

Bryn Mawr College
Department of Political Science
Fall 2023

POLS B283 Middle East Politics

Assist. Prof. Aytuğ Şaşmaz

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Course Information

Class Meetings: MW 2:40-4:00pm, Dalton Hall 119

Office Hours: M 4-6:00pm, Dalton Hall 100G

You can set up a meeting using Calendly at www.calendly.com/asasmaz/officehours

Course Description

This course offers an overview of the contemporary politics of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. The course brings together (1) empirical knowledge on domestic and transnational politics in different countries of the region with a (2) critical reading of recent empirical social and political science work around the big questions regarding politics in the region. Each module of the course revolves around a central question that has been keeping social and political scientists busy in the last decades: What triggers risky protest movements in authoritarian settings? Why has the MENA region remained authoritarian despite successive global waves of democratization? Under which conditions do transitions to democracies succeed? Do monarchies in the Middle East have an advantage in ensuring political stability? Is it impossible to ensure good governance and peace at the same time in ethnically divided societies? What are the reasons behind the economic underdevelopment of the MENA region? Students are invited to think about these “big questions” and taking MENA countries as their case studies, while at the same significantly enhancing their knowledge about the region.

In-Class Activities

Every week, we will come together for two 80-minute sessions in which various activities such as lecture, discussion and group work will be combined.

- Lectures will usually (but not exclusively) dominate the Monday sessions, in which I will introduce the guiding questions of the week, the main theoretical approaches and answers provided so far, and some of most important contextual information on the country or countries we will cover in that week. Students are invited to come to these sessions having (1) thought about the guiding questions of the week, (2) done the readings assigned specifically for that session, (3) skimmed the other readings and (4) learned about the country or countries of the week. We can have small discussions, polls, and other participatory activities as well as Q&As on Mondays.
- A critical discussion of the readings and other materials will usually dominate the Wednesday sessions. We will collectively go over the material first, and then ask the following questions: Do

the readings and other materials satisfactorily help us in better answering the questions we had asked in the beginning of the week? What is missing? What other new questions do they lead to? What could be the best ways to answer such questions? Students are expected to participate actively in these class discussions and other collective activities. This requires that all the readings are done in line with the instructions given on the Monday session **before the second session of the week** (unless otherwise announced).

All the readings are on the Moodle site of the course. Additional materials can be assigned if deemed necessary or upon request.

Evaluation

The class encourages an active, continuous, and reflective learning process. Throughout the semester, students should think about why they are curious about the Middle East politics, what this class teaches them, what else they would like to learn about the region and its politics, and what would be the best ways to do so. The activities for evaluation are designed to assist this learning process as well as to encourage students to enhance their contextual knowledge of the region and its countries.

- **Initial Reflection Paper (5%) and Final Assignment (30%)**
In the first session of the class, students will be asked which questions or topics interest them the most about the politics in the MENA region. In Week 2, they are expected to submit a one-page description of the topic(s) or question(s) that trigger their curiosity the most, which they expect to pursue throughout the semester. In Week 11 or 12, students will revisit their initial reflection papers and discuss their final assignment proposals with the professor. In final assignments, which will be submitted at the end of the Examinaton Period, students are expected to bring in a deep understanding of the general question that they proposed and a comprehensive and well-rounded answer to it based on the existing literature. Moreover, the final assignment should include a section in which the student discusses which questions in this topic or debate remain unanswered and what might be the best academic and/or non-academic ways to pursue them. While academic ways might include empirical or interpretative research, non-academic ways might include a documentary, a piece of investigative journalism, etc. The final assignment can be submitted in an academic essay format (~15 pages, double-spaced) or in more creative formats such as a podcast episode, a short documentary video, or a portfolio.
- **Country Reporting (10%)**
At the end of Week 2, each student will have selected a country in the region, of which they will be the “expert” throughout the semester. They will go deeper in knowledge of the history, politics and society of this country, and follow the events closely (given the language limitations). Country experts will be consulted if questions regarding their country come up during class. At the end of the semester, students will submit a country report (~4 pages, double-spaced) in which they briefly discuss the most important developments in their country throughout the semester and how they relate to the topics that we discuss in the classroom.
- **Mid-Term 1 (20%) and Mid-Term 2 (20%)**
Mid-terms aim to incentivize students to keep up with the topics and materials covered in the class. They will include a mix of short answer and essay questions. Before the mid-term exams, I will

distribute a list of concepts that might come up in the exam. These are take-home exams. For the second mid-term, students will have a choice to submit a paper instead of an exam.

- **Participation and Contributions to Class Discussions (15%)**

Engaging with the course materials rigorously is a very important part of this course. In each session, but especially on Wednesdays, we will go through the readings in a detailed manner to understand the question the material asks, the larger debate it is part of, how it describes the phenomenon it aims to explain and the methods it employs to explain it. We will then talk about what the piece teaches us, and what questions remain unresolved. Students should prepare for Wednesday sessions with these questions in mind.

Course Policies

Access Services & Accommodations

Bryn Mawr College is committed to providing equal access to students with a documented disability. Students needing academic accommodations for a disability must first register with Access Services. Students can call 610-526-7516 to make an appointment with the Director of Access Services, Deborah Alder, or email her at dalder@brynmawr.edu to begin this confidential process. Once registered, students should schedule an appointment with the professor as early in the semester as possible to share the verification form and make appropriate arrangements. Please note that accommodations are not retroactive and require advance notice to implement. More information can be obtained at the Access Services website (<http://www.brynmawr.edu/access-services/>).

Attendance & Extensions

I encourage you, to the best of your ability, not to miss any session. But we live in a (post-) pandemic world, and we all know that unexpected things do happen. Therefore, each student is allowed to miss two sessions without any excuse. Beyond these two absences, each missed session will negatively affect your participation grade. If you have, in addition to these excused absences, a reason that can be **documented** to miss class a session, please share that reason and document with me. I will do my best to propose a way of making up what you have missed.

Assignments submitted late will receive partial credit, with each day lowering the grade by 5 percentage points. I understand sometimes you may for various reasons need more time for submitting your assignments. If you foresee any conflicts (such as religious holidays), come and see me or send an email as soon as possible to discuss options. In the event of illness or emergency, please also try to contact me as soon as possible.

Laptop and Phone Use

Laptops are permitted in class. Keep in mind that laptops can be a useful learning tool but also a distraction for you and those around you. I ask that you silence your cell phone, disable your email notifications, and close unrelated browser windows so you can focus on the class.

Please try to keep phones out of sight during class time. If you absolutely must use your phone, please step outside of class.

Academic Integrity

I am committed to adhering to the standards regarding academic honesty contained in the Bryn Mawr Honor Code. All work submitted in this course for academic credit must be student's own work. Material in papers drawn from other materials must be cited and, if a direct quote, demarked by quotation marks. If you have any doubts about what constitutes a violation of academic integrity, please ask.

Using Generative AI

In this course, you can use generative AI models (ChatGPT, Elicit, GitHub Copilot, etc.) to generate ideas, brainstorm, edit the language you use in assignments, etc. However, these models still generate content that can be inaccurate, incomplete, biased and offensive. You will be responsible for any inaccurate, biased, offensive, or otherwise unethical content you submit regardless of whether it originally comes from you or a generative AI model. If you use content from a generative AI model, its contribution must be acknowledged in the work you turn in. If you use AI at any point in the writing process for editing, translating, brainstorming, etc. purposes, include a footnote at the beginning of the paper describing in detail how you used it.

Written work that you submit for this course may not use any verbatim language (three or more words) from any source, including AI or a translator, without proper attribution via quotation marks and an in-text citation.

Gender Identities and Expressions

I affirm people of all gender expressions and gender identities. If you prefer to be called a different name than what is indicated on the class roster, please let me know. Please feel free to correct me on your preferred gender pronoun. I use the "he" set of pronouns.

Readings & Sensitive Material

This course includes topics, readings, and films that can be sensitive for some participants. If you find that a material is particularly challenging for your mental health or emotional stability, I encourage you to skip it. You can always talk to me or to your classmates (during or outside of our sessions) why you find this material challenging, if you so prefer. We will also collectively discuss and set some community guidelines on how to discuss sensitive topics in this class.

I should also indicate I do not necessarily endorse descriptions or arguments presented in the materials in this syllabus. Rather than being ultimate sources of knowledge, these materials are selected to create a productive and deep discussion.

Resources

Your professor

You are welcome to meet with me during my office hours (listed above), or at an alternative time if necessary. The best way to contact me outside of class is via email at asasmaz@brynmawr.edu. Please note that I check my email approx. three times a day between the hours of 9:00am and 6:00pm, Monday through Friday. If you send me a message during evenings or weekends, I'll respond sometime after 9:00am on the following weekday.

Your classmates

Your classmates are an important, if not the most important, “resource” for your learning process. During class sessions, pay utmost attention to the comments and questions of your classmates and try to learn from them as much as possible. Outside of the classroom, as well, I encourage you to form study groups, discuss the course materials with your classmates, exchange summaries and study notes, etc. As long as the submitted work is wholly and originally produced by yourself, discussing the materials and potential answers to questions or exchanging ideas would not be a violation of the Honor Code.

Moodle

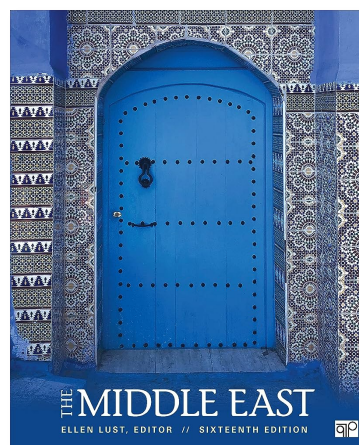
On our course Moodle site, you can find electronic copies of required course readings, a copy of the syllabus, and other useful information.

Optional textbook

All the required reading will be available on Moodle. But I highly recommend students to buy the following textbook, especially to those who think that they might need background information on issues and countries in the region.

Ellen Lust (editor). *The Middle East* (16th edition). CQ Press, 2023.

I requested the Library to have a print copy of this book in their reserves.



Academic support

I encourage you to reach out to the Academic Support and Learning Resources Specialist to explore effective learning, studying, test-taking, note-taking and time and stress management strategies that are essential to success in this course and college life. Bryn Mawr students can schedule a meeting with academic coaches Rachel Heiser or Amanda Brown. For more information, please see this site:

<https://www.brynmawr.edu/inside/offices-services/academic-support>

Canaday Library

Kate Blinn, Social Sciences and Data Librarian, can help with questions about research and technology; you can reach her at kblinn@brynmawr.edu.

Writing Center

The Writing Center offers free appointments and experienced peer tutors who are there to help you at any stage of the writing process. The Writing Center is located on the first floor of Canaday Library.

You can get more information at <https://www.brynmawr.edu/inside/offices-services/writing-center>

Course Schedule & Materials

Week 1 (September 6): Introductions

In this session, we will go through the syllabus together and we will discuss why we are curious about the Middle East. Come to class having skimmed the following readings, with the following question: Is the “Middle East” a geographic or political concept?

- Ian R. Manners, Barbara McKean Parmenter and Ryan King. “A Geographic Preface.” In *Understanding the Contemporary Middle East* (5th Edition), edited by Jillian Schwedler. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2020.
- **(Skim)** Max Fisher. “40 Maps that Explain the Middle East.” Vox.com. March 26, 2015. <https://www.vox.com/a/maps-explain-the-middle-east>
- **(Skim)** Nick Danforth. “15 Maps that Don’t Explain the Middle East at All.” TheAtlantic.com. July 31, 2014. <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/07/15-maps-that-dont-explain-the-middle-east-at-all/375350/>.

Module 1: Arab uprisings

Week 2 (September 11-13): What happened in the Arab uprisings?

Which social, political and economic factors and processes led to Arab uprisings in 2010 and 2011? How should we understand large-scale protest movements and street mobilizations in high-risk authoritarian settings? What was the role of social media in the Arab uprisings?

- **(Read before Monday session)** Melani Cammett and Ishac Diwan. “Epilogue: A Political Economy of the Arab Uprisings.” In *A Political Economy of the Middle East*. Third ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2013, pp. 407-437.
- David Patel, Valerie Bunce, and Sharon Wolchik. “Diffusion and Demonstration.” In *The Arab Uprisings Explained: New Contentious Politics in the Middle East*, edited by Marc Lynch. New York: Columbia University Press, 2014, pp. 57-74.
- Timur Kuran. “Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989.” *World Politics* 44, no. 1 (1991).
- Adria Lawrence. “Repression and Activism among the Arab Spring’s First Movers: Morocco’s (Almost) Revolutionaries.” *British Journal of Political Science* 47, no. 3 (2016): 699-718.
- Wendy Pearlman. “Emotions and the Microfoundations of the Arab Uprisings.” *Perspectives on Politics* 11, no. 2 (2013): 387-409.
- Killian Clarke and Korhan Kocak. “Launching Revolution: Social Media and the Egyptian Uprising’s First Movers.” *British Journal of Political Science* 50 (2020): 1025-1045. -379.

Optional film: *The Square* (El-Midan, Jehane Noujaim, 2013).

https://tripod.brynmawr.edu/permalink/01TRI_INST/1ijd0uu/alma991019052939704921.

⇒ **Deadline for the Initial Reflection Paper: Friday, September 15, 6pm.**

Module 2: How did we get here?

A political-economic history of the Middle East

Week 3 (September 18-20): A political history of the Middle East and North Africa until European colonialism

In what ways did geography, Islam, the Ottoman rule and European colonialism affect political development in the Middle East and North Africa region? In what ways were the Ottoman and European colonialisms different?

- **(Read before Monday session)** Michael Gasper. “The Making of the Modern Middle East.” In *The Middle East* (16th Edition), edited by Ellen Lust. CQ Press, 2023 (read until “States, Nations and Debates about the Way Forward”)
- Lisa Blaydes. “State-Building in the Middle East.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 20 (2017): 487-504.
- Timur Kuran. “Why the Middle East is Economically Underdeveloped: Historical Mechanisms of Institutional Stagnation.” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18 (2004): 71-90.
- Timothy Mitchell. *Colonising Egypt*. University of California Press, 1991. Chapter 1 (“Egypt at the Exhibition”).

Week 4 (September 25-27): Liberation movements and post-independence trajectories

How did the national liberation movements transform the Middle Eastern state? What were the state-building strategies the elites adopted in the post-independence era? How does the state capacity of the Middle Eastern state compare to states to other world regions?

- **(Read before Monday session)** Michael Gasper. “The Making of the Modern Middle East.” In *The Middle East* (16th Edition), edited by Ellen Lust. CQ Press, 2023 (read from “States, Nations and Debates about the Way Forward” until the end)
- **(Read before Monday session)** Ellen Lust. “States and Institutions” In *The Middle East* (16th Edition), edited by Ellen Lust. CQ Press, 2023 (only read “The State” section)
- Mounira Charrad. “Central and Local Patrimonialism: State-Building in Kin-Based Societies.” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 636 (2011): 49-68.
- Raymond A. Hinnebusch. “The rise and decline of the populist social contract in the Arab world.” *World Development* 129 (2020).
- Anderson, Lisa. 1987. “The State in the Middle East and North Africa,” *Comparative Politics*. 20(1): 1-18.

Optional film: *The Battle of Algiers* (Gillo Pontecorvo, 1966). Available at https://tripod.brynmawr.edu/permalink/01TRI_INST/1ijd0uu/alma991019004685804921.

Week 5 (October 2-4): Oil economies and MENA monarchies

How do oil and gas affect domestic and transnational politics of MENA countries? Do monarchies have an advantage in ensuring political stability, and if so, why? What are the challenges faced by monarchies in the future?

- **(Read before Monday session)** Michael Ross. *The Oil Curse: How Petroleum Wealth Shapes the Development of Nations*. Princeton University Press, 2012. Chapters 2 and 3.
- Michael Herb. *All in the Family*. 1999. Chapters 1 (p. 1-10) and Chapter 2 (all).
- Victor Menaldo. "The Middle East and North Africa's Resilient Monarchs." In *Journal of Politics* 74, no. 3 (2012): 707-722.
- Sean Yom and Gregory Gause. "Resilient Royals: How Arab monarchies hang on." *Journal of Democracy* 23, no. 4 (2012): 74-88.
- Gregory Gause. "Saudi Regime Stability and Challenges." In *Salman's Legacy: The Dilemmas of a New Era in Saudi Arabia*, edited by Madawi Al-Rasheed. Oxford University Press, 2018.

Further reading:

- Adam Hanieh. *Money, markets, and monarchies: the Gulf Cooperation Council and the political economy of the contemporary Middle East*. Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Calvert W. Jones. "Seeing Like an Autocrat: Liberal Social Engineering in an Illiberal State." *Perspectives on Politics* 13 (2015).

Module 3: Prolonged and enduring authoritarianism

Week 6 (October 9-11): Authoritarianism in the MENA region

Is there a democracy gap in the MENA region? Which factors contribute to the persistence of authoritarianism? Is there anything that the democratic countries, the West or international organizations can do to promote democracy in the region?

- **(Read before Monday session)** Eva Bellin. "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective." *Comparative Politics* 36, no. 2 (2004): 139-157.
- Alfred Stepan and Graeme Robertson. "An 'Arab' more than a 'Muslim' democracy gap." *Journal of Democracy* 14, no. 3 (2003): 30-44.
- Lisa Wedeen. *Ambiguities of Domination*. University of Chicago Press, 2015. Read Chapter 1 and Chapter 2.
- Sean Yom and Mohammad Al Momani. "The International Dimensions of Authoritarian Regime Stability: Jordan in the Post-Cold War Era." *Arab Studies Quarterly* (2008).
- Vicki Langohr. "Too Much Civil Society, Too Little Politics: The Case of Egypt and the Arab Liberalizers." *Comparative Politics* (2004).

Optional film: *The Yacoubian Building* (*Imārat Ya'qūbīān*, Marwan Hamed, 2006). Available on YouTube.

⇒ **Deadline for Mid-Term 1: Friday, October 13, 6pm.**

Week 7 (October 23-25): Political regime trajectories in Egypt and Tunisia after the Arab uprisings

What happened to the political regimes after the collapse of authoritarian rulers and ruling coalitions in the Arab uprisings, most notably in Tunisia and Egypt? Were these regimes in transition to democracy or were they just going through an authoritarian upgrading? Why did no country transition to a consolidated democracy despite the shock Arab uprisings created for repressive authoritarian regimes? What does Tunisia's recent backsliding to authoritarianism tell us about the prospects of democracy in the region? How does the Western democracy promotion affect these outcomes?

- **(Read before Monday session)** Eva Bellin. "The Puzzle of Democratic Divergence in the Arab World: Theory Confronts Experience in Egypt and Tunisia." *Political Science Quarterly* 133, no. 3 (2018): 435-474.
- Nate Grubman and Aytuğ Şaşmaz. "The Collapse of Tunisia's Party System and the Rise of Kais Saied." MERIP Online (2021).
- Bruce Rutherford. "Egypt's New Authoritarianism Under Sisi." *Middle East Journal* 72, no. 2 (2018): 185-208.
- Melani Cammett, Ishac Diwan, and Irina Vartanova. "Insecurity and political values in the Arab world." *Democratization* 27, no. 5 (2020): 699-716.
- Erin Snider. *Marketing Democracy: The Political Economy of Democracy Aid in the Middle East*. Cambridge University Press, 2022. Read Ch. 6: The Politics of Democracy Aid after the Arab Uprisings.

Further reading:

- Sarah Sunn Bush. *The Taming of Democracy Assistance: Why Democracy Promotion Does Not Confront Dictators*. Cambridge University Press, 2015. Skim Chapter 1 and Read Chapter 8.
- Elizabeth Nugent. "The Psychology of Repression and Polarization." *World Politics* 72, no. 2 (2020): 291-334.

Optional film: *Beauty and the Dogs (Alā kaff 'ifrīt*, Kaouther Ben Hania, 2017). Available at https://tripod.brynmawr.edu/permalink/01TRI_INST/1ijd0uu/alma991019054954704921.

Module 4: Conflict in the name of nation, religion, sect

Week 8 (October 30-November 1): Israeli-Palestinian conflict and its consequences

Why is the Israeli-Palestinian conflict one of the most protracted conflicts in the world? How did the conflict affect identities and politics in the wider Middle East and North Africa region?

- **(Read before Monday session)** Mark Tessler. “The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict.” In *The Middle East* (16th edition), edited by Ellen Lust. CQ Press, 2023.
- **(Skim this reading to consolidate the knowledge you gained from Tessler and from the lecture).** Mehran Kamrawa. “The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict.” In *The Modern Middle East: A Political History since the First World War*. University of California Press, 2013.
- Hiba Hussein and Yossi Bellin. “An Israeli-Palestinian Confederation Is the Best Path to Peace.” *Foreign Policy*, May 23, 2022. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/05/23/israeli-palestinian-confederation-peace/>.
- Amit Goldenberg, Smadar Cohen-Chen, J. Parker Goyer and Eran Halperin. “Testing the impact and durability of a group malleability intervention in the context of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict.” *PNAS* (2018).
- Dana El Kurd. “Gateway to Dissent: the role of pro-Palestine activism in opposition to authoritarianism.” *Democratization* (2022).

Optional film: *Waltz with Bashir* (*Vals Im Bashir*, Ari Folman, 2008).

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Week 9 (November 6-8): Political Islam

How and why did Islamism revive in the 1970s as a political ideology across the region? Does Islamism have an absolute electoral and mobilizational advantage in Muslim-majority societies? Can Islamists become “moderates”?

- **(Read before Monday session)** Melani Cammett and Pauline Jones Luong. “Is There an Islamist Political Advantage?” *Annual Review of Political Science* 17.
- Steven Brooke and Neil Ketchley. “Social and Institutional Origins of Political Islam.” *American Political Science Review* 112 (2018): 376-394.
- Tarek Masoud. *Counting Islam: Religion, Class and Elections in Egypt*. Cambridge University Press, 2014. Read Chapter 6 (“Islam’s Organizational Advantage? Or, Why Voters Think Islamists are Leftists”).
- Sebnem Gumuscu. *Democracy or Authoritarianism: Islamist Governments in Turkey, Egypt, and Tunisia*. Cambridge University Press, 2023. (Read Chapter 1: Modernization, Inclusion and Power).
- Sharan Grewal. “From Islamists to Muslim Democrats: The Case of Tunisia’s Ennahda.” *American Political Science Review* 114, no. 2 (2020).

Optional film: *Persepolis* (Marjane Satrapi & Vincent Paronnaud, 2007).

https://tripod.brynmawr.edu/permalink/01TRI_INST/1ijd0uu/alma991019070304404921.

Week 10 (November 13-15): Syrian war and its global consequences

How did the Syrian Civil War start and how did it take its current version? What are the consequences of the conflict for Syria, for the region and for the globe? How did the countries around Syria and in the West handle the large-scale refugee movement?

- **(Read before Monday session)** Paulo Gabriel Hilu Pinto. “The Shattered Nation: The Sectarianization of the Syrian Conflict.” In *Sectarianization: Mapping the New Politics of the Middle East*, edited by Nader Hashemi and Danny Postel. Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Anand Gopal. “The Island of Democracy.” In *The New Yorker*, Dec. 10, 2018, pp. 36-51.
- Wendy Pearlman. “Host state policy, socio-economic stratification, and Syrian refugees in Germany and Turkey.” *Comparative Politics* 52, no. 2 (2020), pp. 241-272.
- Hanspeter Kriesi, Argyrios Altiparmakis, Abel Bojar, and Ioana-Elena Oana. “Debordering and rebordering in the refugee crisis: a case of ‘defensive integration’.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 28, no. 3 (2021): 331-349.

Optional film: *Simple as Water* (Megan Mylan, 2021).

https://tripod.brynmawr.edu/permalink/01TRI_INST/1ijd0uu/alma991019309961404921.

Week 11 and Week 12 (November 20-22 and November 27-29): Sectarianism and current crises: Iraq and Lebanon

Was sectarian conflict always a reality of Middle East politics? What are the ways in which political struggles turn into sectarian conflicts? Is there a way out of sectarian(ized) conflict?

- **(Read before Monday session)** Paul Dixon. "Beyond Sectarianism in the Middle East?" In *Beyond Sunni and Shia: The Roots of Sectarianism in a Changing Middle East*, edited by Frederic Wehrey. Oxford University Press, 2018.
- **(Read before Monday session)** Daniel Byman. "Sectarianism Afflicts the New Middle East." *Survival* 56 (2014): 79-100.
- Bassel F. Salloukh. "The Architecture of Sectarianization in Lebanon." In *Sectarianization: Mapping the New Politics of the Middle East*, edited by Nader Hashemi and Danny Postel. Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Fanar Haddad. "Shia-centric State-building in Post-2003 Iraq." In *Beyond Sunni and Shia: The Roots of Sectarianism in a Changing Middle East*, edited by Frederic Wehrey. Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Benjamin Reilly. "Institutional Designs for Diverse Democracies: Consociationalism, Centripetalism and Communalism Compared." *European Political Science* (2011).
- Melani Cammett, Aytug Sasmaz, Uma Ilavarasan and Sami Atallah. "The Microfoundations of Power-Sharing: Citizen Support for and Opposition to Political Sectarianism in Lebanon." Working paper.

Optional films: *West Beirut (Beyrouth Al Gharbiyya*, Zied Doueiri, 1998). No library streaming is available, but the library has a DVD on reserve. Checks out from the Canaday Circulation Desk for 3 hours, you can view in the library, or borrow a portable DVD player. Also available on Netflix and Apple TV.

Capernaum (Nadia Labaki, 2018).

https://tripod.brynmawr.edu/permalink/01TRI_INST/1ijd0uu/alma991019210477804921.

⇒ **Deadline for Meeting with Professor for the Final Project: Thursday, November 30.**

⇒ **Deadline for Mid-Term 2: Friday, December 1, 6pm.**

Module 5: Marginalized groups and the future of the Middle East

Week 13.1 (December 4): Youth Politics (and Radicalization?)

How should one describe the current generation(s) of youth in the Middle East and North Africa region? Are they revolutionary democrats or radicals in waiting? What kind of a theoretical perspective would be most useful to understand the youth and the politics of youth in the region?

- London Middle East Institute. *The Middle East in London* Special Issue: Youth Precarity in MENA. 2017. (Read pieces by Paciello and Pioppi; Catusse and Destremau; Herrera; Pendersen and Tiltne; De Bel-Air; Harb; and Sika)
- Review the findings from the FES MENA Youth Study, 2016 and 2021 waves at <https://mena.fes.de/topics/fes-mena-youth-study>.
- George Packer. "Exporting Jihad." *The New Yorker*. 2016 (March 28 issue).
- Laurence Thieux. "Algerian youth and the political struggle for dignity: evolution, trends, and new forms of mobilization." *The Journal of North African Studies* 26 (2021): 294-310.

Optional film: *Hedi (Inhebek Hedi)*, Mohammed Ben Attia, 2016). Link to be posted later.

Week 13.2 (December 6): Women's Rights and Political Participation

What is the situation of gender equality in the MENA region, especially compared to other world regions? What are the factors that historically lead to gender inequality? Are electoral quotas successful in enhancing gender equality?

- Michael Ross. "Oil, Islam, and Women." *American Political Science Review* 102 (2008): 107-23.
- Mounira Charrad. *States and women's rights: The making of postcolonial Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco*. University of California Press, 2001. Read "Introduction." To better understand the argument and compare it to Ross, you can also read Chapter 8 (Algeria) and Chapter 9 (Tunisia). These are optional.
- Alexandra Blackman, Julia Clarke and Aytug Sasmaz. "What Men Want: Politicians' Strategic Engagement with Gender Quotas." Working paper.
- Azadeh Moaveni. "Letter from Iran: Youth Movement." *The New Yorker* (August 14, 2023).

Optional reading: Emma Jones. "The women revolutionising Middle-Eastern film." BBC.com, 10 December 2019. Available [here](#).

Optional film: *Wadjda* (Haifaa al-Mansour, 2012).

https://tripod.brynmawr.edu/permalink/01TRI_INST/1ijd0uu/alma991019068076604921.

Week 14 (December 11-13): What next for (the study of) the Middle East?

What should we expect for the future of the Middle East and North Africa region? To what extent are there hopes for democracy, development, stability (and other normative commitments one might have) in the region? How should one further study the politics in and of the region?

- **(Read before Monday session)** Middle East Institute. *Thinking MENA Futures: The Next Five Years and Beyond*. 2021. Read: Harrison; Diwan; Fawaz; Bonatto; Abo-Hilal; and Abi-Rafeh.
- Hedi Larbi. *Rewriting the Arab Social Contract: Toward Inclusive Development and Politics in the Arab World*. Report by Belfer Center, Harvard Kennedy School, 2016. Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.
- Zachary Lockman. *Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism*. Cambridge University Press, 2009. Chapter 6.

⇒ **Deadline for Country Report: Thursday, December 14, 5pm.**

⇒ **Deadline for the Final Project: Friday, December 22, 12:30pm.**