#### POLISCI 3329F - POLITICS OF THE MIDDLE EAST

Fall Term 2025

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### **I-Course Description**

The Middle East (ME) has long been a fixture in global headlines, often associated with wars, repression and resistance. These dynamics will also shape the design of the course. It will begin by examining the broader regional context with a special focus on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, then it turns to discuss some factors that sustain authoritarianism in the region, before considering some responses to these regressive regimes.

### II-How to think about the course?

While the Middle East is a vast and diverse region, with tremendous variation across countries and issues, and while scholars often choose to emphasize different aspects of its politics, this course focuses on three key areas:

- 1. The broader regional context: we will discuss how the modern borders in the Middle East were created and by whom and for what purpose. We will use this backdrop to delve into the Palestinian Israeli conflict, its complexities and intractability, using international law as our guide.
- 2. Internal dynamics of some Middle Eastern countries. We will zoom in to try to understand some of the factors that have helped sustain authoritarian regimes in this region from rentier economies to militarization.
- 3. Responses to these regimes from below, with specific focus on gender.

### **III-Required Texts**

There will be no textbook for this course. Instead, a reading list will be provided in this syllabus and can be accessed on "Brightspace"-"course readings."

### **IV-Grade Distribution**

Participation	15 %
Presentation	20%
Essay (due Friday Nov 28 midnight)	40%
Op Ed. (due Friday October 10 midnight)	25%

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

### 1-Participation

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.

If you attend class, and did the readings, but for some reason you cannot participate or fully explain your point of view in class, please feel free to email me your response which I will then correct and add to your participation mark. YOUR RESPONSE WILL NOT BE MARKED IF YOU DO NOT ATTEND THE CLASS—unless you have a credible excuse for missing it.

Please check the Rubric below for criteria.

#### 2-Presentation

Group presentations is another important component of this course. Each group will be given 20 min to delve deeper into one case or a particular question or issue that we are covering that week. The presentation should be cohesive and analytical and not a series of unrelated parts and as such your collaboration is key. You are responsible for submitting the finished version of the presentation 24 hrs before the class. Please visit Brightspace, "Presentations", to learn more.

### 3-Op Ed

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

• Subject: Core Issue of Contention

In his book, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict* (see reading list below), Neil Caplan talks about three major issues of contention in the conflict: Sovereignty over the land; demography (refugees and right to return), land purchases and migration; and borders. Other analysts highlight other key pts of dispute like the status of Jerusalem and Jewish settlements.

Select ONE of these core issues. Explain how both sides—Palestinians and Israelis—understand this particular issue and **provide your own analysis** as to why it remains a deeply contested point of conflict.

- Style: the opinion piece must be 3 double-spaced pages (excluding bibliography). Please use Times New Roman, 12-point font.
- Your work must be referenced. Use footnotes, Chicago style referencing.
- Submissions will be graded based on the quality of the research, persuasiveness of the argument, clarity and structure and writing style (See the rubric below).

- This assignment must be submitted to Turnitin.com, using the "Assignments" link on Brightspace.
- The deadline for this assignment will be October 10.
- Since the timeframe submission of the essay is very flexible and since you are able to submit this assignment at any time between September 10 and October 10, an instructor may deny academic consideration in this case. So please organize your time wisely.
- A late penalty of 5 percent will be applied on the first day, an additional 5 percent on the second day, and 2 percent for each subsequent day. To avoid the penalty, please have your request approved by your academic counselor—NO EXCEPTION

### 4- Essay

You will be required to write a 10-page (2250-2500 words) argumentative essay (excluding footnotes and bibliography). It should be double-spaced, with a 12-point Times New Roman font. Students may choose any topic from the section below entitled "COURSE OUTLINE BY TOPIC." If you wish to write on a subject not covered in class, please consult with me in advance. Essays must be submitted as a PDF via Brightspace under the "Assignments" tab.

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

<u>a-Late Penalty:</u> A late penalty of 5 percent will be applied on the first day, an additional 5 percent on the second day, and 2 percent for each subsequent day. To avoid the penalty, please have your request approved by your academic counselor—NO EXCEPTION. If documentation is required for either medical or non-medical academic accommodation, then such documentation must be submitted by the student directly to the counsellors and <u>NOT</u> to the instructor. For further information, please consult the University's medical illness policy at <u>Academic Calendar - Western University</u>

<u>b-Turnitin:</u> Essays must be submitted to Turnitin.com (Brightspace). 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 <u>five academic sources</u> (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 lead to a significant mark deduction.** 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

#### VI. ACCOMMODATION AND ACCESSIBILITY

### 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 Academic Counselling office of their Faculty of Registration.

#### 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. Please see <u>Accessible Education - Academic Support & Engagement - Western University</u>

### **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. Consult <u>Procedures - Academic Counselling - Western University</u>

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

Gender-Based Violence & Survivor Support - Health & Wellness - Western University

### VII-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.

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

### **Sep 9 Introduction**

No reading required

Sep 16: Colonial legacy: How the Middle East was carved; How the seeds of the Arab/Israeli conflict were planted.

Required Readings:

- Cleveland, William L. and Martin Bunton. 2004. *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 5th edition. USA: Westview Press. Chapter 9.
- Documentary: "Promises and betrayals—Middle East" History Channel Documentary Aug 5 2013 (published 2014); <u>Bing Videos</u>

### Sep 23 The path to 1948: One party's triumph is another's party's "Nakbah"

• Cleveland, William L. and Martin Bunton. 2004. *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 5th edition. USA: Westview Press. Chapter 13.

- Morris, Benny. 2007. "Revisiting the Palestinian Exodus of 1948" in *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*. Second edition. Edited by Rogan, Eugene, and Avi Shlaim. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Said, Eward. 2007. "The Consequences of 1948" in *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*. Second edition. Edited by Rogan, Eugene, and Avi Shlaim. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

### Sep 30 National Day for Truth and Reconciliation

# Oct 7 Palestinian/Israeli peace process: The Issues of Contention Required Readings:

- For a quick timeline of the Palestinian Israeli peace negotiations see Inci Sayki and Refael Kubersky "Timeline: War and Peace Between Israelis and Palestinians, from Oslo to Gaza" PBS (Nov 7, 2023); <u>Timeline: War and Peace Between Israelis and Palestinians, From Oslo to Gaza | FRONTLINE</u>
- Caplan, Neil. 2010. "Defining the Conflict, nevertheless," (chapter 2) *The Israel-Palestine Conflict: Contested Histories*. West Sussex, England: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Herbert C Kelman and Lenore Martin 'Palestinian Refugees (2010)'" in *Transforming* the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. Edited by Philip Mattar and Neil Caplan, 1<sup>st</sup> edition. London: Routledge, 2018.
- Akram, Susan, and Michael Lynk. 2006. "The Wall and the Law: A Tale of Two Judgements." *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights* 24 (1): 61–106. https://doi.org/10.1177/016934410602400104.

# Oct 14 The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Legal Norms and On-the-Ground Realities Required reading:

- Lynk, Michael. 2019. "International Law and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: Closer to Power than justice," in *Social Justice and Israel/Palestine: Foundational and Contemporary Debates*. Edited by Aaron J. Hahn Tapper and Mira Sucharov. Toronto; University of Toronto Press.
- Falk, Richard. 2013. "Rethinking the Palestinian Future." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 42 (4): 73–86. https://doi.org/10.1525/jps.2013.42.4.73.
- Lustick, Ian. 2019. *Paradigm Lost: From Two-State Solution to One-State Reality*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press. Chapter 5.

### Recommended reading:

• For a historical overview of UN involvement see: "The United Nations and the Question of Palestine" Department of Public Information (1 Oct, 1994); 3B58E8D0ADF62B5F852561230077C62D.pdf

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

# Oct 21: The Role of Security Forces/Military (Syria/Egypt) Required readings:

- Droz-Vincent, Philippe (2016). "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. 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

# Oct 28 The Rentier State (the use of natural resources to centralize power) 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.
- Ettinger, Aaron. (2023). "Saudi Arabia, Sports Diplomacy and Authoritarian Capitalism in World Politics." *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics* 15 (3): 531–47. https://doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2023.2206402.

### Recommended reading:

• Okruhlik, Gwenn (1999), "Rentier Wealth, Unruly Law, and the Rise of Opposition: The Political Economy of Oil States", *Comparative Politics*, 31 (3): 295-315.

### Nov 4 Reading week

### Nov 11 Clientelism and its role in reinforcing the status quo (Egypt/Lebanon)

- 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: 10.1080/17449057.2023.2226520

# PART III: RESPONSE AND RESISTANCE Nov 18 Transitions, Civil Society Organizations, and the Arab Spring Required reading:

Herrold, Catherine E. (2020). 'Introduction: Civil Society and Egypt's Arab Spring', Delta Democracy: Pathways to Incremental Civic Revolution in Egypt and Beyond (New York: Oxford Academic; <a href="https://doi-org.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/10.1093/oso/9780190093235.003.0001">https://doi-org.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/10.1093/oso/9780190093235.003.0001</a>

• Eyadat, Zaid. (2018). "Rethinking Arab Civil Society" in *Religion and Civil Society in the Arab World: In the Vortex of Globalization and Tradition*. Edited by Tania Haddad and Elie Al Hindy. First edition. Boca Raton, FL: Routledge India, an imprint of Taylor and Francis.

### Recommended reading:

• Hawthorne, Amy. (2005). "Is Civil Society the Answer?" in *Unchartered Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East*. Edited by Thomas Carothers and Marina Ottaway (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International peace; 81-114.

### **Nov 25 Islamic Movements response**

### Required readings

- Akbarzadeh, S. (Ed.). (2020). *Routledge Handbook of Political Islam* (2nd ed.). Routledge. <a href="https://doi-org.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/10.4324/9780429425165">https://doi-org.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/10.4324/9780429425165</a>; chapter 1.
- Kirdiş, E. (2022). Introduction: Between Movement and Party. In *The Rise of Islamic Political Movements and Parties* (pp. 1–30). Edinburgh University Press. https://doi.org/10.1515/9781474450690-003
- Mecham, Quinn. (2014). "Islamist Movements" in *The Arab Uprisings Explained: New Contentious Politics in the Middle East*. Edited by Marc Lynch. Colombia University Press. 201-217.

### Dec 02 Women and resistance

### Required reading:

- Graham-Brown, Sarah (2001). "Women's activism in the Middle East: A Historical Perspective" in *Women and power in the Middle East* (1st ed.). Edited by Joseph, S., & Slyomovics, S.. University of Pennsylvania Press
- Pratt, Nicola. (2020). "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. 170-200
- Alami Fariman, M., & Hakiminejad, A. (2024). Woman, Life, Freedom: Revolting space invaders in Iran. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 0(0). https://doiorg.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/10.1177/13675494241268101

### Recommended reading

- Masri, S. E. (2015). "Tunisian Women at a Crossroads: Cooptation or Autonomy?" *Middle East Policy*, 22(2), 125–144. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12133">https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12133</a>
- Tohidi, Nayereh. (2019). "The Women's Movement and Feminism in Iran," in Women's Movements in the Global Era, edited by Amrita Basu. Routledge. Chapter 13.

### **December 9: Concluding remarks**

### Student Participation

### Participation Grading Guide:

Grade	Attendance	Discussion	Reading
20	Always	Excellent: leads debate; offers analysis and comments; always has ideas on theme of reading; takes care	Clearly has done and prepared questions on virtually all readings; intelligently uses this understanding and these questions in
		not to dominate; asks questions	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; parrots text or comments of others	Little or no apparent familiarity with assigned material

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

	0-8	9-12	13-16	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 identify.  -it 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.
Literature review	-No historical and theoretical background.	-Some sort of historical and theoretical background.	-Good theoretical and historical background	-Great theoretical (lit review) and historical background.
Argument	-The argument is unclear and weak  -The student is unable to support his thesis with appropriate evidence  -The quality of the evidence is	-The argument is evident but may not be defined clearlyThe claims are unevenly supported, with weak or unsubstantiated evidence.	-The student has not talked about counterarguments in the theoretical background.  -The claims are well supported but may not be completely convincing.	- Fully supports the thesis statement with sound reasons and evidence

	argument is based on pure opinion		-Some unclarity in the argument.  -Or some parts of the argument are nicely written, but not others.	-effectively responds to counterarguments
Organization (how the essay flows)	-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  Unfocused title, boring introduction, unclear topic	-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.  -okay title.  -Introduction is too broad, even	-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  -title works well.  -good introduction but	-correct, easy to read, no errors, concise clear sentences.  -The student fully follows the referencing style with no errors.  -Follows the formatting specification required.  -clever title -effective introduction
	sentences and weak transitions. The article does not flow.	though the focus is seen later on.  -conclusion is not focused, may be unrelated to the main idea.	without catching our attention.  -Conclusion summarizes the argument but without recommending or talking about the implications of the argument.  -clear topic sentences but	-great conclusion with a clear answer to the "so what" or "So what now" question.  -Clear transitions, and topic sentences  -The essay flows very well.

may not clearly contribute to an understanding of the overall argument.
-Generally speaking, the essay flows well.

### Op-eds. Rubric:

	0-4	4.5-6.5	7-8.5	9-10
Research information	-No issue picked  -Writer has no research information. The essay is based on opinions with no substantial evidence	-an issue is mentioned but no further explanation is provided -writer uses one or two research facts to support their argument	-the student picks an issue with a basic but clear summary.  Writer incorporates three or four research facts in support of the argument.	-Author clearly summarizes the issue and how it related to both parties.  Several research facts are incorporated to support the argument.
Argument	-The issue is unclear  - The argument seems weak evoking emotions that go against the author.  -Writer unable to support his argument.  -No mention of the issue in the argument	-The issue is evident but may not be defined clearly.  -The claims are unevenly supported, with weak or unsubstantiated evidence.  -Occasional mention of the issue in the argument	-The 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 issue picked to support the argument.	-Clearly defines the issue  -Clearly identifies the audience  - Fully supports claims with sound reasons and evidence  -Effectively evokes the appropriate emotion in the audience and responds to counterarguments  -Consistently goes back to the

Voice	The author's voice is not heard in the piece.	The author's voice is weak in the article.	The author's voice is heard.	issue of contention to support the argument.  A strong author's voice is heard throughout the article.
Style	Too many errors regardless of how strong the argument is.	The piece is readable but the various mistakes in grammar, punctuations, or design "begin to create static in the reading experience."	-mostly correct, easy to read, rare errors that do not affect the reading experience. -sentences could be more concise	-correct, easy to read, no errors, concise clear sentences.
Organization	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.	-clever title  -effective introduction  -great conclusion with a clear answer to the "so what" or "So what now" question.  -Clear transitions, and topic sentences

### Group-Presentation Rubric:

### **Student Presentation**

## Presentation Grading Guide:

Grade	Presentation style	Collaboration with other team members	Presentation content	Post-presentation discussion
20	Excellent presentation of the material. Always clear. Always engaging the listeners	-It is presented as a whole with a clear link that connects all the presentations seamlessly.	Excellent: Excellent ability to use the limited time to cover and explain all the important points in the readings as it relates to the picked topic. Went above and beyond to ensure that the issue is covered from all sides. Used various sources from outside the reading list.	Since the presentation's time is short, the student is able to use the post-presentation discussion to explain some of the issues that need further explaining; Clearly answers questions/ 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/good and clear presentation	Good collaboration/ with some issues relating to the flow of the presentation upon delivery.	Good-Very Good: covered and explained most of the important points in the readings.	Clearly prepared questions to be discussed in class. Showed a good ability to lead the discussion and

			Used some outside sources	was somewhat able to keep the discussion flowing
10-14	Some major pts were missed but has a decent ability to relay information to students	Some issues with collaboration/ disconnected parts	While there is a 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	Poor presentation; unclear thoughts and confusing explanations	Poor collaboration/ disconnection	Somewhat Poor: misunderstood many of the issues in the reading	Provided poor questions. Unable to lead a discussion
0-4	Unsatisfactory and confusing	No collaboration with teammates.	Flawed understanding of the readings	Prepared no questions.