#### **POLISCI 4511G/200**

#### SPECIAL TOPICS: MIDDLE EAST POLITICS

Winter Term 2025

Time: Tuesdays from 3:30 to 5:30.

Instructor: Dr. Samar El-Masri

Office Hours: By appointment

Email: selmasr2@uwo.ca

### **I-Course Description**

Most of the countries in the Middle East can be described as authoritarian repressive regimes. But why is this the case? Why is it that despite the activism that we saw in many countries in the region, including the 2011 Arab Spring (series of popular uprisings that were able to topple various regimes), authoritarian practices return? Are there specific factors that make these regimes so resistant to change? This course tries to answer these questions by focusing on some of these factors including patronage, rentier economies, state feminism, and the role of the army as a repressive and economic tool. The course will also stress the importance of judicial independence in maintaining democratic governance. This year, we will focus on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict as well, discussing how it started, how it progressed and how it impacted the region.

#### **II-Required Texts**

There is no textbook for this course. Instead, the reading list will involve academic articles, book chapters, and technical reports that you can find online, or in the library. I will also provide links to the readings on this course OWL's page ("Course Readings"). You are responsible for accessing them yourself.

#### **III-Grade Distribution**

Participation	20%
Presentation	20%
Essay (due April 1)	40%
Op Ed. (due date January 28)	20%

#### **IV-Explaining the Components of the Course:**

### 1-Participation (20%)

This assessment will be based on regular contributions to the class discussion, reflecting some grasp of the relevant materials and some analytical abilities in applying those materials in the discussion. Although the overall mark will factor in your attendance, you will be mainly evaluated on your in-class discussion and participation. Students should consult the handout "Student Participation" below, for criteria. Also, students are encouraged to email me written responses to questions they think they didn't have adequate time to discuss in class. These responses will be then corrected and added to your participation mark.

#### 2-Presentation (20%)

In the first class, students will be asked to pick a topic, and the specific question that they are interested in (a list will be provided and posted on OWL). They should base their presentation on the course readings (including those that are recommended for that week if available). They will have to supply a PowerPoint Presentation which will be shown in class (and posted on OWL with the student's permission). Each presentation should NOT exceed 8-10 minutes. Students are expected to provide at least ONE discussion question after their presentation.

#### 3-Op Ed (due January 28).

This semester, students will be asked to write an opinion piece.

- Subject: To what extent can outside actors be blamed for the outbreak of the Palestinian Israeli Conflict?
- How to think about this assignment:
  - 1. Start by finishing the readings of the first three weeks of this semester.
  - 2. Revise your class notes as we discuss how the Middle East was created by the colonial powers and cover the debate about whether the Middle East, specifically Palestine, and its conflicts would have been different if these borders were drawn differently then.
  - 3. Think about the policies enacted by the British, and the response to that by the Arab and the Jewish population.
  - 4. Come up with a thesis statement that clearly states your position and its justification. If you think that this conflict would have happened anyway, explain your reasoning. And if you think that outside actors are to blame, explain why.
- Style: Op-eds must be 3 pages long, typed double-spaced, not counting bibliography. The paper must be formatted in Times New Roman 12pt font with 2.54 cm margins all around. The paper should be referenced. Please use Hyperlinks for this assignment. Papers that do not meet these basic criteria will be penalized.
- Op-ed pieces will be marked for research, organization, and writing style (see rubric at the end of this document)

- How to submit it? This assignment must be submitted to Turnitin.com, using the "Assignments" link on OWL.
- Since the timeframe submission of the Op-ed is very flexible and since you are able to submit this assignment at any time between January 7 and 28, an instructor may deny academic consideration in this case. A late penalty of 10% per day will be applied to papers submitted at any point after that.

#### 4- Essay

Essay (40 %) due date is April 1. You will be required to write one essay of 2250-2500 words (excluding footnotes and bibliography), presented as typed, double-spaced pages, using 12-point Times New Roman font with one-inch margins. Students may choose any topic from the section below entitled "COURSE OUTLINE BY TOPIC." They can also choose to write about an issue that we did not cover in class but I need to approve it first. Students must submit their essay to OWL (under "Assignments").

You need to know few things about this component of the course:

<u>a-Late Penalty:</u> The completed paper must be submitted April 1. **A late penalty of 10% per day** will be applied to papers submitted at any point after that date.

<u>b-Turnitin:</u> Essays must be submitted to Turnitin.com, using the link on OWL. All required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to the commercial plagiarism detection software under license to the University for the detection of plagiarism. All papers submitted for such checking will be included as source documents in the reference database for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of papers subsequently submitted to the system. Use of the service is subject to the licensing agreement, currently between The University of Western Ontario and Turnitin.com ( http://www.turnitin.com ).

<u>c-Citation Style:</u> Citations **must** be formatted using <u>Chicago-style footnotes</u>, **not in-text citations**. Students are advised to consult a writer's handbook when composing their essays in order to see how to format things like bibliography and footnotes. One excellent handbook is *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations* by Kate L. Turabian. A useful link may be found at the following url: <a href="http://www.wisc.edu/writing/Handbook/DocChicago.html">http://www.wisc.edu/writing/Handbook/DocChicago.html</a>

<u>d-Spelling and Grammatical Errors:</u> Grammatical, spelling, and other errors are not acceptable. You are responsible for your own work, and, as such, you must be careful to proofread your work before turning it in.

<u>e-Bibliography:</u> You must attach a Bibliography to your essay. Your bibliography must include a minimum of four academic sources (consult a librarian for clarification on what counts as an academic source (e.g., newspapers, magazines, and encyclopedias do not count). **Failure to include at least five academic sources will result in a grade of "F".** The highest grades in this course typically go to students that consult a large number of high-quality source materials. Consulting more than six sources is highly recommended.

<u>f-Academic Dishonesty</u>: Many different types of actions may be considered academically dishonest. These might include, although not exhaustively, the following: cheating, submission of work not authored by you, double submission, fabrication, plagiarism. Scholastic offences are taken seriously, and students are directed to read the appropriate policy, specifically, the definition of what constitutes a Scholastic Offence at

<u>www.uwo.ca/univsec/pdf/academic\_policies/appeals/scholastic\_discipline\_undergrad.pdf</u>. You are advised to familiarize yourself with the guidelines set out in the Academic Handbook, Rights and Responsibilities, Scholastic Discipline - Undergrad.

Students are also advised to utilize the Library's tools on plagiarism:

http://www.lib.uwo.ca/tutorials/plagiarism/index.html

g-Other Resources: There are many resources at Western designed to assist you in your learning. You are strongly advised to utilize these services. The Student Development Centre offers many services, including Effective Writing Programs and Learning Skills Services. The Student Development Centre is located in UCC Suite 210; they can be reached by telephone at (519)661-2147, by email at *exams@sdc.uwo.ca*, or on the web at http://www.sdc.uwo.ca/. You should also become familiar with the services offered by the University Library System. The D.B. Weldon Library may be contacted by telephone at (519)661-3162 or by email at *dbwref@lib.uwo.ca*, or on the web at http://www.lib.uwo.ca/weldon/#.

h-Non-medical and medical accommodation: Western University requires documentation from the medical community for students who require academic accommodation due to medical illness—even accommodation for medical illness of work worth less than 10% of the total course grade. Students are required to have their physician or health care provider fill out the Student Medical Certificate. Medical certificates will only be considered for students seriously affected by illness, who cannot reasonably be expected to meet his/her academic responsibilities. Medical certificates may NOT be issued for minor illness like colds, non-acute vomiting or diarrhea, menstrual cramps, insomnia, or for past illnesses.

#### V-ACCOMMODATION AND ACCESSIBILITY

<u>Any requested accommodation should be approved by academic counseling</u>. For further information, please see the Policy on Accommodation for Medical Illness at https://studentservices.uwo.ca/secure/index.cfm.

#### 1-Religious Accommodation

When a course requirement conflicts with a religious holiday that requires an absence from the University or prohibits certain activities, students should request accommodation for their absence in writing at least two weeks prior to the holiday to the course instructor and/or the Academic Counselling office of their Faculty of Registration. Please consult University's list of recognized religious holidays (updated annually) at

https://multiculturalcalendar.com/ecal/index.php?s=c-univwo.

#### 2-Accommodation Policies

Students with disabilities are encouraged to contact Accessible Education, which provides recommendations for accommodation based on medical documentation or psychological and cognitive testing. The policy on Academic Accommodation for Students with Disabilities can be found at:

https://www.uwo.ca/univsec/pdf/academic\_policies/appeals/Academic Accommodation\_disabilities.pdf.

#### **3- Support Services**

Please visit the Social Science Academic Counselling webpage for information on adding/dropping courses, academic considerations for absences, appeals, exam conflicts, and many other academic related matters: Academic Counselling - Western University (uwo.ca)

Students who are in emotional/mental distress should refer to Mental Health@Western (https://uwo.ca/health/) for a complete list of options about how to obtain help.

Western is committed to reducing incidents of gender-based and sexual violence and providing compassionate support to anyone who has gone through these traumatic events. If you have experienced sexual or gender-based violence (either recently or in the past), you will find information about support services for survivors, including emergency contacts at

https://www.uwo.ca/health/student\_support/survivor\_support/get-help.html.

To connect with a case manager or set up an appointment, please contact support@uwo.ca.

If you have any questions about accommodation, please contact:

http://academicsupport.uwo.ca/accessible\_education/index.html.

#### VI-IMPORTANT AND USEFUL INFORMATION:

- 1- Important Notice re: Prerequisites/Antirequisites: Unless you have either the requisites for this course or written special permission from your Dean to enroll in it, you may be removed from this course and it will be deleted from your record. This decision may not be appealed. You will receive no adjustment to your fees in the event that you are dropped from a course for failing to have the necessary prerequisites. (Office of the Dean, Faculty of Social Science)
- **2-Completion of All Requirements:** According to the Dean's office, Students who fail to complete all evaluation components of the course, without supporting medical documentation or justifiable and documented extenuating circumstances will be disqualified from appealing the course's final grade.

**3-Students with Disabilities**: Any student with a disability is advised to contact the Coordinator for Services for Students with Disabilities in order to ensure that the appropriate arrangements are made to accommodate that student. The Centre for Student Development is located in UCC Suite 210; they can be reached by telephone at (519)661-2147, by email at *ssc@sdc.uwo.ca*, or on the web at <a href="http://www.sdc.uwo.ca/ssd/">http://www.sdc.uwo.ca/ssd/</a>

**4-Mental/Emotional Distress**: Students who are in emotional/mental distress should refer to Mental Health@Western http://www.uwo.ca/uwocom/mentalhealth/ for a complete list of options about how to obtain help.

#### **VII-COURSE OUTLINE BY TOPIC:**

PART ONE: THE PALESTINIAN ISRAELI CONFLICT

January 7 Colonial legacy: How the Middle East was carved; How the seeds of the Arab/Israeli conflict were planted.

#### Required readings:

- William L. Cleveland and Martin Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 5th edition (USA: Westview Press, 2004), chapter 9.
- See this documentary: "Promises and betrayals—Middle East" History Channel Documentary Aug 5 2013 (published 2014); available from <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JW2sm0iR0E8">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JW2sm0iR0E8</a>

January 14: The path to 1948: One party's triumph is another's party's "Nakbah"

#### Required readings:

- William L. Cleveland and Martin Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 5th edition (USA: Westview Press, 2004), pages 159-161; Chapter 13.
- Pressman, Jeremy. 2020. "History in Conflict: Israeli-Palestinian Speeches at the United Nations, 1998-2016." *Mediterranean Politics (Frank Cass & Co.)* 25 (4): 476–98.
- See the timeline of the peace process: <u>A timeline of Israel-Palestine peace negotiations</u> Vox

January 21: The UN and the question of Palestinian: From the Plan of Partition to the Israeli-Hamas War

#### Required Readings:

- Phyllis Bennis, "What has been the Role of the UN in the Israel-Palestine Struggle by Phyllis
  Bennis" Trans Arab research Institute (January 2001); What Has Been the Role of the UN in the
  Israel-Palestine Struggle by Phyllis Bennis
- "The United Nations and the Question of Palestine" *Department of Public Information* (1 Oct, 1994); 3B58E8D0ADF62B5F852561230077C62D.pdf
- Note: There will be additional required readings for this week, please visit OWL for an update.

# PART II: SOME FACTORS THAT PERPETUATE AUTHORITARIANISM IN THE REGION

#### January 28: Authoritarianism and State Feminism (Egypt/Tunisia) Op-ed due!

#### Required Readings:

- El-Masri, Samar (2015) "Tunisian Women at a Crossroads: Cooptation or Autonomy?" Middle East Policy 22 (2); 125-144.
- Nermin Allam (2019) "Smoke and Mirrors: State-Sponsored Feminism in Post-Uprising Egypt" *Social Research* 86 (1); 365-386.

#### Recommended Reading:

• Dickovick et al., *Comparative Politics*, Chapters 7

# February 04 The Role of Security Forces/Military (Syria/Egypt)

# Required Readings:

- Droz-Vincent, Philippe « The Syrian Military and the 2011 Uprising" in *Armies and Insurgencies in the Arab Spring*. Edited by Holger Albrecht, Aurel Croissant, and Fred H. Lawson. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016) https://doi.org/10.9783/9780812293241.
- Joya, A. (2020). The military and the state in Egypt: class formation in the post-Arab uprisings. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 47(5), 681–701. https://doi.org/10.1080/13530194.2018.1509692

# February 11 The Rentier State (the use of natural resources to centralize power) (KSA/Iran)

#### Required Readings:

- Qasem, Islam Y. 2016. "Rentier Theory and Saudi Arabia." In *Oil and Security Policies*, 32:4–27. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004277731\_003. CHAPTER ONE.
- Okruhlik, Gwenn (1999), "Rentier Wealth, Unruly Law, and the Rise of Opposition: The Political Economy of Oil States", *Comparative Politics*, 31 (3): 295-315.

#### Recommended reading:

• Herb, Michael (2005), "No Representation without Taxation? Rents, Development, and Democracy", *Comparative Politics*, 37 (3): 297-316

# February 15-23 Reading Week

### February 25 Clientelism and its role in reinforcing the status quo (Egypt/Lebanon)

### Required Readings:

- Masoud, T. (2014). "Clientelism and Class: The Tragedy of Leftist Opposition in Mubarak's Egypt." In *Counting Islam: Religion, Class and Elections in Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). 45-73
- Samar El-Masri (2023) The Influence of Clientelism on the Lebanese Civil Society, Ethnopolitics, DOI: <u>10.1080/17449057.2023.2226520</u>

# March 04 The vulnerability of democratic governance (Centrality of Judicial independence (Israel)

### Required Readings:

- Roznai, Yaniv, and Amichai Cohen. 2023. "Populist Constitutionalism and the Judicial Overhaul in Israel." *Israel Law Review* 56 (3): 502–20. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021223723000201.
- See Chapter 3 ("Undermining Judicial Independence") in B.C. Smith (2022). Judges and Democratization: Judicial Independence in New Democracies (2nd ed.). Routledge. <a href="https://doi-org.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/10.4324/9781003334613">https://doi-org.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/10.4324/9781003334613</a> CHAPTER 3

#### Recommended Reading:

• Ruebner, Ralph. 2003. "Democracy, Judicial Review and the Rule of Law in the Age of Terrorism: The Experience of Israel - a Comparative Perspective." *The Georgia Journal of International and Comparative Law* 31 (3): 493-.

#### PART III: RESPONSE AND RESISTANCE

# March 11 Transitions, Civil Society Organizations, and the Arab Spring

#### Required Readings:

- Amy Hawthorne, "Is Civil Society the Answer?" in *Unchartered Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East* ed. Thomas Carothers and Marina Ottaway (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International peace, 2005), 81-114.
- Langohr, Vickie, "Labour Movements and Organizations," in (Ed.) Marc Lynch, *The Arab Uprisings Explained: New Contentious Politics in the Middle East*, 2014. 180-200.

## **March 18 Islamist movements Response**

# Required Readings:

- Kirdis, Esen. "Introduction: Between Movement and party" *The Rise of Islamic political Movements and Parties: Morocco, Turkey, and Jordan.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019, 1-30.
- Mecham, Quinn "Islamist Movements" (Ed.) Marc Lynch, *The Arab Uprisings Explained: New Contentious Politics in the Middle East*, 2014. 201-217.

#### March 25 Women and Resistance

### Required Readings:

- Pratt, Nicola. "The Struggle over Gender at the Heart of the Arab Uprisings" *Embodying Geopolitics: Generations of Women's Activism in Egypt, Jordan, and Lebanon.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2020. 170-200
- Tohidi, Nayereh. "The Women's Movement and Feminism in Iran," in *Women's Movements in the Global Era*, edited by Amrita Basu. Routledge, 2019. Chapter 13.
- PODCAST: "An Iranian Uprising Led by Women" The Daily (New York Times) Sep 28<sup>th</sup>, 2022; <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/28/podcasts/the-daily/iran-protests-women.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/28/podcasts/the-daily/iran-protests-women.html</a>?

# April 1 Concluding observations. Essay due.

# **Student Presentation**

# Presentation Grading Guide:

Grade	Presentation style	<b>Presentation content</b>	Post-presentation discussion
20	Excellent presentation of the material. Always clear. Always engaging the listeners	Excellent: covered and explained all the important points in the readings. Went above and beyond to ensure that the issue is covered from all sides. Used various sources from outside the reading list.	Clearly has done and prepared questions to be discussed in the class. Did an excellent job in leading the discussion and intelligently kept the class engaged and the discussion flowing.
15-19	Very good and clear presentation	Very Good: covered and explained most of the important points in the readings. Used some outside sources.	Clearly prepared questions to be discussed in class. Showed a very good ability to lead the discussion and was able to keep the discussion flowing.
10-14	Good presentation that covered the major points in the readings with a decent ability to relay the information to students	Good: has basic grasp of key concepts and ideas of the reading; arguments are sporadic and at times incomplete or poorly supported; did not use outside sources	Provided questions. Basic ability to initiate a discussion.
5-9	Somewhat poor presentation. Some unclear thoughts and confusing explanations.	Somewhat Poor: misunderstood many of the issues in the reading.	Provided poor questions. Unable to lead a discussion.
0-4	Poor presentation, confusing and vague.	flawed understanding of the readings.	Provided no questions. Unwilling or unable to lead a discussion.

# Student Participation

# Participation Grading Guide:

Grade	Attendance/5	Discussion/7.5	Reading/7.5
20	Always	Excellent: leads debate; offers analysis and comments; always has ideas on theme of reading; takes care not to dominate; asks questions	Clearly has done and prepared questions on virtually all readings; intelligently uses this understanding and these questions in discussion
15-19	Almost always	Very Good: thoughtful comments and questions for the most part; willing, able and frequent contributor	Has done most readings; provides competent analysis of reading when prompted by others
10-14	Occasional	When attending, the student shows a basic grasp of key concepts; arguments are sporadic and at times incomplete or poorly supported; unwilling to ask questions	Displays familiarity with most readings, but tends not to analyze them or to relate them to the course material
5-9	Occasional	Somewhat Poor: remarks in class marred by misunderstandings of key concepts; seldom contributes effectively to discussion of the main theme; often digresses in unhelpful ways; sporadic	Actual knowledge of material is outweighed by improvised comments and remarks

0-4	Rare	Poor: rarely speaks;	Little or no apparent
		1	familiarity with assigned material

# THE ESSAY RUBRIC (please see tips on writing the essay in Course Content!)

Grade	0-8	9-12	12-17	17-20
Thesis	-It is very hard to identify the thesis statement in the introduction.  -The reader may reach the conclusion without understanding what the argument really is.  - The topic may be inappropriate for this assignment.	-The thesis may or may not be in the introduction, but it is hard to identifyit is slightly inappropriate for the assignment	-The thesis is written in the introduction -Although the introduction is present in the intro, it may need further development -It is appropriate for the assignment.	-The thesis is skillfully incorporated in the introduction -It is easily identifiable, clear, concise, and insightful -The issue that is chosen is appropriate and directly relates to what we have been studying in the course.
Historical and theoretical background (lit review)	-No historical and theoretical background. Or irrelevant to the essay.	-Some sort of historical and theoretical backgroundlots of historical errors -Some misunderstanding of the literature	-Good theoretical and historical background although further clarification may be needed.	Great theoretical (lit review) and historical background.
Argument	-The argument is unclear and weak  -The student is unable to support the thesis with appropriate evidence  -The quality of the evidence is lacking. The argument is based on pure opinion	-The argument is evident but may not be defined clearlyThe claims are unevenly supported, with weak or unsubstantiated evidenceNot all of the claims as they appear in the thesis statement are discussed.	-The student has not talked about counterarguments in the theoretical backgroundThe claims are well supported but may not be completely convincingSome unclarity in the argumentOr some parts of the argument are	-Clearly defines the issue  - Fully supports the thesis statement with sound reasons and evidence  -effectively responds to counterarguments

			nicely written, but not others.	
Style	-Too many errors regardless of how strong the argument is.  -The student does not follow the referencing style that is required in this assignment.  -The formatting of the essay is incorrect (with respect to spacing, font style and size, page numbers	-The piece is readable but the various mistakes in grammar, punctuations, or design "begin to create static in the reading experience."  -The student may follow the referencing style but with too many errors.  -Some errors with respect to formatting.	-mostly correct, easy to read, rare errors that do not affect the reading experience.  -sentences could be more concise  -The student follows the referencing style but with some errors.  -Mostly follow the formatting required in this assignment	-correct, easy to read, no errors, concise clear sentences.  -The student fully follows the referencing style with no errors.  -Follows the formatting specification required.
Organization (how the essay flows)	Unfocused title, boring introduction, unclear topic sentences and weak transitions. The article does not flow.	-okay title.  -Introduction is too broad, even though the focus is seen later on.  -conclusion is not focused, may be unrelated to the main idea.	-title works well.  -good introduction but without catching our attention.  -Conclusion summarizes the argument but without recommending or talking about the implications of the argument.  -clear topic sentences but may not clearly contribute to an understanding of the overall argument.  -Generally speaking, the essay flows well.	-clever title -effective introduction -great conclusion with a clear answer to the "so what" or "So what now" questionClear transitions, and topic sentencesThe essay flows very well.

# Op-eds. Rubric:

Research and understanding of readings	-no mention of the readings -irrelevant research -no research -limited ability to understand the debate	-there is a limited research -limited understanding of the readings and the debate	-student made sufficient research -clear but basic understandin g of the readings and the debate	-student clearly explains and summarizes the debate -reliance on good evidence to support the argument -A skilled use of research to bolster the argument
Argument	-no thesis statement in intro  -there is no argument  -The argument evokes emotions that go against the author's position -writer unable to support the argument -no examples/cas es given.	-vague thesis statement  -the position is evident but not defined clearly -the claims unevenly supported with weak and unsubstantiat ed evidence -occasional mention of examples or cases in the argument.	-basic thesis statement  -claims are well supported but may not be completely convincing  - Generally speaking, the writer can evoke the appropriate emotion in the audience.  -Mostly goes back to the case to support the argument.	-excellent thesis statement summarizing the main pts of the argument Clearly identifies the audience - Fully supports claims with sound reasons and evidence  -Effectively evokes the appropriate emotion in the audience and responds to counterargume nts  -Consistently goes back to the case study to support the argument.
Voice	The author's voice is not heard in the piece.	The author's voice is weak in the paper.	The author's voice is heard.	-A strong author's voice is heard throughout the article.

				-A clear separation between what the debate says and the author's position from it.
Organization/language/referen cing	-Too many language errors regardless of the argument's strength -unfocused title -boring intro, -unclear topic sentences -weak transitions -article does not flow	-Okay title -intro is too broadconclusion is not focused, and unrelated to the main idea.	-title works well -good intro but without catching out attentionconclusion summarizes the argument but without recommendi ng or talking about implications -clear topic sentences but may not clearly contribute to an understandin g of the overall argument.	-Clever title -effective intro -great conclusion with clear answer as to the "so what" or "so what now" question.  -clear transition and topic sentencesessay flows nicely