

## **PSCI 4242: Middle Eastern Politics**

Spring 2012

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MWF

9-9:50am Atlas 1B31

11-11:50am VAC 1B88

Office Hours

MW

10:00 – 11:00

and by appointment

### **Overview**

This class is an in-depth survey of the political and economic development in the Middle East and North African (MENA) region. Using a political economy approach, we will survey the roots of some of the major problems plaguing the region. We will start with the ethnic and cultural roots of the inhabitants of the Middle East. We will move on to the effects of the oil reserves underlying the Middle Eastern economy. Then we will examine the regime types and the conundrum of democratization in the region. Finally, we will look more closely to a few countries for a deeper understanding of the causal links of the political and economic outcomes.

### **Course Goals**

This course has two primary goals. First, it approaches the MENA region from a comparative perspective. By comparing countries of the Middle East to one another, we will use one of the mainstream methodologies in political science and learn how to scientifically assess causal links between variables. Second, it will give the students a much more nuanced and deeper understanding of the MENA region. It will compare and contrast the cultural, political and economic backgrounds of these countries, and will generate a more comprehensive understanding of the religion of Islam.

### **Required Reading**

All readings listed on this syllabus are required except otherwise stated. The two books we will use mainly are available for purchase at the CU Book Store, and two copies of each are also available on course reserve at Norlin Library. They are as follows:

- (1) Kuran, T. (2004). *Islam and Mammon: The Economic Predicaments of Islamism*. Princeton University Press.
- (2) Palmer, M. (2006). *The Politics of the Middle East* (2nd ed.). Wadsworth Publishing.
- (3) Satrapi, M. (2007). *The Complete Persepolis*. Pantheon.

Here are two recommended books for those who are interested in the history and political evolution of the region:

(1) Long, D. E., Reich, B., & Gasiorowski, M. (2010). *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa: Sixth Edition* (Sixth Edition, Sixth Edition.). Westview Press.

(2) Kamrava, M. (2011). *The Modern Middle East: A Political History since the First World War, Second Edition* (2nd ed.). University of California Press.

Other required readings will be available on course electronic reserves (abbreviated as "ERES") and through CULearn. These readings will appear in the course outline below and the students are expected to read them by the date they appear in the outline. Aside from this syllabus, all course "handouts" are emailed to students and posted to CULearn; they are not printed, copied, and handed out.

Students are also required to follow the current events happening in the region from the two following sources:

- Middle East Channel's Daily News Brief at <http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com>
- The Economist <http://www.economist.com/>
- <http://english.aljazeera.net/>

These sources will be very valuable in presentations and participation in class.

### Grading

Your final grade is comprised of the following parts.

- 1) Examinations 55%
  1. Presentations (2 per student): 10%
  2. Midterm: 15%
  3. Final: 30%
- 2) Paper 25%
  1. Research paper: 25%
- 3) Attendance 10%
- 4) Participation 10%

First, 45% of the overall grade is based on two closed-book, in-class tests—a *Midterm* (15%) and a *Final* (30%)—and 2 closed-book, in-class *Presentations* (10%). The *Presentations* will work as follows: On Fridays, 2 students will present separately on a current event happening in the Middle East that week. They will end their presentations proposing discussion questions to the class, stirring a debate on the topic of interest. The students are encouraged to discuss with me their topic and questions beforehand. The *Midterm* will cover material up to date and the *Final* will cover ALL course material. *Examinations will not be given to anyone at a day or time other than that already specified on this syllabus, unless students have discussed with me IN ADVANCE special arrangements due to disability or final exam conflict.* Students with disabilities must show authorization from the Office of Services to Disabled Students and must take the examination at the specified time.

Second, 25% of the final grade is based on the research paper. The Research paper (25%) is a medium length (1500-word, 5-6 pages) paper based on outside readings and research. More information on this assignment will be forthcoming. Papers handed in after the specified time will have ten percentage points subtracted from their final score each business day they are late. Students must also submit papers to turnitin.com, and the same late penalty applies to these electronic submissions.

Third, students will be graded for their *Attendance* (10%) in class. The instructor will personally take attendance every class. Students will be allowed 6 "freebie" absences. Beyond these absences, the attendance grade will be lowered from 100 by ten percentage points *per absence*. *Attendance will be taken at the beginning of class, so students who are late will be counted absent! Because all students receive an ample allotment of freebies, please do not discuss, request excuses for, or argue about absences with the instructor!* Note that religious holidays, sickness, and other reasons for absence that are "legitimate" DO COUNT against your freebie absences. You are strongly advised to use your freebies for these purposes. *Students with 12 or more absences will either have to drop the class or receive an "F".*

Fourth, the *Participation* (10%) component of the grade is based on student engagement and participation in class discussions. Most Fridays during the semester will be organized as discussion sections rather than lecture sessions, so student participation on these days is crucial. There are no extra credit projects available in this course. Final grades will be determined using the following percentage scale: A=94-100, A-=90-94, B+=87-90, B=84-87, B-=80-84, C+=77-80, C=74-77, C-=70-74, D+=67-70, D=64-67, D-=60-64, F=<60.

As always, academic dishonesty is not tolerated; you will receive an "F" in the class and may be expelled. Academic dishonesty includes, but is not limited to, passing off the work of others (especially current or former students or published work) as your own.

## **Course Outline**

### **Introduction**

Class 1 (01.18): Introduction and housekeeping

Class 2 (01.20): What is the Middle East? The Importance of kinship, Islam and culture

- Palmer Ch. 1

- Huntington, S. P. (1992). Clash of Civilizations, *The Foreign Affairs*, 72, 22.

Class 3 (01.23): Colonialism and the Middle East since WW2

- Palmer Ch. 1 continued

### **Islamic Economics and Underdevelopment**

Class 4 (01.25): What does "Islamic economics" mean?

- Kuran. ix-xvii, 1-37.

Class 5 (01.27): Does Islam cause poverty?

- Kuran. 121-147.

- Presentations and Discussion

### **Other Sources of Underdevelopment**

Class 6 (01.30): The Resource Curse

- Ross, Michael. 1999. "The Political Economy of the Resource Curse." *World Politics* 51(2): 297-322. (Skim)

Class 7 (02.01): Institutions in General

- Rodrik, D., Subramanian, A., & Trebbi, F. (2002). Institutions Rule: The Primacy of Institutions over Geography and Integration in Economic Development. *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper Series*, No. 9305. Retrieved from <http://www.nber.org/papers/w9305>

#### Class 8 (02.03): Institutions in the Middle East

- Kuran, T. (2003). The Islamic Commercial Crisis: Institutional Roots of Economic Underdevelopment in the Middle East. *The Journal of Economic History*, 63(02), 414-446.
- Presentations and Discussion

### Islam and the Middle Eastern Issues

#### Class 9 (02.06): Historical origins

- Kuran. 82-120.

#### Class 10 (02.08): Does underdevelopment help Islamists?

- Pepinsky, Thomas B., R. William Liddle, and Saiful Mujani. 2010. "Testing Islam's Political Advantage: Evidence from Indonesia." Working paper, Cornell University.

#### Class 11 (02.10): The role of women in the economy of Middle Eastern countries

- Ross, M. L. (2008). "Oil, Islam, and Women". *American Political Science Review*, 102(01), 107-123.
- Presentations and Discussion

### Political Regimes

#### Class 12 (02.13): Can there be an Islamic democracy?

- Bukay, David. 2007. "Can There Be an Islamic Democracy?" *Middle East Quarterly* 14(2):71-79

#### Class 13 (02.15): Islam and Authoritarianism (1)

- Fish, Steven. 2002. "Islam and Authoritarianism." *World Politics* 55(1): 4-37.

#### Class 14 (02.17): Islam and Authoritarianism (2)

- Nasr, Seyyed Vali Reza. 2005. "The Rise of 'Muslim Democracy'." *Journal of Democracy* 16(2): 13-27.
- Presentations and Discussion

### Globalization

#### Class 15 (02.20): Globalization (1)

- Barber, Benjamin R 1992. "Jihad Versus McWorld: How Globalism and Tribalism are Reshaping the World." *The Atlantic Magazine*.

#### Class 16(02.22): Globalization (2)

- Noland, Marcus, and Howard Pack. "Islam, Globalization, and Economic Performance in the Middle East" 2004

#### Class 17 (02.24): Globalization (3)

- Najjar, F. (2005). "The Arabs, Islam and Globalization". *Middle East Policy*, 12(3), 91-106.
- Presentations and Discussion

### Conflict and the Middle East

#### Class 18 (02.27): The effect of wars on development

- Olson, Mancur. 1993. "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development." *American Political Science Review* 87(3): 567-576.

#### Class 19 (02.29): So much conflict in the Middle East?

- Sørli, M. E., Gleditsch, N. P., & Strand, H. (2005). "Why Is There So Much Conflict in the Middle East?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 49(1), 141 -165.

#### Class 20 (03.02): Midterm

### The Rise of Political Islam

#### Class 21 (03.05): Turkey vs. Egypt

- Gumuscu, S. (2010). "Class, Status, and Party: The Changing Face of Political Islam in Turkey and Egypt."

*Comparative Political Studies*, 43(7), 835-861.

**Class 22 (03.07): Islam vs. Islamism**

- Tibi, B. (2010). "The Politicization of Islam into Islamism in the Context of Global Religious Fundamentalism." *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa*, 1(2), 153.

**Class 23 (03.09): The Muslim Brotherhood**

- Leiken, R. S., & Brooke, S. (2007). "The Moderate Muslim Brotherhood". *Foreign Affairs*, 86(2), 107-121.
- Presentations and Discussion

**Terrorism**

**Class 24 (03.12): Crazy terrorist?**

- Robert Pape. 2003. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review* 97(3). 343-361.

**Class 25 (03.14): Roots**

- Bernard Lewis. 1990. "The Roots of Muslim Rage." *The Atlantic Monthly*. Reprinted in *Policy* 17(4): 17-26.

**Class 26 (03.16): More roots**

- Von Hippel, K. (2002). The Roots of Terrorism: Probing the Myths. *The Political Quarterly*, 73, 25-39.
- Presentations and Discussion

**Cases: Turkey and Israel**

**Class 27 (03.19): Moderate Islamist Politics in Turkey**

- Demiralp, Seda. 2009. "The Rise of Islamic Capital and the Decline of Islamic Radicalism in Turkey." *Comparative Politics* 41(3): 315-335.
- Palmer p. 303-340 (Skim)

**Class 28 (03.21): The rise and rise of the Justice and Development Party in Turkey**

- Özbudun, Ergun. 2006. "From Political Islam to Conservative Democracy: The Case of the Justice and Development Party in Turkey." *South European Society and Politics* 11(3): 543.

**Class 29 (03.23): Israel**

- Schumpeter. 2010. "Beyond the start-up nation." *The Economist*  
<http://www.economist.com/node/17796932>

- Presentations and Discussion

**Class 30 (04.02): Israel**

- Palmer p.87-143 (Skim)

**Cases: Egypt and Tunisia**

**Class 31 (04.04): Egypt**

- Palmer p.44-85 (Skim)
- El-Ghobashy, Mona. 2005. "The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37(3): 373-395.

**Class 32 (04.06): The revolution of Egypt**

- Kanalley, Craig. 2011. "Egypt Revolution 2011: A Complete Guide To The Unrest." *Huffington Post*  
[http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/01/30/egypt-revolution-2011\\_n\\_816026.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/01/30/egypt-revolution-2011_n_816026.html)

- Presentations and Discussion

**Class 33 (04.09): Tunisia**

- Migdalovitz, Carol. 2009. "Tunisia: Current Issues" *CRS Report for Congress*. <http://www.dtic.mil/cgibin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA512803&Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf>

**Class 34 (04.11): The jasmine revolution of Tunisia**

- Koplow, Michael. 2011. "Why Tunisia's Revolution Is Islamist-Free". *Foreign Policy*  
[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/01/14/why\\_tunisias\\_revolution\\_is\\_islamist\\_free](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/01/14/why_tunisias_revolution_is_islamist_free)
- Walt M. Stephen. 2011. "Why the Tunisian revolution won't spread". *Foreign Policy*  
[http://walt.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2011/01/15/why\\_the\\_tunisian\\_revolution\\_wont\\_spread](http://walt.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2011/01/15/why_the_tunisian_revolution_wont_spread)
- Zuckerman, Ethan. 2011. "The first Twitter revolution?" *Foreign Policy*

[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/01/14/the\\_first\\_twitter\\_revolution?page=0,1](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/01/14/the_first_twitter_revolution?page=0,1)

**Class 35 (04.13): Tunisia's future**

- Presentations and Discussion

**Cases: Saudi Arabia, the ultimate petro-state**

**Class 36 (04.16): Saudi Arabia**

- Palmer p. 178-219 (Skim)

**Class 37 (04.18): Reform in Saudi Arabia?**

- Meijer, Roel. 2010. "Reform in Saudi Arabia: The Gender - Segregation Debate." *Middle East Policy* 17(4): 80-100.

**Class 38 (04.20): Revolution in Saudi Arabia?**

- Al-Rasheed, Madawi. 2011. "Yes, it could happen here." *Foreign Policy*  
[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/02/28/yes\\_it\\_could\\_happen\\_here](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/02/28/yes_it_could_happen_here)
- Obaid, Nawaf. 2011. "There will be no uprising in Saudi Arabia". *Foreign Policy*  
[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/03/10/there\\_will\\_be\\_no\\_uprising\\_in\\_saudi\\_arabia](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/03/10/there_will_be_no_uprising_in_saudi_arabia)
- Presentations and Discussion.

**Cases: Iran and Iraq**

**Class 39 (04.23): Iran**

- Palmer p. 261-301 (Skim)
- Persepolis

**Class 40 (04.25): Iraq**

- Palmer p. 221-259 (Skim)

**Class 41 (04.27): Iran and Iraq**

- Presentations and Discussion

**Wrapping Up:**

**Class 42 (04.30): Review, Q & A**

**Class 43 (05.02): Review, Q & A**

**Class 44 (05.04): Review, Q & A**

**University of Colorado Policies**

**Students with Disabilities**

According to the Americans with Disabilities Act, students with disabilities should ask for "reasonable and timely" accommodations. You are welcomed to do so in the first two weeks of the semester either during my office hours or after class. These accommodations can be extended if you are a student with a disability and are registered with the Office of Services to Disabled Students. Please refer to the web link [www.colorado.edu/disabilityservices](http://www.colorado.edu/disabilityservices) or contact 303-492-8671, Willard 322 for information. University regulations on this issue will be strictly observed. If you qualify for accommodations because of a disability, please submit to me a letter from Disability Services in a timely manner so that your needs may be addressed. Disability Services determines accommodations based on documented disabilities.

**Cheating and Plagiarism**

Cheating or plagiarizing will be treated according to the University regulations which will be strictly observed. All students of the University of Colorado at Boulder are responsible for knowing and adhering to the academic integrity policy of this institution. Violations of this policy may include: cheating, plagiarism, aid of academic dishonesty, fabrication, lying,

bribery, and threatening behavior. All incidents of academic misconduct shall be reported to the Honor Code Council ([honor@colorado.edu](mailto:honor@colorado.edu); 303-725-2273). Students who are found to be in violation of the academic integrity policy will be subject to both academic sanctions from the faculty member and nonacademic sanctions (including but not limited to university probation, suspension, or expulsion). Students are strongly advised to familiarize themselves with the University of Colorado's Code for Academic Honesty at [www.colorado.edu/academics/honorcode/](http://www.colorado.edu/academics/honorcode/).

### **Religious Observances**

Campus policy regarding religious observances requires that faculty make every effort to reasonably and fairly deal with all students who, because of religious obligations, have conflicts with scheduled exams, assignments or required attendance. Students in this situation can ask for "reasonable and timely" accommodations. Please review the syllabus closely and try to find out whether you have time conflicts with any of the assignments. I encourage you to do so in the first two weeks of the semester and inform me about your concerns either during my office hours or after class. Full details can be found at [http://www.colorado.edu/policies/fac\\_relig.html](http://www.colorado.edu/policies/fac_relig.html).

### **Classroom Behavior**

Students and faculty each have responsibility for maintaining an appropriate learning environment. Students who fail to adhere to such behavioral standards may be subject to discipline. Faculty have the professional responsibility to treat all students with understanding, dignity and respect, to guide classroom discussion and to set reasonable limits on the manner in which they and their students express opinions. Professional courtesy and sensitivity are especially important with respect to individuals and topics dealing with differences of race, culture, religion, politics, sexual orientation, gender, gender variance, and nationalities. Class rosters are provided to the instructor with the student's legal name. I will gladly honor your request to address you by an alternate name or gender pronoun. Please advise me of this preference early in the semester so that I may make appropriate changes to my records. See policies at <http://www.colorado.edu/policies/classbehavior.html> and at [http://www.colorado.edu/studentaffairs/judicialaffairs/code.html#student\\_code](http://www.colorado.edu/studentaffairs/judicialaffairs/code.html#student_code).

### **Discrimination and Harassment**

The University of Colorado at Boulder policy on Discrimination and Harassment, the University of Colorado policy on Sexual Harassment and the University of Colorado policy on Amorous Relationships apply to all students, staff and faculty. Any student, staff or faculty member who believes s/he has been the subject of discrimination or harassment based upon race, color, national origin, sex, age, disability, religion, sexual orientation, or veteran status should contact the Office of Discrimination and Harassment (ODH) at 303-492-2127 or the Office of Judicial Affairs at 303-492- 5550. Information about the ODH, the above referenced policies and the campus resources available to assist individuals regarding discrimination or harassment can be obtained at <http://www.colorado.edu/odh>.