- Response papers 50% (2 papers; 25% each)

Participation (30%)

Students are expected to read all material before each class and arrive prepared to actively discuss the readings. Students will be graded daily on the following scale:

- 3 points: Thoughtful engagement with readings and class discussion
- 2 points: Satisfactory participation and engagement
- 1 point: Present for class, but lack of preparation and engagement
- 0 point: Absent or dismissed from class

Reading Questions (10%)

Before each class, students are required to submit two reading questions to the instructor. These questions should engage the readings directly and serve as useful points of discussion during class. These questions should engage the concepts, arguments, and/or evidence presented in the readings. Reading questions are due via e-mail to the instructor by 22:00 PM EST the day before class. Because students' questions will be used to structure class discussion, reading questions will not be accepted after the beginning of class. Questions received after the deadline but before the beginning of class are subject to the late assignment policy.

Questions will be graded on the following scale:

- 2 points Clear and substantive engagement with readings. Bringing together themes from different readings.
- 1 point Generally relevant questions, but lack of direct engagement with readings
- 0 points Failure to submit questions or no obvious engagement with readings

Discussion Leader (10%)

Students are required to lead discussion for half of one class. Students will prepare an 8-10 minute presentation at the beginning of class. These presentations should not simply summarize the week's readings. Instead, students should introduce the topics by identifying core concepts and debates and providing a framework for thinking about and evaluating the readings. Students should also identify the weaknesses, limitations, and debates present in the readings. The presentation should provide a baseline for discussion and debate during class. PowerPoint is optional.

Response Papers (50%)

Each student will write two short written assignments during the course. Each essay is worth 25% of the student's final grade. These papers should address several questions, including:

- (1) What are the main themes discussed in the readings?
- (2) What are the points of agreement and/or disagreement between the readings?
- (3) What empirical and/or theoretical problems can you observe in the readings?
- (4) Which readings are most persuasive, and why?

Response papers should be 1,000-1,200 words in length, produced in Microsoft Word, and written in Times New Roman, 12-point font with 1-inch margins. There is no required citation format; however, students should clearly source any quotations or references that appear in the paper with consistent citation format (MLA, Chicago, APA, etc.). Students may write on any two topics of their choosing. Essays are due to the instructor via e-mail by 07:00 AM EST (before class begins) on the day that the topic is discussed in class. This serves to guarantee that only the student's original thoughts appear in the essay, rather than a summary of discussion in class. Once a topic has been covered in class, students may no longer write a response paper on that topic.

GRADING TABLE

Grade	Grade Points	Total Points
A	4	93-100
A-	3.66	90-92
B+	3.33	88-90
B	3	83-87
B-	2.66	80-82
C+	2.33	77-79
C	2	73-76
C-	1.66	70-73
D	1	66-70
F	0	0-65

COURSE READINGS

Required text:

Lust E. (edited), *The Middle East*, CQ Press, 13th Edition, 2013. (hereafter, "Lust edited")

Suggested Text:

Kamrava M., *The Modern Middle East: A Political History since the First World War*, University of California Press, 3rd Edition. (hereafter, “Kamrava”)

You do not have to buy this book. You can find it online through the Syracuse University Library website.

Additional readings will be made available on our course page available at blackboard.syr.edu.

COURSE SCHEDULE AND READINGS

Note: Over the course of the semester, some reading assignments may change. Stay tuned for updates!

May 14, Monday: Introduction to the Middle East

Required Readings

- Lusted, Chapter 1, p 1-73.

Additional Readings

- Barkey, Karen, *Empire of Difference: the Ottomans in comparative perspective*, Cambridge University Press
- Danforth, Nick. *The Middle East That Might Have Been*. The Atlantic. 2015.
- Kamrava, Ch. 1-3, pp. 9-107.

May 15, Tuesday: States and Opposition in Middle East

Themes of day:

- Concepts of “state”, “state weakness”, “regime”
- Classifying Middle East states with regards to state strength and regime types.
- Causes of state weakness in Middle East
- Citizen attitudes, public opinion and civil society in the context of Middle East
- Lebanon and Yemen as weak states in the region.

Required Readings

- Lust edited, Ch. 3, 107-138.
- Lust edited, Ch. 6, 246-263.
- Bayat, 2013, *Life as Politics*, Ch. 3, p. 56-85 (on Blackboard)

Additional Readings

Classifying State Strength in Middle East

- Kamrava, 2013, *States and Their Opponents*, (available through Library website)

State-Building in Middle East

- Lustick, 1997, "The absence of Middle Eastern great powers: political "backwardness" in historical perspective." *International Organization* 51, No. 4: 653-683. (on Blackboard)
- Blaydes, 2017, *State Building in the Middle East. Annual Review of Political Science*, 20, 487-504. (on Blackboard)
- Kamrava, 2016, *Weak States in the Middle East*. (on Blackboard)

Cases of State Failure, especially from International Relations Perspective

- Kaplan, Seth. *Weak States: When Should We Worry?* Accessible on <https://www.the-american-interest.com/2017/01/26/weak-states-when-should-we-worry/>
- Esser, 2016, *Interventionism and the Fear of Urban Agency in Afghanistan and Iraq* (on Blackboard)
- Mikaelian & Salloukh, 2016, *Strong Actor in A Weak State: The Geopolitics of Hezbollah*. (on Blackboard)

Civil Society in the Arab World

- Shadi Hamid, *Civil Society in the Arab World and the Dilemma of Funding*, <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/civil-society-in-the-arab-world-and-the-dilemma-of-funding/>
- Sean Yom, *Arab Civil Society after the Arab Spring: Weaker but Deeper*, <http://www.mei.edu/content/map/arab-civil-society-after-arab-spring-weaker-deeper>
- Bayat, 2013, *Life as Politics*, Ch. 1, p. 1-29 (on Blackboard)

May 16, Wednesday: Islam and Islamism

Themes of the day:

- Islam. Is there anything special about the scripture of Islam?
- Religiosity in Middle East: Are Middle Easterners more religious? Why?
- Governance of the religious heterogeneity in Middle East. The legacy of Millet System.

- Practices of Secularism in Middle Eastern States: Does it Work?
- Islamist social mobilization

Required Readings

- Lust edited, Ch. 5, p. 208-244.
- March, 2015, "Political Islam: Theory." *Annual Review of Political Science*, p. 103-123.
- Zubaida, Sami. "Trajectories of Political Islam: Egypt, Iran and Turkey." *The Political Quarterly* 71, no. s1 (2000): 60-78.

Additional Readings

Scripture vs. its interpretation

- Masoud et al. 2016, Using the Qur'ān to empower Arab women? Theory and experimental evidence from Egypt. *Comparative Political Studies*. 1555-1598.
- McCants, 2015, "Islamic Scripture Is Not the Problem", *Foreign Affairs*.
- McCarthy, 2016, "The Problem with Islam Is Aggressive Scripture, Not Aggressive 'Traditionalism'", *National Review*.
- And other news articles on Blackboard...

Millet System

- Berkey, 2016, "The Tragedy of Modernity in the Middle East", *The American Interest*
- Mitchell, 2014, "Israeli Marriages: More Ottoman Than Jews", *Haaretz*
- Steele, 2016, Holy Lands by Nicolas Pelham review – positive thinking about the Middle East, *Guardian*

Islamist mobilization vs. Secularism

- Geerdink, "Stop Defending Turkey's 'Secularism' Stop Defending Turkey's Secularism", *Huffington Post*
- Cagaptay, "In long-secular Turkey, sharia is gradually taking over", *Washington Post*
- Gole, 1997, "Secularism and Islamism in Turkey", *Middle East Journal*
- Cammett, M., & Luong, P. J. (2014). Is there an Islamist political advantage? *Annual review of political science*, 17, 187-206.

May 17, Thursday: Economic Structure and Its Effects

Themes of the Day:

- Classifying Middle Eastern countries based on economic indicators
- Change in economic structures over the last century: developmentalism, populism, neoliberalism.
- Oil and its effects
- Causes of underdevelopment in Middle East: Islam, oil, or institutions?
- Is there “class” in Middle East? What about economic grievances?

Required Readings

- Lust edited, Chapter 4, p. 161-172.
- Lust edited, Chapter 4, p. 186-208.
- Beblawi, Hazem, 1987, "The rentier state in the Arab world." *Arab Studies Quarterly*, 383-398.
- Masoud, T. (2014). *Counting Islam: religion, class, and elections in Egypt*. Cambridge University Press. p. 1-45

Additional Readings

Causes of economic underdevelopment

- Kuran, 2004. "Why the Middle East is economically underdeveloped: historical mechanisms of institutional stagnation." *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18, no. 3 (2004): 71-90.
- Kuran, 2010. *Long Divergence*, Ch. 1.

Economic grievances in Middle East

- *Workers and Thieves: Labor Movements and Popular Uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt*, Cambridge University Press, p 61-134.

Is there class in Middle East?

- Beinin, 2001, *Post-populist reformation of the working class and peasantry*

May 18, Friday: West vs. East?

Themes of the day:

- What does “Orientalism” mean?
- How does “West” and “East” perceive each other?
- What are sources of these perceptions?
- What are implications of these perceptions?

Required readings:

- Said, 1995, Afterword, p. 1-13 (especially between 7-13)
- Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East*, Ch. 3. P. 66-99.
- Lewis, 1990, "The Roots of Muslim Rage." *The Atlantic*, p.1-20.
- Huntington, 1993, "The clash of civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs*, 22-49. (skim)

Additional Readings:

- Lewis, 1982, *New York Review of Books*, p. 1-20.
- <http://new-middle-east.blogspot.com/2009/01/10-conceptual-sins-in-analyzing-middle.html>
- Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East*, Ch. 2. P. 38-65.
- Khalil, 2014. *The Crossroads of the World: U.S. and British Foreign Policy Doctrines and the Construct of the Middle East, 1902–2007*. *Diplomatic History*.

Documentary screening: *Reel Bad Arabs - How Hollywood Vilifies Arabs!*

May 21, Monday: Democratization and Power Sharing in The Region

Required readings:

- Ross, M. L. (2001). Does oil hinder democracy? *World politics*, 53(3), 325-357.
- Bellin, Eva. 2004. "The robustness of authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in comparative perspective" *Comparative Politics* 36:2, pp.139-157.
- Lust, Ellen. 2011. "Missing in the Third Wave: Islam, Institutions, and Democracy in the Middle East", *Studies in Comparative International Development* 46:2, pp.163-190.

Additional Readings:

Islam is compatible with democracy, but what about Islamism?

- Tibi, B. (2008). Why they can't be democratic. *Journal of Democracy*, 19(3), 43-48.
- Haqqani, H. (2013). Islamists and democracy: Cautions from Pakistan. *Journal of Democracy*, 24(2), 5-14.
- Marks, M. (2017). Tunisia's Islamists and the " Turkish Model". *Journal of Democracy*, 28(1), 102-115.

Islam, Gender, and Authoritarianism

- Fish, M. S. (2002). Islam and authoritarianism. *World politics*, 55(1), 4-37.
- Donno, D., & Russett, B. (2004). Islam, authoritarianism, and female empowerment: What are the linkages?. *World Politics*, 56(4), 582-607.

Public Opinion Towards Democracy

- Benstead, L. J. (2015). Why do some Arab citizens see democracy as unsuitable for their country?. *Democratization*, 22(7), 1183-1208.

May 22, Tuesday: Regional International Relations

Required Readings

- Lust edited, Chapter 8, “*Regional International Relations*”, by Marc Lynch, p. 367-395.
- Gause III, Gregory. “Beyond Sectarianism: The New Middle East Cold War,” Brookings Institution. 2014.

Additional Readings

- Nasr, V. (2018). Iran among the Ruins: Tehran's Advantage in a Turbulent Middle East. *Foreign Aff.*, 97, 108.
- Sadjadpour, Karim and Behnam Ben Taleblu. *Iran in the Middle East: leveraging chaos*. 2015.
- Kuru, A. T. (2015). Turkey's Failed Policy toward the Arab Spring: Three Levels of Analysis. *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 26(3), 94-116.
- Stein, E. (2017). Ideological Codependency and Regional Order: Iran, Syria, and the Axis of Refusal. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 50(3), 676-680.
- Salloukh, B. F. (2017). Overlapping Contests and Middle East International Relations: The Return of the Weak Arab State. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 50(3), 660-663.
- Gause, F. G. (2017). Ideologies, Alignments, and Underbalancing in the New Middle East Cold War. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 50(3), 672-675.
- Jenkins, John. "The Middle East's great game." *New†Statesman†*24 Nov. 2017

May 23, Wednesday: International Politics of the Middle East

Required Readings

- Lust edited, Chapter 9, “*International Politics of the Middle East*”, written by Francesco Cavatorta, p. 396-428.

- Nayak and Malone. "American orientalism and American exceptionalism: A critical rethinking of US hegemony." *International Studies Review* 11, no. 2 (2009): 253-276.
- Hamid, 2015. *Islamism, the Arab Spring, and the Failure of America's Do-Nothing Policy in the Middle East*. The Atlantic.
- Trenin, 2016. *Russia in the Middle East: Moscow's Objectives, Priorities and Policy Drivers*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Alterman, 2017. "The Other Side of the World: China, the United States, and the Struggle for Middle East Security". CSIS.

Additional Readings

Syrian Civil War: Before and After

- Phillips 2016, *The Battle for Syria: International Rivalry in the Middle East, Selected Chapters*
- Melman, 2017, *The Art of Brinkmanship in Syria*
- Ford, 2017, "Keeping Out of Syria: The Least Bad Option." *Foreign Affairs*
- Bew, 2018, "The new age of great power politics." *New Statesman*

Guest Lecturer: Shaundel Nicole Sanchez

May 24, Thursday: Arab Spring and Turkey

Required Readings

- Dalacoura, K. (2012). The 2011 uprisings in the Arab Middle East: political change and geopolitical implications. *International Affairs*, 88(1), 63-79.
- Barany, Z. (2011). The role of the military. *Journal of Democracy*, 22(4), 24-35.
- Brown, N. J. (2013). Egypt's failed transition. *Journal of Democracy*, 24(4), 45-58.
- Macdonald, G., & Waggoner, L. (2018). Dashed Hopes and Extremism in Tunisia. *Journal of Democracy*, 29(1), 126-140.
- Gause III, F. G. (2011). Why Middle East studies missed the Arab Spring: The myth of authoritarian stability. *Foreign Affairs*, 81-90.

Additional Readings

Arab Uprising

- Bayat, A. (2017). *Revolution without revolutionaries: making sense of the Arab Spring*. Stanford University Press.

- Beinin, J. (2015). *Workers and thieves: labor movements and popular uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt*. Stanford University Press.

Turkey

- Lust edited Chapter 25, Turkey
- Hamid, Shadi. How Much Can One Strongman Change a Country? The Atlantic. 2017

May 25, Friday: Arab & Israel Conflict

Required Reading

- Lust edited, Chapter 7, Israeli - Palestinian Conflict, pp. 287-367.
- Beinin & Hajjar, Primer on Palestine, Israel and the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

Additional Readings

Historical Perspective

- Special report on 50th anniversary of Six Day War. Economist. May 2017.
- Fisher, Max. 2017. The Two-State Solution: What It Is and Why It Hasn't Happened. The New York Times.

Recent American Foreign Policy

- Byman, Daniel, 2018, Trump and Obama both ignored Gaza — at great cost, Vox.
- Chollet, Derek, 2017, Why Israel Should Be Worried About Getting Into Bed with Trump, Foreign Policy.
- Fisher, 2018, Trump's Hard-Line Israel Position Exports U.S. Culture War Abroad, New York Times.
- Hodgkins, 2017, Relocating the US Embassy in Israel: A cost benefit analysis for Trump administration, American Diplomacy
- Sciarcon, Jonathan, 2018, Trump's Jerusalem Decision: A US Policy Perspective. Accessed through e-ir.info/2018/01/15/trumps-jerusalem-decision-a-us-policy-perspective/
- Underwood, 2018, The controversial US Jerusalem embassy opening, explained, Vox

Guest Lecturer: Drew Kinney

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY POLICIES

University policies regarding Disability-Related Accommodation, Diversity and Disability, the Religious Observances Notification and Policy, the Academic Integrity Policy, and Orange Success can be accessed via the Office of the Provost's website at: <http://provost.syr.edu/>

UNIVERSITY ATTENDANCE POLICY

Attendance in classes is expected in all courses at Syracuse University. Students are expected to arrive on campus in time to attend the first meeting of all classes for which they are registered. Students who do not attend classes starting with the first scheduled meeting may be academically withdrawn as not making progress toward degree by failure to attend. Instructors set course-specific policies for absences from scheduled class meetings in their syllabi. It is a federal requirement that students who do not attend or cease to attend a class to be reported at the time of determination by the faculty. Faculty should use "ESPR" and "MSPR" in Orange Success to alert the Office of the Registrar and the Office of Financial Aid. Students should also review the university's religious observance policy and make the required arrangements at the beginning of each semester.

Excuses for class absences for medical reasons will be given only if such absences are advised by a health care provider at the Health Center, based on clinical findings and prescribed treatment recommendations. Excused notes will not be given solely to confirm a visit to the Health Center. For complete details on excuse notes, visit:

<http://health.syr.edu/faqs/index.html>

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY POLICY

Syracuse University's Academic Integrity Policy reflects the high value that we, as a university community, place on honesty in academic work. The policy defines our expectations for academic honesty and holds students accountable for the integrity of all work they submit. Students should understand that it is their responsibility to learn about course-specific expectations, as well as about university-wide academic integrity expectations. The policy governs appropriate citation and use of sources, the integrity of work submitted in exams and assignments, and the veracity of signatures on attendance sheets and other verification of participation in class activities. The policy also prohibits students from submitting the same work in more than one class without receiving written authorization in advance from both instructors. Under the policy, students found in violation are subject to grade sanctions determined by the course instructor and non-grade sanctions determined by the School or College where the course is offered as described in the Violation and Sanction Classification Rubric. SU students are required to read an

online summary of the University's academic integrity expectations and provide an electronic signature agreeing to abide by them twice a year during pre-term check-in on MySlice. The Violation and Sanction Classification Rubric establishes recommended guidelines for the determination of grade penalties by faculty and instructors, while also giving them discretion to select the grade penalty they believe most suitable, including course failure, regardless of violation level. Any established violation in this course may result in course failure regardless of violation level.

This class will use the plagiarism detection and prevention system Turnitin. You will have the option to submit your papers to Turnitin to check that all sources you use have been properly acknowledged and cited before you submit the paper to me. I will also submit all papers you write for this class to Turnitin, which compares submitted documents against documents on the Internet and against student papers submitted to Turnitin at Syracuse University and at other colleges and universities. I will take your knowledge of the subject matter of this course and your writing level and style into account in interpreting the originality report. Keep in mind that all papers you submit for this class will become part of the Turnitin.com reference database solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of such papers.

DISABILITY-RELATED ACCOMMODATIONS

If you believe that you need accommodations for a disability, please contact the Office of Disability Services (ODS) located at 804 University Avenue, third floor or go to the ODS website at disabilityservices.syr.edu and click current students tab to register on-line. You may also call 315.443.4498 to speak to someone regarding specific access needs. ODS is responsible for coordinating disability-related accommodations and will issue 'Accommodation Letters' to students as appropriate. Since accommodations may require early planning and are not provided retroactively, please contact ODS as soon as possible.

Syracuse University values diversity and inclusion; we are committed to a climate of mutual respect and full participation. My goal as your instructor is to create a learning environments that are useable, equitable, inclusive and welcoming. If there are aspects of the instruction or design of this course that result in barriers to your inclusion or accurate assessment or achievement, I invite you to meet with me to discuss additional strategies beyond accommodations that may be helpful to your success.

RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES POLICY

SU's religious observances policy, found at http://supolicies.syr.edu/emp_ben/religious_observance.htm, recognizes the diversity of

faiths represented among the campus community and protects the rights of students, faculty, and staff to observe religious holy days according to their tradition. Under the policy, students are provided an opportunity to make up any examination, study, or work requirements that may be missed due to a religious observance provided they notify their instructors before the end of the second week of classes. For fall and spring semesters, an online notification process is available through MySlice/Student Services/Enrollment/My Religious Observances from the first day of class until the end of the second week of class.