

## Politics of the Middle East and North Africa

POLS 2590

Time: TR 12:45pm to 2:00pm

Location: McGannon 121

Office Hours: TR 2:00-3:00pm

Ann Wainscott

Office: McGannon 124

Phone: 314.977.3006

Email: wainscottam@slu.edu

Please note that this course fulfills the College of Arts and Sciences Core requirements for:

- ***The Social Sciences:*** *Students will acquire conceptual tools and methodologies to analyze and understand their social world. With these tools, they will be able to act in their world more effectively and become forces for positive change. They will gain a better understanding of human diversity. Students will be able to think and write critically about human behavior and community. They will become aware of the various methodological approaches used by social scientists.*
- ***Global Citizenship:*** *This course will provide students with the intellectual skills needed to analyze and understand sources of global and transnational cooperation, competition or conflict. It will provide students with an understanding of the processes that have produced systems of inequality and injustice within and between various parts of the world. It will address issues of cultural diversity outside the US involving factors such as ethnicity, gender, religion, economics, class, age, physical and mental capabilities, and sexual orientation. It will promote civic engagement by preparing students to understand the future challenges of global leadership and global citizenship. Finally, this course will provide students with opportunities to increase their awareness so to become competent, socially-responsible citizens of the world.”*

### Course Description and Objectives:

This course examines the modern politics of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), emphasizing the years 1960 to 2010. As with any region, the boundaries of the MENA are contested. For the purposes of this class, this term refers to the following countries: Morocco, Algeria, Libya, Tunisia, Egypt, Palestine, Israel, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Oman, Bahrain, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, and Qatar. Turkey is an important player in the Middle East, as is Iran, but their location in the region is debatable.

This course has three specific learning objectives, other than those described above. The first is to provide historical and social context to understanding recent political developments in the MENA region. This is accomplished through course readings, lectures, a movie and the extra credit assignment. Secondly, and in line with the global citizenship requirement, the course assignments aim to encourage the development of critical writing skills that will serve students in upper-division and graduate coursework. Finally, the course is designed to assist students in gaining an understanding of how knowledge about the world is produced and reproduced.

Students who complete each of the written assignments for this course will gain a stronger understanding of the system of contemporary knowledge production about the Middle East. The first assignment, a review of a Middle Eastern news source, requires students to regularly read news from an author whose assumptions about the world are likely different than those of American journalists. The goal of the assignment is for students to develop a critical eye toward a newspaper article and begin to ask questions such as: What is the argument of this article? What evidence is presented? What evidence was not presented? Who was relied upon as a source or “expert” on this matter? Were there any important questions left unaddressed by the journalist? Students will also begin to notice trends across the news source in general. Are particular parties or groups given more critical or more positive news coverage than others? Is the source pro-regime? Is the source pro-America? By developing a critical spirit in the

consumption of news, students are prepared for the second assignment in this course, the annotated bibliography.

In an annotated bibliography, students follow a similar line of critical reasoning as used for the newspaper analysis but the object of critique is the scholarly journal article. A well-written annotated bibliography will spend very little time summarizing the source and will concentrate on *evaluating* the source. What is the argument? What evidence is presented? What is the method for gathering and presenting the evidence? Finally, students will begin to assess the quality of the source, answering the question, “Is the scholar’s argument convincing?” Because many scholars rely on newspaper accounts, as students develop concerns about the quality of journalism they may become more critical of scholarship that relies on newspaper accounts without interrogating the source.

Finally, students will write a mock grant proposal. They will identify an interesting research question and design a plan of how they would answer this question. This exercise brings the understanding of the production of knowledge full circle. By crafting a grant proposal, students begin to think like scholars and also gain an understanding of the challenges and incentives faced by them. Who funds research? How do the interests of the funders influence the grant proposals that scholars write? How does this influence the production of knowledge? Because many scholars rely on newspaper accounts as preliminary research on a topic, students will also begin to understand the connections between the various organs of knowledge production.

Students will also be exposed to writing that critiques the values of the system of contemporary knowledge production. In particular, we will discuss Edward Said’s seminal work *Orientalism*, and identify when contemporary news sites present information about the region in an orientalist way.

### **Course Requirements:**

Successful completion of this course requires attendance at lectures, at least one visit to faculty office hours, active participation in course discussions, completion of all reading assignments in a thoughtful and thorough manner, commitment to reading one Middle Eastern news source on a daily basis, and completion of all written assignments.

### **Attendance Policy/Participation Grade:**

Students are expected to attend all class sessions and participate actively in discussions in order to gain full participation credit. The professor will provide guidance on what types of comments in class discussions are acceptable and beneficial for fulfillment of the participation grade. Two unexcused absences are allowed before the student’s grade is impacted. Completion of online evaluation at the end of the course is a part of classroom participation and is expected from all students.

### **Office Hours:**

All students are *required* to visit professor office hours within the first three weeks of classes. Students who have a conflict can email the professor to schedule an alternative time for meeting.

### **Reading Assignments:**

Students are expected to complete ALL reading assignments. Student progress toward this goal will be evaluated through class discussions as well as the annotated bibliography project. It is expected that students already possess the ability to read and understand scholarly-level publications. Those who are new to reading scholarly writing should consult with the instructor for further resources.

### **Non-Western News Sources:**

Students are expected to maintain an awareness of developments in the region through daily consultation with an English-language news source located in the region of study. Some suggested sources include: *al-Jazeera English*, *al-Arabiya English*, *al-Masry al-Youm English*, *The Jerusalem Post*, *Haaretz*, or *Asharq*

*al-Awsat*. Students are expected to select a news source during the first week of class and write a brief reflection detailing why they have chosen the source, who owns it, who the intended audience is and how it has been evaluated by other news sources. This brief reflection is due **21 January 2016**. Students will be evaluated on this requirement through course discussions on recent events and a final written review (see below).

### **Written Assignments:**

Upper-level undergraduate students need to be developing strong analytical writing skills, particularly if they have intentions of applying for graduate school. Students who successfully complete the written assignments for this course will progress toward meeting this goal in an accelerated manner. There are three written assignments in this course: a grant proposal, a review of a non-Western news source and an annotated bibliography. ALL written assignments should be done with one-inch margins, 11 or 12 point Times New Roman font, and double-spaced. For assistance with written work contact the Student Success Center at 977-3484 or <http://www.slu.edu/writingservices.xml>.

### **Grant Proposal:**

A grant proposal is a request for funding for a research project. Students will write a sample grant proposal, following the template provided by Fulbright to one of the following countries: Bahrain, Israel, Kuwait, Oman, Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, United Arab Emirates. Students will complete the Statement of Grant Purpose and the Personal Statement. The directions, taken from the below webpage, are:

**“Statement of Grant Purpose:** This 2-page document outlines the Who, What, When, Where, Why, and How of what you are proposing for your Fulbright year. Developing a strong, feasible and compelling project is the most important aspect of a successful Fulbright application. The first step is to familiarize yourself with the program summary for your host country. The program design will vary somewhat depending upon the country and the field of study. The proposal should indicate a clear commitment to and description of how you will engage with the host country community.”

**“Personal Statement:** This 1-page narrative is designed to give the reviewers a picture of you as an individual. It is an opportunity to tell the committee more about the trajectory that you have followed and what plans you have for the future. Whereas the *Statement of Grant Purpose* focuses on what you will be doing in the host country, the Personal Statement concentrates on how your background has influenced your development and how that relates to the Fulbright opportunity.

The statement can deal with your personal history, family background, intellectual development, and the educational, professional, or cultural opportunities to which you have or have not been exposed; explain their impact. This should not be a reiteration of facts already listed in the Biographical Data sections or an elaboration of the *Statement of Grant Purpose*.”

The most difficult part of the grant-writing process is picking an interesting question that you have the means of answering through on-the-ground fieldwork. It is highly recommended that students consult with the professor on the research question that will frame their proposal during their initial office hours visit. Strategic students will critically examine their MENA news source to look for ideas for research projects. Students will receive feedback on their applications and are encouraged to submit their proposals to Fulbright upon completing the course.

The first drafts of the Statement of Grant Purpose and Personal Statement are due **18 February 2016**. Students will receive feedback on their proposals and be expected to implement suggested changes prior to the final due date of **22 March 2016**.

For more details see: <http://us.fulbrightonline.org/application-components/academic>

**Review of News Source:**

In addition to the brief reflection paper detailing the selection of a news source (discussed above in the section titled “Non-Western News Sources”), students are expected to write a five-page review of their media source. The review is due **17 March 2016**. Students will be expected to evaluate the news source critically. The review may concentrate on questions such as: What stories tend to dominate headlines? Who is the intended audience of the source? What are the source’s biases? What other sources might you read to gain a balanced perspective on issues in the region? Who finances the source? Are there any significant political or economic ties that may influence reporting? What is the writing style of the publication? For whom is such a publication ideal?

**Annotated Bibliography:**

Students will submit an Annotated Bibliography of all reading assignments (except for those assigned after the due date) by **14 April 2016**. The professor reserves the right to suggest additional texts from lectures that must be included for full credit.

The format for each entry is highly formulaic. The average length of an entry should be 250 words. Do all of the following: Identify the main argument of the scholarship (maybe an actual quote), rephrase this argument in your own words, identify the scope conditions (to what/whom/when does this theory apply?) and clarify if there are any articulated or implied biases. Finally, evaluate the argument. Does it offer an appropriate solution to a problem? Why or why not? Is the argument well supported? What evidence is particularly strong or weak? Each entry should begin with a full citation. Follow the style guide from the journal *Comparative Politics* available at: <http://web.gc.cuny.edu/jcp/style.htm>

An Annotation is not an abstract:

“The annotation is a concise description of a particular source, including important aspects of content not evident in the title. It enables the researcher to establish the relevance of a specific journal article, book, research report, or government document, etc. and to decide whether to consult the full text of the work. Abstracts, such as those found in various periodical databases or those accompanying scholarly journal articles are usually just descriptive summaries.”  
<http://lib.skidmore.edu/library/index.php/li371-annotated-bib>

The first draft of the annotated bibliography is due **4 February 2016** and will include all readings up to and including the due date. Students will receive comments on their annotations. Implementation of these suggestions will be assessed in the final grade of the assignment. In other words, your final draft should demonstrate that you read the comments on your draft, considered them, and adjusted your (subsequent) annotations judiciously.

**Grading Detail:**

- 20% Attendance/Participation
- 20% Grant Proposal
- 40% Annotated Bibliography
- 15% Review of Media Source
- 5% Office Hours

**Grade Scale:**

A	93-100	B+	87-89	C+	77-79	D	60-69
A-	90-92	B	83-86	C	73-76	F	below 60
		B-	80-82	C-	70-72		

**Required Texts:**

- Kepel, Gilles. 2002. *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Donohue, John J., and John L. Esposito. 2007. *Islam in Transition: Muslim perspectives*. New York: Oxford University Press.

**Recommended Text:** (Also available as a free e-book through SLU library)

- Cleveland, William L., and Martin Bunton. 2008. *A History of the Modern Middle East, Fourth Edition*. 4th ed. Westview Press.

**Extra credit:**

There is one extra credit opportunity in this class, equal to two percentage points on one's final grade. In order to obtain full credit, write a book review (3-4 pages) of one of the below texts and present it to the class in a 5 minute presentation. Only one student may read each work for credit, so let me know as soon as possible which book you would like to read. When requesting a book, also let me know on what date you would like to present your work. It would be ideal if you select a class lecture that corresponds to your book. All requests must be made by **21 January 2016**.

In the review, the student should refrain from summarizing the text and seek to *evaluate* the work. In that vein, the review should address the following questions: In what time period is the work set? From who's perspective is it written? Is the text realistic? What does reading of the text contribute to the study of the Modern Middle East? Read this review before you write your own:

[http://www.newyorker.com/arts/critics/books/2010/01/18/100118crbo\\_books\\_pierpont](http://www.newyorker.com/arts/critics/books/2010/01/18/100118crbo_books_pierpont)

Available texts (students may petition for an alternative text):

- Hanan al-Shaykh, *Women of Sand and Myrrh* (Lebanese) PJ7862.H356 W66 1992
- Fatima Mernissi, *Dreams of Trespass* (Moroccan) CT2678.M47 A3 1994
- Leila Abouzeid, *Year of the Elephant* (Moroccan) PJ7808.Z22 A513 1989
- Naguib Mahfouz, *Palace Walk* (Egyptian) PJ7846.A46 B313 1990
- Ghassan Kanafani, *Men in the Sun...* (Palestinian) PJ7842.A5 R513 1999
- Ghada Samman, *Beirut Nightmares* (Syrian) not available at SLU
- Elias Khoury, *Gate of the Sun* (Lebanese) PJ7842.H823 B3313 2005
- Rajaa Alsanea, *Girls of Riyadh* (Saudi) not available at SLU
- Riverbend, *Baghdad Burning* (Iraqi) DS79.76 .R587 2005 and volume II is an ebook
- Mahmoud Saeed, *Saddam City* (Iraqi) not available at SLU
- Sinan Antoon, *I'jaam* (Iraqi) not available at SLU
- Emile Habiby, *The Secret Life of Saeed the Pessoptimist* (Israeli) not available at SLU
- Ibrahim al-Koni, *Gold Dust* (Libyan) not available at SLU
- Hisham Matar, *In the Country of Men* (Libyan) PR6113.A87 I515 2007
- Ahlam Mosteghanemi, *Memory in the Flesh* (Algerian) not available at SLU
- Mustapha Tlili, *Lion Mountain* (Tunisian) not available at SLU
- Zayd Mutee' Dammaj, *The Hostage* (Yemeni) not available at SLU

**Academic Integrity:**

*Academic integrity is honest, truthful and responsible conduct in all academic endeavors.* The mission of Saint Louis University is "the pursuit of truth for the greater glory of God and for the service of humanity." Accordingly, all acts of falsehood demean and compromise the corporate endeavors of teaching, research, health care, and community service via which SLU embodies its mission. The University strives to prepare students for lives of personal and professional integrity, and therefore regards all breaches of academic integrity as matters of serious concern.

The governing University-level Academic Integrity Policy was adopted in Spring 2015, and can be accessed on the Provost's Office website at:

[http://www.slu.edu/Documents/provost/academic\\_affairs/University-wide%20Academic%20Integrity%20Policy%20FINAL%20%206-26-15.pdf](http://www.slu.edu/Documents/provost/academic_affairs/University-wide%20Academic%20Integrity%20Policy%20FINAL%20%206-26-15.pdf).

Additionally, each SLU College, School, and Center has adopted its own academic integrity policies, available on their respective websites. All SLU students are expected to know and abide by these policies, which detail definitions of violations, processes for reporting violations, sanctions, and appeals. Please direct questions about any facet of academic integrity to your faculty, the chair of the department of your academic program, or the Dean/Director of the College, School or Center in which your program is housed.

Specific College of Arts and Sciences Academic Honesty Policies and Procedures may be found at:

<http://www.slu.edu/x12657.xml>

#### **Title IX Provisions that govern relations between students and faculty:**

Saint Louis University and its faculty are committed to supporting our students and seeking an environment that is free of bias, discrimination, and harassment. If you have encountered any form of sexual misconduct (e.g. sexual assault, sexual harassment, stalking, domestic or dating violence), we encourage you to report this to the University. If you speak with a faculty member about an incident of misconduct, that faculty member must notify SLU's Title IX coordinator, Anna R. Kratky (DuBourg Hall, room 36; [akratky@slu.edu](mailto:akratky@slu.edu); 314-977-3886) and share the basic fact of your experience with her. The Title IX coordinator will then be available to assist you in understanding all of your options and in connecting you with all possible resources on and off campus.

If you wish to speak with a confidential source, you may contact the counselors at the University Counseling Center at 314-977-TALK. To view SLU's sexual misconduct policy and for resources, please visit the following web address: <http://www.slu.edu/general-counsel-home/office-of-institutional-equity-and-diversity/sexual-misconduct-policy> [www.slu.edu/here4you](http://www.slu.edu/here4you) .

#### **Student Learning and Disability Statement:**

In recognition that people learn in a variety of ways and that learning is influenced by multiple factors (e.g., prior experience, study skills, learning disability), resources to support student success are available on campus. Students who think they might benefit from these resources can find out more about:

- Course-level support (e.g., faculty member, departmental resources, etc.) by asking your course instructor.
- University-level support (e.g., tutoring/writing services, Disability Services) by visiting the Student Success Center (BSC 331) or by going to [www.slu.edu/success](http://www.slu.edu/success).

Students with a documented disability who wish to request academic accommodations are encouraged to contact Disability Services to discuss accommodation requests and eligibility requirements. Please contact Disability Services, located within the Student Success Center, at [Disability\\_services@slu.edu](mailto:Disability_services@slu.edu) or [314.977.3484](tel:314.977.3484) to schedule an appointment. Confidentiality will be observed in all inquiries. Once approved, information about academic accommodations will be shared with course instructors via email from Disability Services and viewed within Banner via the instructor's course roster.

## Weekly Assignments:

### UNIT 1: HISTORY AND CONTEXT OF POLITICAL ISLAM

Week One: 12 and 14 January 2016

- Distribute Syllabus
- First map quiz
  - If you did poorly on the map quiz, study: <http://www.maps.com/games/quiz-middle.aspx>
- Intro to Islam and the Islamic state
- In-class annotation (Hourani, Ch. 1)

Week Two: 19 and 21 January 2016

- Ottoman Empire, part I (Cleveland, Ch. 3, ebook)
- Ottoman Empire, part II (Cleveland, Ch. 9, ebook)
- **News source reflection paper due/ Extra credit book and presentation date due**

Week Three: 26 and 28 January 2016

- Islamic modernism (Esposito, part I “Early Responses: Crisis...” p. 9-37)
- Nationalism (Esposito, section “Islam and Nationalism”)
- Orientalism (Said, Ch. 1, pages 1-31)

Week Four: 2 and 4 February 2016

- Part I (Dershowitz, The Case for Israel, Ch. 1-2)
- Part II (Walt, 2006, and the Dershowitz response available at: <http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n06/john-mearsheimer/the-israel-lobby>)
- **First draft of Annotated Bibliography due** (include the reading due today!)

### UNIT 2: EXPANSION OF POLITICAL ISLAM

Week Five: 9 and 11 February 2016

- (Kepel Preface and Introduction)
- (Kepel Ch. 1: A Cultural Revolution)
- (Esposito, section by Mawdudi p.94-97 and p. 252-260)

Week Six: 16 and 18 February 2016

- (Kepel Ch. 2: Islam in the late 1960s)
- (Kepel Ch. 3: Building Petro-Islam on the Ruins of Arab Nationalism)
- **First draft of grant proposal due**

Week Seven: 23 and 25 February 2016

- (Kepel Ch. 4: Islamism in Egypt, Malaysia, and Pakistan)
- (Kepel Ch. 5: Khomeini’s Revolution and Its Legacy)
- (Esposito sections by Ayatullah Ruhullah Khumayni, Ayatollah Mohammad Khatami and Abdolkarim Soroush)
- In-class documentary: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qouR2XhSWsM>

Week Eight: 1 and 3 March 2016 **MIDTERM EXAMS WEEK**

- (Kepel Ch. 6: Jihad in Afghanistan and Intifada in Palestine)
- (Esposito section “Jihad defined and redefined”)

- Grant Proposal Workshop

### **SPRING BREAK 7-12 MARCH 2016: NO CLASS**

Week Nine: 15 and 17 March 2016

- (Kepel Ch. 7: Islamization in Algeria and the Sudan)
- (Mundy Introduction)
- (Kepel Ch. 9: From the Gulf War to the Taliban Jihad)
- **Review of non-Western news source due**

### UNIT 3: DECLINE OF POLITICAL ISLAM

Week Ten: 22 March 2016

- (Kepel Ch. 11: The Logic of Massacre in the Second Algerian War)
- (Mundy Ch. 3)
- **Final grant proposal due**

### **24 March 2016: No class, Easter break**

Week Eleven: 29 and 31 March 2016

- (Kepel Ch. 12: The Threat of Terrorism in Egypt)
- (Kepel Ch. 13: Osama bin Laden and the War against the West)

Week Twelve: 5 and 7 April 2016

- (Kepel Ch. 14: Hamas, Israel, Arafat, and Jordan)
- (Kepel Ch. 15: The Forced Secularization of Turkish Islamists)

### UNIT 4: CONTROVERSIES IN POLITICAL ISLAM

Week Thirteen: 12 and 14 April 2016

Islam and Democracy

- (Kepel: Conclusion)
- Islam and democracy compatibility debate (Lewis, “The Roots of Muslim Rage”)
- (Esposito, section “Islam and Democracy”)
- **Annotated Bibliography Due**

Week Fourteen: 19 and 21 April 2016

Gender

- (Ahmed, Ch. 3)
- (Esposito section “The Islamic Veil (Hijab)”)

Week Fifteen: 26 and 28 April 2016

America’s wars

- War in Afghanistan (Excerpts from the *Looming Tower* by Wright)
- War in Iraq (Excerpts from Packer, 2006 - The Assassin’s Gate)

### **Final Exam: 5 May 12:00-1:50pm**

- Conversation: “What I tried to accomplish in this class”

- Parkinson, Sarah. “Practical Ethics: How U.S. Law and the “War on Terror” Affect Research in the Middle East.” <http://tinyurl.com/zqv2a4a>