**Contemporary Politics of the Middle East**

Rutgers University, Fall 2015 (790:351/685:351)

**Mondays** 9:15am—10:35am **AND** **Thursdays** 9:15am—10:35am

Classroom: HCK 119

Instructor: Sarah Weirich

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Office: HCK 610

Office Hours: Mondays 11am – 1pm and by Appt.

**Course Description**

This course is an introductory survey of the politics and society of the Middle East. It covers salient and central themes in the history, politics, culture, and economics of the region, and addresses a number of methodological debates raised in, and by, the field. The course is analytically divided into five parts. The **first** introduces students to the political science of the “Developing World” with special reference to Middle Eastern societies as well as the topic of how the Middle East was studied historically. The **second** overviews the social and political history of the region and of its cultural specificities. The **third** assesses the character, stages, and consequences of European imperialism and formation of modern states in the region. The **fourth** examines the structure and dynamics of contemporary Middle Eastern societies, including the questions of ethnicity, religious sects, and social class and their intersection. In this section, the issues of gender and family are closely examined. The second section analyzes the impact of state-led growth and/or post-colonial development on Middle Eastern societies. The **fifth** and final part of the course assesses the future of the region in light of the Arab uprisings of 2011, particularly in terms of prospects for political transition and liberalization, the social impact of the current economic reforms, the growing developmental gap, and the impact of globalization and the “war on terrorism.”

**Course Aims & Objectives**

The aim of this course is to provide students with an understanding of the major political processes and structures shaping political developments in the contemporary Middle East. Students who take the course will be expected to develop advanced analytical skills of relevance both to an understanding of complex political situations and to a critical engagement with the discipline. In addition to developing their skills of critical analysis, students who complete the course will be able to demonstrate a clear understanding of the political dynamics of most of the major states in the Middle East. The course will utilize a range of scholarly books and articles about the region, its politics, and its peoples. These texts will be supplemented by a few select films.

This course will combine both lecture and discussion formats. Because of the nature of many of the topics that I teach, students find that my classes quite often include passionate, even heated, discussions of the material. I encourage these sorts of conversations and debates, as I believe that they provide excellent opportunities for refining one’s thinking and values. The first rule in all of my courses, is: **“Read more. Write more. Think more. Be more.”** I am thoroughly convinced that political science courses are ideal opportunities to satisfy all four parts of that rule.

**Research Paper**  
The research paper is due during the last day of class. It should be a minimum of 4000 words, and based on research of sources and material that go well beyond the course readings (including reputable journal articles and books—Internet research material is discouraged, for the most part). The earlier you determine your topic, the earlier you can order your books if they are not available at our library. The topic of the paper is to be determined by **October 20** (see below). Students will be encouraged to write papers that address any of the course's themes (listed below), but must **not** be an international relations theme: i.e., you should address what is going on inside the countries of the region, not their international and regional relations. Foreign policy of countries is thus not an acceptable topic. But gender relations, economic reform, Islamist parties, or authoritarian rule and methods (and such themes) are fair game. More information will be provided in class and electronically.   
  
You should select your case-study by **October 20**, and submit a one page Research Paper Proposal document to the assignment page on Sakai that includes (a) the country/countries you wish to write your paper on, (b) 4-5 preliminary sources (including a minimum of 2 books and 2 academic journal articles), and (c) a brief statement describing why you’re interested in writing about that country and what in particular you wish to address. Turning in a clean and reasonable proposal is worth 20% (even if we amend the topic henceforth).  
  
**Grade Distribution**  
Research Paper Proposal: 20%  
Final Research Paper: 30%  
Midterm Exam: 30%  
Participation: 20%  
  
**Attendance**  
Class participation will be essential in this course. Therefore, class attendance is a must. Unexcused absences will not reflect well in your participation grade. Missing 3 classes (unexcused) will affect your final grade because you would not benefit from classroom lectures, presentations, discussions, and q&a.  
  
**Services for Students with Difference**  
If you have a documented difference (learning, physical, psychological) for which you are or may be requesting reasonable academic adjustments, you are encouraged to inform me as early as possible in the semester. I, personally, would be happy to accommodate all your legitimate requests regarding such matters, with or without documentation.  
  
**Academic Integrity**

Academic integrity is required of all students. Ignorance of what constitutes plagiarism and violations of academic integrity do not excuse guilt of committing these offenses. If parts of someone else’s work are used directly (paraphrased or quoted) without acknowledgement, this constitutes plagiarism. If you are unsure of what plagiarism is or how to identify your sources, ask the course instructor or consult a style manual. Plagiarism is cheating, to the detriment of both the university and fellow students. Cases of minor plagiarism will normally result in a major reduction in the assignment grade. More severe cases will result in a grade of F, and will be reported to the Faculty with a recommendation for the strongest possible disciplinary action. To avoid committing any offenses, intentional or not, see the academic integrity code: <http://ctaar.rutgers.edu/integrity>.

# SAS CORE LEARNING GOALS MET BY THIS COURSE

# *i.          Explain and be able to assess the relationship among assumptions, method, evidence, arguments, and theory in social and historical analysis.*

# *k.         Explain the development of some aspect of a society or culture over time, including the history of ideas or history of science.*

# *m.       Understand different theories about human culture, social identity, economic entities, political systems, and other forms of social organization.*

# *n. Apply concepts about human and social behaviour to particular questions or situations.*

***Grading Rubric***

Participation and Classroom Conduct

Participation is a significant part of your grade in this class. You are expected to come to class prepared to contribute actively to classroom discussions and activities. This will not only enhance your own learning experience but the experience of your fellow students. Good participation entails not only speaking and sharing your thoughts on a regular basis, but also being considerate and respecting the views of others. To earn high points in the participation part of the final grade, students will have demonstrated their awareness of the different functions of classroom comments by:

1. Varying their discussion strategies,
2. Considering what they say before they say it,
3. Taking intellectual risks, and
4. Always respecting the feelings of peers by not interrupting classmates while speaking and acknowledging interesting ideas.

Any successful learning experience requires mutual respect on the part of the student and the instructor. Neither instructor nor student should be subject to others’ behavior that is rude, disruptive, intimidating, or demeaning. The instructor has primary responsibility for and control over classroom behavior and maintenance of academic integrity.

Instructor responsibilities:

* Start and end class on time.
* Treat all students with courtesy and respect.
* Be open to constructive input from students in the course.
* Ensure that opportunities to participate are enjoyed equally by all students in the course.

Student responsibilities:

* Come to class on time, and refrain from packing up belongings before class ends.
* Turn off all electronic devices that might create a disruption in class.
* Be quiet and give full respectful attention while either instructor or another student is speaking.
* When speaking, use courteous, respectful language and keep comments and questions relevant to the topic at hand.

I expect you to fulfill your responsibilities to me and to your fellow students. By the same token, if I am not meeting my responsibilities to you I expect you to let me know. In short, let's make our classroom a comfortable space for real intellectual dialogue, where everyone has the opportunity to contribute.

**EVALUATION RUBRIC:**

I will use this rubric in assessing your performance. It sets the most basic criteria of assessment, but it should give you the basic idea of what is expected of you.

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| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | **A** | **B** | **C** | **D/F** |
| Essays and other written work | Argument and analysis | Makes clear and compelling argument. Solid reasoning. Offers insightful analysis | Makes clear argument, based on plausible readings. Some effort to sustain argument throughout the analysis. | Attempts to offer a cogent argument and analysis, but argument and analysis are based on faulty reasoning. | Fails to make a cogent argument or to offer sound analysis. |
| Writing and grammar | Writes well, making appropriate word choices and avoiding grammar and spelling mistakes. | Writes well, but may include a handful of grammar, spelling, or word choice mistakes. | Makes multiple errors, but still writes in a clearly intelligible manner. | Makes multiple errors that interfere substantially with comprehension. |
| Organization and structure | Presents clear, navigable structure with introduction, body, and conclusion. Provides reader with a "road map" of essay. | Offers clear organization with some road map for reader. | Makes some effort to structure the paper, but organization is problematic or difficult to follow. | Structures the paper in a way that is disorganized and difficult or impossible to follow. |
| Mastery and use of readings | Uses multiple readings and demonstrates mastery of facts and arguments made in readings. | References multiple readings and demonstrates a good degree of understanding. | Makes minimal use of readings and/or fails to demonstrate adequate mastery of readings. | Fails to use readings |
| Conceptual analysis | | Knows the analytical concepts, provides their definition(s), and applies them precisely and systemically in the analysis of specific problems. | Knows most of the concepts. Makes minor definitional errors. | Makes some headway toward knowing and applying the relevant concepts. | Fails to know and apply basic concepts. |
| Empirical analysis | | Marshals appropriate evidence to describe, understand, and explain political problems. | Marshals appropriate evidence to describe, understand, and explain political problems, with small errors. | Attempts to provide and explain evidence but with substantial omissions or errors in interpretation. | Fails to provide relevant evidence. |
| Theoretical analysis | | Explains the relevance and applicability of a wide range of theoretical analyses to specific political problems. | Is able to apply successfully some of the course’s theoretical analyses to selected political problems. | Has difficulty connecting theoretical analyses to the political problems. | Fails to connect the course’s theoretical analyses to analyzed political problems. |
| “Political literacy” | | Exhibits a nuanced understanding of the relationship between the analytical tools learned in class and “real life” global/comparative political problems. | Demonstrates a general understanding of the relevance of political scientific theories for the analysis of the global political world. | Has difficulty connecting the theories to actual issues of global/comparative politics. | Fails to connect the theories to actual issues of global/comparative politics. |
| Participation Analysis | | Exhibits attentiveness, detail, comes to class on time. Exhibits active participation (does not always mean talking) through eye contact, body posture, presenting with thoughtful questions or inciting thoughtful responses from the class, and providing an analysis of theoretical understandings of the material and relating it to “real life” global/comparative political problems. | Demonstrates attentiveness, detail, comes to class on time but is not as active in participation and listening to both colleagues and the professor or asks questions or raises comments not directly related to the relevant topic at hand. | Has difficulty connecting to student presentations, lecture material, is not interested in giving feedback either to the professor or to classmates; repeatedly misses presentations and classes. | Fails to demonstrate interest in the subject material or by not attending class or fails to treat all students with courtesy and respect. |

**Required Books**

1. **Deborah J. Gerner and Jillian Schwedler**, Understanding the Contemporary Middle East(Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 4th edition), (Paperback) ISBN 1-58826-9108.
2. **Bassam Haddad**, Business Networks: The Political Economy of Authoritarian Resilience in Syria (Stanford: 2012), (Paperback) ISBN 9780804785068.
3. **Lisa Wedeen**, *Peripheral Visions: Publics, Power, and Performance in Yemen* (Chicago: 2008), (Paperback) ISBN: 0226877914.
4. **Asef Bayat, *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2nd edition, 2013), ISBN** [0804783276](http://xisbn.worldcat.org/liblook2/resolve.htm?res_id=4826&rft.isbn=0804783276&url_ver=Z39.88-2004&rft_val_fmt=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:book).

**Provisional Course Outline**

1. **Introduction to Middle East Politics**
2. **The Middle East: An Overview of Salient Issues and Themes**
3. **Classic Orientalism and Other “Essentialisms”: The Study of the “East”**
4. **Arab and Middle Eastern Historical and Cultural Background (Parts I and II)**
5. **Politics, the State, and Authoritarian Rule**
6. **Political Economy of (Post-Colonial) Development**
7. **Religion and Politics: The Rise and Use of Political Islam, and Islamist Parties**
8. **Social Dynamics: Family and Women**
9. **The Israel-Palestine Conflict**
10. **Terrorism and the Industry of Terrorism: The Arab/Muslim World in Context**
11. **Case-Study: The Tunisian Uprising**
12. **Case-Study: The Political Economy of Authoritarian Resilience in Syria**
13. **Case-Study: Democratic Practices in Yemen**

**Session 1 (September 4): The Argument and Organization of the Class**

No Readings

**Session 2 (September 8): The Middle East: An Overview**

**Readings:**

1. **Deborah J. Gerner**, Chapter 1, “Introduction,” in Deborah J. Gerner and Jillian Schwedler, eds., *Understanding the Contemporary Middle East* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004). [Text]
2. **Ian R. Manners and Barbara McKean Parmenter**, Chapter 2, “The Middle East: A Geographic Preface,” in Deborah J. Gerner and Jillian Schwedler, eds., Understanding the Contemporary Middle East (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004). [Text]
3. **Rashid Khalidi**, “Preliminary Historical Observations on the Arab Revolutions of 2011,” Jadaliyya. [Sakai]

**Questions & Issues to Consider:**What, if anything, is “special” about studying the Middle East? What are the most significant challenges to studying the Middle East in the United States? What are the fundamental historical experiences in the 19th and 20th century that shaped the contemporary Middle East? What does it mean to say something is “constructed” (e.g., Middle East as construct)? What does it mean to think “critically?”

**Session 3 (September 11): The Middle East: An Overview [Cont]**

**Readings:**

1. [*Recommended for students with no background in Middle East Studies*] **Arthur Goldschmidt Jr.**, Chapter 3, “The Historical Context” in Deborah J. Gerner and Jillian Schwedler, eds., Understanding the Contemporary Middle East (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004). [Text]
2. **Interview with Bassam Haddad** (November 2003), on Culture, Islamic Values, and Democracy in the Arab World. [Sakai]
3. **Bassam Haddad**, “Notes on Arab Identity.” [Sakai]
4. **Eric Davis**, “10 Conceptual Sins in Analyzing Middle East Politics,”*The New Middle East*, 2009. <http://new-middle-east.blogspot.com/2009/01/10-conceptual-sins-in-analyzing-middle.html>.
5. **FILM: *Planet of the Arabs* (2005)**

**Session 4 (September 15): Classic Orientalism and Other “Essentialisms”: The Study of the “East”**

A. Orientalism  
B. Theologocentrism  
C. Cultural Exceptionalism  
D. Middle East Exceptionalism  
E. Arab/Muslim Apologists

**Readings**:

1. **Walid Khalidi**, “Arabs and the West,” The Forum, XXXII, (December 1957). [Sakai]
2. **Zachary Lockman**, “Orientalism and Empire” in Contending Visions of the Middle East, the History and Politics of Orientalism (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 66-98. [Sakai]
3. **FILM: *Reel Bad Arabs***

**Questions & Issues to Consider:**How has the Middle East (or the “East”) been studied historically? What influenced the study of the Middle East from a European perspective? Or, later, from an American perspective? How do power relations affect the production of knowledge, or notions of “objectivity?” What are the most salient categories in pop culture for understanding the Middle East? Where do they come from and how are they perpetuated? Can we produce objective knowledge about the “other?”  Most importantly, what is the relationship between knowledge and power?  
  
**Session 5 (September 18): Classic Orientalism and Other “Essentialisms” [Cont]**

**Readings:**

1. **Edward Said**, Introduction and Chapter 1, in Orientalism(New York: Pantheon, 1978). [Sakai]
2. **Mahmood Mamdani**, Introduction and Chapter 1, in Good Muslim, Bad Muslim (New York: Pantheon, 2004). [Sakai]
3. Supplemental Reading: **Claudia Deane and Darryl Fears,** “Negative Perception of Islam Increasing,” The Washington Post (March 9, 2006) [Sakai]; **Thomas Friedman** “Mideast Rules to Live By" The Washington Post (December 20, 2006) [Sakai]

**Session 6 (September 22): Arab and Middle Eastern Historical and Cultural Background (Part I)**  
  
A. Early Arab/Islamic Empires (7th to 13th Century) and Ottoman Dominion (1516-1917)  
B. European Imperialism, 1800-1917; Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire  
C. European Colonialism, 1919-1950  
D. The Demise of Palestine; Rise of Israel   
E. Economic, Political, Social and Ideological Transformation: Rise of Radical Arab Nationalism  
F. Who are the Arabs; Arab Identity  
G. What is Islam? Islamic Beliefs and Sects  
  
**Readings:**

1. **Arthur Goldschmidt Jr.**, Chapter 3, “The Historical Context” in Deborah J. Gerner and Jillian Schwedler, eds., Understanding the Contemporary Middle East (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004). [Text]
2. **John Esposito**, Chapter 2, “The Muslim Community in History,” and Chapter 3, “Religious Life: Belief and Practice,” in The Straight Path (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998). [Sakai]
3. **Rashid Khalidi**, “Preliminary Historical Observations on the Arab Revolutions of 2011,” Jadaliyya (March 21, 2011). [Sakai]

**Session 7 (September 25): Arab and Middle Eastern Historical and Cultural Background (Part II)**  
  
No Readings.

**Session 8 (September 29): Politics, the State, and Authoritarian Rule**  
  
**Readings**:

1. [Background]**Deborah J. Gerner**, Chapter 4, “Middle Eastern Politics,” in Deborah J. Gerner and Jillian Schwedler,eds., Understanding the Contemporary Middle East (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004). [Text]
2. **Marsha Pripstein Posusney**, “The Middle East’s Democracy Deficit in Comparative Perspective,” in Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Regimes and Resistance (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005). [Sakai]
3. **Juan Linz**, “Authoritarian Regimes,” Chapter 4 in Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes (Lynne Rienner, 2000), excerpted from “Authoritarian Regimes,” in Fred I. Greenstein and Nelson J. Polsby, eds., Handbook of Political Science, (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley: 1975), pp. 159-171. [Sakai]

**Questions & Issues to Consider:**Is authoritarian rule unique to the Middle East? What produces authoritarian rule? What sustains it? How does authoritarian rule affect state-opposition dynamics? Is there a relationship between levels/kinds of authoritarianism and extremist opposition? What are the bases of conflict in the Middle East?  
  
**Session 9 (October 2): Politics, the State, and Authoritarian Rule [Cont]**

**Readings:**

1. **Jill Crystal**, “Authoritarianism and its Adversaries in the Arab World,” World Politics, 46 (January 1994), pp. 262-289. [Sakai]
2. **Eva Bellin,**“Contingent Democrats: Industrialists, Labor, and Democratization in Late-Developing Countries,” Comparative Politics, Vol. 52, No. 2 (Jan., 2000), pp. 175-185. [Sakai]
3. [Recommended]**Marsha Pripstein Posusney**, “Enduring Authoritarianism: Middle East Lessons for Comparative Theory,” Comparative Politics, Vol. 36, No. 2 (Jan., 2004), pp. 127-138). [Sakai]

**Session 10 (October 6): The Political Economy of Development: Colonialism and Post-Colonial Challenges**  
  
A. Colonial Legacies  
B. The political economy of development  
C. State-Led Development  
D. The political economy of oil  
 **Readings:**

1. **Roger Owen**, State, Power, and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East, (New York: Routledge, 1992), Chapter 1 and Chapter 2. [Sakai]
2. **Elias H. Tuma**, Chapter 7, “The Economies of the Middle East,” in Deborah J. Gerner and Jillian Schwedler**,**eds., Understanding the Contemporary Middle East (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004), pp. 234-End. [Text]
3. **Alan Richards and John Waterbury**, Chapter 7, “The Emergence of the Public Sector,” Chapter 8, “Contradictions of State-Led Growth,” in A Political Economy of the Middle East (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996). [Sakai]
4. **Michael Ross**, “Does Oil Hinder Democracy,” in World Politics, Vol. 53, No. 3, (April, 2001). [Sakai]

**Recommended**:    
**Mary Ann Tétreault**, Chapter 8, “The Political Economy of Middle Eastern Oil,” in Deborah J. Gerner and Jillian Schwedler**,**eds., Understanding the Contemporary Middle East (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004), pp. 258-End. [Text]  
**Hazim Beblawi**, “The Rentier State in the Arab World,” in Hazem Beblawi and Giacomo Luciani, eds., The Rentier State (London: Croom Helm, 1987), pp. 49-71. [Sakai]  
  
**Questions & Issues to Consider:**What is “political economy?” Why is it absent from most conventional discussion on the Middle East? What is state-led development? How did Middle Eastern states emerge/develop in the post-colonial era? What were their characteristics and challenges, and how where they dealt with? What is a “rentier state?” What is the relationship between state-owned oil wealth and democratic development?

**Session 11 (October 9): Religion and Politics: The Rise and Use of Political Islam and Islamist Parties**  
  
A. Underlying causes: Various interpretations  
B. Islamist Parties Today  
C. The Effect of Authoritarian Rule and International Politics  
  
**Readings**:

1. **John Esposito, Mohammed A. Muqtedar Khan, and Jillian Schwedler**, Chapter 12 “Religion and Politics in the Middle East,” in Deborah J. Gerner and Jillian Schwedler,eds., Understanding the Contemporary Middle East (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004). [Text]
2. **Philip Khoury**, “Islamic Revivalism and the crises of the Secular State in the Arab World,” in Ibrahim Ibrahim, ed., Arab Resources: The Transformation of a Society, (London: Croom Helm, 1983). [Sakai]
3. **Mahmood Mamdani**, “Inventing Political Violence,” Global Agenda, (January 2005). [Sakai]

**Questions & Issues to Consider:** What is Islamic Fundamentalism? Why is the term controversial? What are the causes of the rise of political Islam? What is the relationship between authoritarianism and political Islam? Between the cold war and political Islam? Why is violence and fundamentalism associated more with Islam according to pop-cultural views?

**Session 12 (October 13): Islamist Movements: A Brief Encounter**

[Select at least one of the case studies below]

1. **Samer Shehata and Josh Stacher**, “The Brotherhood Goes to Parliament,” Middle East Report 240 (Fall 2006). [Sakai] <http://www.merip.org/mer/mer240/brotherhood-goes-parliament>
2. “Hamas's Battle for Hearts and Minds,”The Economist, (March 27, 2008).[Sakai] <http://www.economist.com/node/10926014/print>
3. **Lara Deeb**, “Hizballah: A Primer,” MERIP, (July 31, 2006). [Sakai] <http://www.merip.org/mero/mero073106>

**Session 13 (October 16): Social Dynamics: Family and Women, Community, Ethnicity and Class (Part I)**  
  
A. Community, Ethnicity, Class  
B. The Family: Changing patterns  
C. Women: Differential roles  
D. The Veil: Meaning and Symbolism  
E. Colonial Feminism and the Use of Gender Equality in Politics  
  
**Readings**:

1. **Lisa Pollard**, Chapter 11, “The Role of Women,” in Deborah J. Gerner and Jillian Schwedler, eds., Understanding the Contemporary Middle East (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004). [Text]
2. **Judith Tucker**, ed., Ch. X, “The Arab Family in History,” in Arab Women: Old Boundaries, New Frontiers (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1993), pp. 195-207. [Sakai]
3. **Lila Abu-Lughod**, “Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and Its Others,” American Anthropologist, Vol. 104, No. 3, (September 2002). [Sakai]
4. **Maya Mikdashi**, “How Not to Study Gender in the Middle East,” Jadaliyya, (March 2012). [Sakai] <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/4775/how-not-to-study-gender-in-the-middle-east>
5. **[Recommended] Joan Scott,**“Gender: Still A Useful Category of Analysis?"Diogenes**,** Vol. 57, No. 7, (2010). [Sakai]
6. **FILM: *Wadjda* (97 min)**

**Questions & Issues to Consider:**What is the relationship between societal development and the role of the family? What is the relationship between the role of the family in the society and gender roles? What are the bases of political action in the Middle East (e.g., communal, sectarian, religious, class, political, economic, cultural)? In studying the Middle East, why does the question of the “veil” become an all-too-important issue when other issues are clearly more significant? Should we take liberal discourse on feminism at face value (e.g., “we invaded Afghanistan partly to liberate their women”)?  
  
**Session 14 (October 20): Social Dynamics: Family and Women, Community, Ethnicity and Class (Part II)**

**Readings:**

1. **Mona Eltahawy, “Why Do They Hate Us? The real war on women in the Middle East.” *Foreign Policy*, (April 2012). [Sakai]** <http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/04/23/why_do_they_hate_us>
2. **Sara Mourad**, “Politics at the Tip of the Clitoris,” Jadaliyya, (May 2012). [Sakai] <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/5355/politics-at-the-tip-of-the-clitoris_why-in-fact-do>
3. **Sherene Seikaly and Maya Mikdashi**, “Let’s Talk about Sex,” Jadaliyya (April 2012). [Sakai] <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/5233/lets-talk-about-sex>.
4. **Leila Ahmed**, “Introduction.” in Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992) [Sakai]
5. **Paul Amar**, "Discourses of ‘Men in Crisis,’ Industries of Gender in Revolution,” in Journal of Middle East Women's Studies, Vol. 7, No. 3 (Fall 2011). [Sakai]
6. **Arlene Elowe MacLeod**, “Hegemonic Relations and Gender Resistance: The New Veiling as Accommodating Protest in Cairo,” Signs, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Spring, 1992). [Sakai]
7. **Laurie King Irani**, Chapter 10, “Kinship, Class, and Ethnicity,” in Deborah J. Gerner and Jillian Schwedler**,**eds., Understanding the Contemporary Middle East (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004). [Text]
8. **As`ad AbuKhalil**, “Women in the Middle East,” Foreign Policy in Focus, Vol. 5, No. 30, (September 2000) [Sakai]
9. **FILM: *Wadjda* (97 min)**

**Recommended:**

1. **Michael Ross**, “Oil, Islam, and Women,” American Political Science Review, Vol 102, No. 1, (February 2008). [Sakai]
2. **Joan Scott,**“Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis?" The American Historical Review, Vol. 91, No. 5. (Dec., 1986), pp. 1053-1075. [Sakai]
3. **Rema Hammami**, “Women, the Hijab, and the Intifada,” Middle East Report, No. 164/165 (May-Aug., 1990). [Sakai]

**Session 15 (October 23): The Palestine-Israel Conflict: Gaza As Focal Point**  
  
**Readings:**

1. **Simona Sharoni and Mohammed Abu-Nimer**, The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, Chapter 6. [Text]
2. Stephen Walt, “What's Going on in Israel?" Walt.foreingpolicy.com, July 2012.

**Questions & Issues to Consider:** What is the basis of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict? Is it a conflict over land? Religion? What are the conflicting claims to the land of Israel/Palestine? Why is this local conflict so global in nature?

**Session 16 (October 27): MIDTERM**

**The Arab Uprisings**

**Session 17 (October 30): Introduction/Media, New Media, and the Uprisings in the Middle East**

**Readings:**

1. **Rashid Khalidi**, “Preliminary Historical Observations on the Arab Revolutions of 2011,” Jadaliyya (March 21, 2011). [Sakai]
2. **Adel Iskandar and Bassam Haddad**, eds., Mediating the Arab Uprisings (Tadween Publishing, 2012). [Text] Focus on Chapters 1, 4-9, and 11-14.

**Session 18 (November 3): Tunisia**

**Readings:**

1. **Julia Clancy-Smith**, “From Sidi Bou Zid to Sidi Bou Said: A Longue Durée Approach to the Tunisian Revolutions,” in *The Arab Spring: Change and Resistance in the Middle East*, Mark Haas and David Lesch, eds. Boulder: Westview Press, 2013.
2. **Nouri Gana,** ed. *The Making of the Tunisian Revolution: Contexts, Architects, Prospects*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013. Introduction, Chapter 1 and Chapter 6.
3. **Sarah Weirich**, 50 Shades of Blame: Hackers, Apathy and Conspiracy – Voter Registration in Tunisia (<http://new-middle-east.blogspot.com/2014/08/50-shades-of-blame-hackers-apathy-and.html>).
4. *Recommended*: **Bassam Haddad, Rosie Bsheer, and Ziad Abu-Rish, eds. *Dawn of the Arab Uprisings*: *End of an Old Order?* Pluto Press, 2012*.*** *Section II: Tunisia* (pp. 49-76)

**Session 19 (November 6): Tunisia Continued**

**Readings:**

1. **Nouri Gana,** ed. *The Making of the Tunisian Revolution: Contexts, Architects, Prospects*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013. Chapter 5, Chapter 9 and Chapter 10.
2. **Sarah Weirich**, “Zwewla”: The Tunisian Graffiti Rebels (<http://new-middle-east.blogspot.com/2013/02/zwewla-tunisian-graffiti-rebels.html>).

**Session 20 (November 10): Egypt**

**Readings:**

1. **Bassam Haddad, Rosie Bsheer, and Ziad Abu-Rish, eds. *Dawn of the Arab Uprisings*: *End of an Old Order?* Pluto Press, 2012*. Section III: Egypt* (pp. 77-138)**
2. **Brothers and Officers: A History of Pacts**  
   <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/9765/brothers-and-officers_a-history-of-pacts>
3. **Egyptian Women: Between Revolution, Counter-Revolution, Orientalism, and “Authenticity.”**  
   <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/11559/egyptian-women_between-revolution-counter-revoluti>

**Session 21 (November 13): Egypt Continued**

**FILM: *The Square*** (104 min)

**Session 22 (November 17): Syria**

**Readings:**

1. **Lisa Wedeen**, “Ideology and Humor in Dark Times: Notes from Syria.” *Critical Inquiry* 39.4 (2013). [Sakai]

**Session 23 (November 20): Can There Be a Politics of Fun?**

**Reading:**

1. **Asef Bayat**, *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East*. Stanford University Press, 2010, up to Chapter 7. [Text]

**November 24 & 27: NO CLASS – THANKSGIVING BREAK**

**Session 24 (December 1): Terrorism and the Industry of Terrorism: The Arab/Muslim World in Context**  
A.  Culture Talk: Terrorism as Act/Terrorism as Identity  
B.  Individual, Group, and State Terrorism  
C.  The “War on Terrorism” and the Middle East

1. **Fred Halliday**, “Terrorism in Historical Perspective,” in *Open Democracy*, (April 22, 2004). [Sakai].
2. **(CHOOSE 1 or 2):** Selections from Dominant Discourse Post 9-11: Government Discourse Excerpts--click on name to access quotes [[Bush Quotes](http://gov332.weebly.com/uploads/1/3/5/2/13525224/bush_quotes_1.pdf), [Links to Bush Speeches](http://gov332.weebly.com/uploads/1/3/5/2/13525224/links_to_george_bush_spee.doc), [Cheney Quotes](http://gov332.weebly.com/uploads/1/3/5/2/13525224/cheney_quotes.pdf), [Rumsfeld Quotes](http://gov332.weebly.com/uploads/1/3/5/2/13525224/rumsfeld_quotes.pdf), [Wolfowitz Quotes part 1](http://gov332.weebly.com/uploads/1/3/5/2/13525224/wolfowitz_quotes_part_1.pdf), [Wolfowitz Quotes Part 2](http://gov332.weebly.com/uploads/1/3/5/2/13525224/douglas_feith_speeches.pdf), [Douglas Feith Speeches](http://www.bhcourses.org/~PAGEID~120C17FF0119498CA077)]. Selections from Liberal/Conservative Media Sources--emphasis on liberal for bias balance [[George Will](http://gov332.weebly.com/uploads/1/3/5/2/13525224/george_will_quotations.doc), [Thomas Friedman](http://gov332.weebly.com/uploads/1/3/5/2/13525224/thomas_friedman_quotations.doc), [Washington Post Editorials](http://gov332.weebly.com/uploads/1/3/5/2/13525224/washington_post_editorials.doc),[Richard Cohen](http://gov332.weebly.com/uploads/1/3/5/2/13525224/richard_cohen_quotations.doc)]
3. **Juan Cole**, “Foreign Occupation Has Produced Radical Muslim Terrorism,” *Informed Comment*, [Blog by Juan Cole], (March 7, 2005). [Sakai]
4. **Glenn Greenwald**, “Terrorism: The Most Meaningless Word,” *Salon*, (February 19, 2010). [Sakai]
5. **Glenn Greenwald**, “The Same Motive for Anti-US 'Terrorism' Is Cited Over and Over,” *Guardian*, (April 24, 2013). [Sakai]
6. **John Esposito**, “America’s Response to Terrorism: How to Fight Rather than Feed the Beast,” *Huffington Post*, (January 5, 2010). [Sakai]

**Questions & Issues to Consider:**Is there an “industry of terrorism” (who benefits from advancing a preoccupation with “terrorism”)? To what extent is the term politicized? What is the difference between terrorism and resistance? Is it all a matter of perspective? Who has the power to “define” what kind of violence is legitimate and what kind of violence is not? Why has terrorism become the most important international issue in a world wrought by more costly calamities?  
  
**Session 25 (December 4): The Non-Islamic State**

**Readings:**

1. **Eric Davis**, “10 Steps for Combating ISIS Terrorism in Iraq and Syria” (<http://new-middle-east.blogspot.com/2014/07/10-steps-for-combating-isis-terrorism.html>).
2. **Eric Davis**, “ISIS’s Strategic Threat: Ideology, Recruitment, Political Economy” (<http://new-middle-east.blogspot.com/2014/08/isiss-strategic-threat-ideology.html>).
3. “Kurdish Women Beat ISIS” (<http://new-middle-east.blogspot.com/2014/10/kurdish-women-beat-isis.html>).

**Session 26 (December 8): LAST DAY OF CLASS – FINAL PAPER DUE**

**FILM: *The Iran Job*** (93 min)

*Note: This syllabus is subject to change.*