

Turkish National Police Academy
Institute of Security Sciences
International Security (ENG)
Graduate Program

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS OF THE MIDDLE EAST

Spring 2015
Monday - 14:00-17:00

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For decades, the Middle East was widely perceived as a bastion of authoritarianism and a hotbed of ethnic and religious politics and political violence. However, popular protests against authoritarianism emerged throughout the region. Dictators fell in Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, and Libya; autocrats in Syria and Bahrain face major challenges to their survival; and leaders elsewhere were forced to undertake reforms in a frantic effort to stave off the contagion. Yet the hopefulness of the Arab Spring soon gave way to something much darker. A military coup in Egypt, state collapse in Libya, Yemen, Syria, and Iraq, and the rising threat of self-styled Islamic militants seem to validate earlier seasons of pessimism regarding the region's democratic prospects.

What explains the persistence of these perspectives and why have citizens across the region risen up to try to overthrow dictators and authoritarian regimes? Why have Islamists gained prominence in many Middle Eastern countries and why has sectarian violence appeared to spike in recent decades? By learning about key questions and debates in the field of Middle East politics, this course aims to give students a critical understanding of politics in the region. The course combines systematic analytical approaches to big questions with concrete knowledge of events and developments in specific countries.

This class will introduce students to the political, social, and economic dynamics in the region, and what they mean for the region's future. We will examine some of the Arab Spring upheavals and their aftermaths in detail, so one can understand the magnitude of the challenge facing those yearning for a democratic and prosperous Arab world. We will pay particular attention to the counsels of pessimism in the region—scholars and writers who argued that the region was condemned to its uninviting fate by its religion, culture, natural environment, colonial past, sectarian divisions, demography, oil, or by the dark plans of foreign powers. We'll ask what these scholars got wrong, what they got right, and what their work tells us, if anything, about what is yet to come.

COURSE TEXTS

There is no single text. No reader. A number of texts will be assigned to each class as readings to be discussed in class which will take the form of a circle. Students are encouraged to ask critical questions and develop interdisciplinary comparative reflections on the different issues.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Assessment/Evaluation:

Attendance & Participation	10%
Assignments	10%
Mid-term Exam	30%
Term Paper/Essay	10%
Presentation	10%
Final Exam	30%

Class Preparation

Kindly bring to each class:

- 1- One (or possibly two or even three) quote(s) from the day's reading that, in your opinion, best represents or indicates a central theme or argument. You should be ready to explain why it is you think this quote is central/crucial. A brief justification for your choice should be written out below the quote.
- 2- At least two questions or critical comments you have about the day's reading. They could challenge the author's argument or raise an issue unexamined by the author or indicate the need for further clarification of some concept or portion of the text being examined. Please be ready to raise these questions or comments in class.

Assignments:

- 1- I ask you to choose a **book** both in English or Turkish related to our course and write an **800-words critical review** of it. 1/3 of it should explain the main argument(s), 2/3 should analyze the arguments. This should be submitted before mid-term exam in hard-copy. I encourage you to discuss and confirm your chosen book, monograph or article with me. **Deadline is 23 March 2015.**
- 2- **Term Paper & Essay:** Please choose a topic and formulate **an essay topic based on a question** as early as possible. Comparative papers are encouraged. I highly encourage you to approach me to discuss it. It should be between **2500-3000 words**. **NO MORE, NO LESS.** Your presentation will be based on your essay. **Deadline is 4 May 2015.**

Attendance: Attendance will be taken and absences should **not exceed %30 of total class time.** Those exceed the limits without a medical certificate or any other emergency excuse required **approval of Institute's president** either to take final exam or to be withdrawn from the course. If, for unavoidable reasons, you are unable to make it to a class on time, you are welcome to join us when you are able. However, you should notify me in advance. Habitual lateness is unacceptable. If you are late or miss a class we miss your contribution and presence. We are a group, and I wish students would have this sense of us being an academic "community".

NOTE ON PLAGIARISM

The discovery of any instance of plagiarism will result in an automatic failure for the course with no opportunity for withdrawal from the course. This will be in addition to the filing of a report on the incident with the Academic Integrity Committee, as mandated by university policy. If you are uncertain about the definition of plagiarism, please ask me before submitting work for this course.

COURSE OUTLINE

1st Week: Introduction & Overview

16 February

What are the basic elements of understanding and studying the Middle East? Why such an approach is important to understand the future of international politics and the Middle East?

Nikki R. Keddie, "Is There a Middle East?", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 3, (Jul., 1973), pp. 255-271.

2nd Week: Where is the Middle East and How to Study It?

23 February

Lisa Anderson, "Scholarship, Policy, Debate and Conflict: Why We Study the Middle East and Why It Matters," *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Summer 2004).

Roderic H. Davison, "Where is the Middle East?", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 38, 1960: 665-675.

3rd Week: Historical Determinants, Development and Islam

2 March

Timur Kuran, "Why the Middle East is Economically Underdeveloped: Historical Mechanisms of Institutional Stagnation." *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol 18, no. 3, 2004: 71-90.

Lisa Anderson. "The State in the Middle East and North Africa.", *Comparative Politics*, Vol 20, no. 1, 1987: 1-18.

Michael L. Ross, "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* 53, 3, 2001: 325-361.

4th Week: Arab Spring and Challenging the System

9 March

Eva Bellin, "Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring," *Comparative Politics*, Vol 44, No 2, 2012, pp. 127-49.

Filipe Campante and Davin Chor, "Why was the Arab World Poised for Revolution? Schooling, Economic Opportunities, and the Arab Spring," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol 26, No 2, 2012, pp.167-188.

Tarek Masoud, "Has the Door Closed on Arab Democracy?", *Journal of Democracy*, Vol 26, No 1, 2015, pp. 74-87.

5th Week: Arab Spring and Re-Studying the Middle East

16 March

F. Gregory Gause III, "Why Middle East Studies Missed the Arab Spring: The Myth of Authoritarian Stability," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol 90, No 4, July/August 2011, pp. 81-90.

Michael M. Gunter and M. Hakan Yavuz, "Turkish Paradox: Progressive Islamists versus Reactionary Secularists", *Middle East Critique*, Vol 16, No 3, 2007, pp.289-301.

6th Week: Self-Governance in the Middle East (Democracy, Liberalism, Secularism etc)

23 March

Salim Cevik, "Myths and Realities on Islam and Democracy in the Middle East," *Estudios Políticos*, Vol 38, 2011, pp.121-144.

Vali Reza Nasr, "The Rise of "Muslim Democracy", *Journal of Democracy*, Vol 16, No 2, 2005: 13-27.

Alfred Stepan and Graeme Robertson, "An 'Arab' More than 'Muslim' Electoral Gap," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol 14, No 3, 2003, pp.30-44.

Midterm Exam

30 March [Exact date to be announced]

7th Week: Social/Political Actors in the Middle East (the Muslim Brotherhood, Salafis etc)

6 April

Mona El-Ghobashy, "The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 3, 2005, pp. 373-395.

Stéphane Lacroix, *Sheikhs and Politicians: Inside the New Egyptian Salafism*, Brookings Doha Center, June 2012.

Hasan Kosebalaban, "The Rise of Anatolian Cities and the Failure of the Modernization Paradigm", *Middle East Critique*, Vol 16, No 3, 2007, pp.229-240.

8th Week: State Building in the Middle East: From Scratch Again? (Syria, Libya, Iraq etc)

13 April

Michael J. Mazarr, "The Rise and Fall of the Failed-State Paradigm: Requiem for a Decade of Distraction", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol 93, No 1, 2014, pp.113-121.

Toby Dodge, "Iraq: The Contradictions of Exogenous State-building in Historical Perspective," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol 27, No 1, 2006, pp.187-200.

9th Week: Religious F/Actors in Policy-Making (Diyanet, Al-Azhar, Saudi Ulama etc)

20 April

Rachel M. Scott, "What Might the Muslim Brotherhood Do with al-Azhar? Religious Authority in Egypt", *Die Welt des Islams*, Vol 52, No 2, 2012, pp.131-165.

Mehmet Özkan, *Turkey's Religious Diplomacy*, unpublished text.

10th Week: Intellectuals, Scholars and Global Muslim Voices

27 April

Tariq Ramadan, "The problems of being called a 'Muslim intellectual'", *The Guardian*, 14 September 2010.

Ian Buruma, "Tariq Ramadan Has an Identity Issue", *The New York Times*, 4 February 2007.

David H. Warren, "The 'Ulamā' and the Arab Uprisings 2011-13: Considering Yusuf al-Qaradawi, the 'Global Mufti,' between the Muslim Brotherhood, the Islamic Legal Tradition, and Qatari Foreign Policy", *New Middle Eastern Studies*, 4 (2014): 1-32.

Barbara Slavin, *Mullahs, Money, and Militias: How Iran Exerts Its Influence in the Middle East*, USIP Special Report 206 June 2008.

11th Week: The Middle Eastern Diaspora: Inclusion or Exclusion?

4 May

Johan Galtung et al, *The Muslim Diaspora in Europe and the USA*, Transcend.org, September 2012

Mehmet Özkan, "Transnational Islam, Immigrant NGOs and Poverty Alleviation: The Case of the IGMG", *Journal of International Development*, Vol 24, No 4 (2012): 467-484.

12th Week: Radical Alternatives to Politics: ISIS, Salafism and FTFs

11 May

Daniel L. Byman and Jeremy Shapiro, *Be Afraid. Be A Little Afraid: The Threat of Terrorism from Western Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq*, Brookings Policy Paper No 34, November 2014.

Ramazan Yıldırım, *Politization of Salafism in Egypt*, SETA Analysis, June 2014 No 6, 2014.

13th Week: The Future of Political Islam (and the Middle East)

18 May

Burhanettin Duran, "The experience of Turkish Islamism: between transformation and impoverishment", *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, Vol 12, No 1, 2010: 5-22.

Mehmet Ozkan, "Islamic Politics, Arab Spring and Turkish Model", *The Dilemma of Popular Sovereignty in the Middle East Power from or to the People*. Ed. K. Chatterjee, P. Singh (eds). New Delhi: KW Publishers Pvt Ltd., 2014: 89-104.

14th Week: Final Exam

25 May