

Course title: Politics, Society and International Relations of the Mediterranean and the Middle East

Language of instruction: English

Professors: Lurdes Vidal (lvidal@iemed.org)
Jordi Quero (jordi.quero@upf.edu)
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Professor's contact and office hours: Offices 40.225

Course contact hours: To be arranged with the instructors

Recommended credit: 3 US credits - 6 ECTS credits

Course prerequisites: There are no prerequisites for this course.

Language requirements: None

Course focus and approach: The course offers multidisciplinary approach to the study of the Mediterranean and the Middle East, focusing on its politics and international relations. From Political Science, International Relations, Area Studies, History and Sociology disciplines, the course analyses contemporary political structures and dynamics in the region, at domestic, regional and international levels.

Course description: The course is divided in two sections. The first one introduces the students to domestic sociopolitical realities of the region. This section presents the geography of the Mediterranean and the Middle East region; Islamic and contemporary history; political regimes in place in the region; Political Islam; and cultural trends in the 21st Century. The second section explores the international relations of the Mediterranean and the Middle East by focusing on what International Relations Theory has said about the region, on the regional order and subregional orders (in the Maghreb and the Gulf), on contemporary conflicts in the area (the Arab- Israeli conflict, the Gulf Wars, the war in Syria...), on geopolitics of energy and, finally, on the impact and role of foreign actors over the politics of the region (namely, the United States and the European Union).

Learning objectives: The course has two main objectives. First, it aims at introducing students to the sociopolitical reality of the Mediterranean and the Middle East. It does so by systematically and critically examining the contemporary history, politics, society, religion and international relations of the region. Secondly, the course will provide the students with specific analytical tools -mainly from Political Science and International Relations disciplines- which will aid them in properly analyzing sociopolitical realities beyond the ones covered by the course.

Course workload: The course will entail attendance to a series of lectures and seminars, as well as some in-class short activities related to readings and assignments proposed by the instructors.

Teaching methodology: The course comprises twenty-four sessions and two seminars. The teaching of the course would combine traditional lectures, several in-class short activities (primary sources analysis, discussions, etc.), and a series of seminars aimed at deepening in certain topics while helping students to develop their abilities and skills.

Assessment criteria: Students will be assessed through different items: a series of practical seminars requiring oral and written tasks (30%) –for further details check the *Seminars' Guide*–, class participation (20%), and a final research paper (50%). The topic of the paper will be chosen with the assistance of the professor, and it will range between 4,500-5,000 words. Further indications will be given by the instructors at the beginning of the course.

- Written and oral assignments at practical seminars: 30%
- Final research paper: 50%
- Class participation: 20%

Absence policy: Attending class is mandatory and will be monitored daily by professors. Missing classes will impact on the student's final grade as follows:

Absences	Penalization
Up to two (2) absences	No penalization
Three (3) absences	1 point subtracted from final grade (on a 10 point scale)
Four (4) absences	2 points subtracted from final grade (on a 10 point scale)
Five (5) absences or more	The student receives an INCOMPLETE ("NO PRESENTAT") for the course

The PEHE/HESP attendance policy **does not distinguish between justified or unjustified absences**. The student is deemed responsible to manage his/her absences. Emergency situations (hospitalization, family emergency...) will be analyzed on a case by case basis by the Academic Director of the HESP.

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Classroom norms:

- No food or drink is permitted in class
- No mobile phones or other electronic devices are permitted in class with the only exception of laptops (only when used for class purposes)
- Students will have a ten-minute break after the first hour of each session

Weekly schedule

WEEK 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE MIDDLE EAST (Date & Time: TBC)

Presentation of the course syllabus, methods, requirements, assessment criteria, and readings. The definitions and the limits of the Arab World, the Middle East and the Mediterranean. Basic introduction to the religious and ethnic diversity of this region and to different definitions of regional order.

Required readings for class discussion:

Gasper, Michael (2014), "The Making of the Modern Middle East", in Lust, E. (ed.), The Middle East, Los Angeles: SAGE, pp. 1-71.

WEEK 2: HISTORY OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD: RELIGION, SOCIETY AND POLITICS (Date & Time: TBC)

The fundamentals of Islam: origins, geography and doctrinal divisions. The history of Islam, Islamic thought and law. Political dynamics in Islamic history: from the early days to the Ottoman Empire. The principles of Islamic polity: Islam as a religious principle or as a basis for power and legitimacy. Tension between political unity and fragmentation.

Required readings for class discussion:

Esposito, John L. (2005), Islam: The Straight Path (revised 3rd ed.), New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-31.

WEEK 3: CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE MIDDLE EAST (Date & Time: TBC)

An overview of the impact of enlightenment and colonialism, the decline and dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, the rise of nationalism and the search for ideology. The origins of contemporary Middle Eastern and Mediterranean states and the emergence of a post-colonial state model. The impact of the creation of Israel and the link between internal and external dynamics.

Required readings for class discussion:

Owen, Roger (2004), *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East* (3rd ed.), New York: Routledge, pp. 5-23.

WEEK 4: POLITICAL REGIMES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE MIDDLE EAST (Date & Time: TBC)

Is there a democracy deficit in the Mediterranean and the Middle East? Is the robustness of authoritarianism a peculiarity of Arab political regimes? Why is authoritarianism so resilient in this region? Which kind of political regimes and why some are politically more open than others? Does partial liberalization result into democratic transitions?

Required readings for class discussion:

Bellin, Eva (2004), "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East", *Comparative Politics*, no. 36, pp. 139-157.

Diamond, Larry (2010), "Why Are There No Arab Democracies?",
Journal of Democracy, vol. 21, no. 1, pp. 93-112.

Brumberg, Daniel (2002) "The Trap of Liberalized Autocracy", *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 13, no. 4, pp. 56-68.

WEEK 5: POLITICAL ISLAM: INTELLECTUAL ORIGINS, EVOLUTION AND CONTEMPORARY GROUPS (Date & Time: TBC)

Which are the intellectual origins of political Islam? Which are the political goals of these movements? How has political Islam evolved over and adapt to different national contexts and different regime strategies? Which kind of Islamist groups exist? Dilemmas over political Islam and democracy. Is there a real post-Islamist approach towards society and politics? Islam, Modernity, Globalisation and Transnational Islam.

Required readings for class discussion:

Al-Anani, Khalil (2013), "Arab Islamists: From Opposition to Power: A Critical Appraisal", *IEMed. Mediterranean Yearbook 2013*, Barcelona: European Institute of the Mediterranean. Available at <http://www.iemed.org/observatori/arees-danalisi/arxiu-adjunts/anuari/iemed-2013/alAnani%20Islamist%20Opposition%20to%20Power%20EN.pdf>

El-Houdaiby, Ibrahim (2013), "From Prison to Palace: the Muslim Brotherhood's Challenges and Responses in Post-revolution Egypt", *Working Paper Fride & Hivos*, no. 117, http://fride.org/download/WP_117_From_Prison_to_Palace.pdf

WEEK 6: SOCIAL AND CULTURAL TRENDS IN THE 21ST CENTURY IN THE REGION (Date & Time: TBC)

Are there shared economic and social challenges in the Mediterranean and the Middle East? Which are the main deficits in terms of human development? The issue of gender in analyzing the region. Ethnicity and minorities: the question of identity. Al Jeel: generational cleavages in the Mediterranean and the Middle East.

Required readings for class discussion:

UNDP (2012), *Arab Development Challenges Report 2011*, pp. 1-14.

Al-Ali, Nadjie. (2012) "Gendering the Arab Spring", *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication*, no. 5, pp. 26-31. Available at <http://eprints.soas.ac.uk/13493/>

Khatib, Lina; Lust, Ellen (2014), "The Transformation of Arab Activism New Contexts: Domestic Institutions, and Regional Rivalries", Policy Brief PO MED. Available at <http://pomed.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/Policy-Brief-Khatib-Lust-May-2014.pdf>

Week 7: International Relations Theory And The Mediterranean And The Middle East (Date & Time: TBC)

Applying International Relations theories to reality. International Relations theories and the Middle East. Classical Realism. Structural realism and neoliberal institutionalism. The English School. Constructivism and post-structuralism.

Required readings for class discussion:

Halliday, Fred (1996), "The Middle East and International Politics", Islam and the Myth of Confrontation, London: I.B.Tauris, pp. 11-41.

Teti, Andrea (2007), "Bridging the Gap: IR, Middle East Studies and the Disciplinary Politics of the Area Studies Controversy", European Journal of International Relations, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 117-145.

WEEK 8: REGIONAL ORDER AND SUBORDERS: THE MAGHREB AND THE GULF (Date & Time: TBC)

Features of the regional order: primary institutions and secondary institutions. Alliances and regionalism in the Middle East. The role of superpowers and regional powers in fostering the regional order. The concept of sub-regional order. Actors and dynamics in the Maghreb sub-regional order. Actors and dynamics in the Gulf sub-regional order.

Required readings for class discussion:

Hinnesbusch, Raymond (2002), "The Middle East regional system", in Hennesbusch, R. & Ehteshami, A. (eds.), The Foreign Policies of Middle East States, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, pp. 29-50.

Gause III, F. Gregory (2009), "The international politics of the Gulf", in Fawcett, L. (ed.), International Relations of the Middle East, 2nd edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 272-289.

WEEK 9: CONTEMPORARY CONFLICTS IN THE REGION (Date & Time: TBC)

Is the region more conflictive than other regions? The historical origins of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The creation of Israel and the 1948 War and the Suez crisis. The long-lasting impact of 1967 and 1973 wars. Lebanon's invasion in 1982. From Oslo to the First Intifada. The Gulf Wars: Iraq-Iran 1980-1988; the invasion of Kuwait 1990-1991; the invasion of Iraq 2003. The war in Libya and in Syria amid the "Arab Spring".

Required readings for class discussion:

Blanchard, Cristopher M.; Humud, Carla E. & Nikitin, Mary B. (2014), "Armed Conflict in Syria: Overview and U.S. Response", CRS Report, September.

Tessler, Mark (2014), "The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict", in Lust, E. (ed.), The Middle East, Los Angeles: SAGE, pp. 287-366.

WEEK 10 : GEOPOLITICS OF ENERGY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE MIDDLE EAST (Date & Time: TBC)

The impact of energy in the consolidation of the state system in the Middle East. Rentier states and their foreign policy. Oil and gas and the international relations of the region. The OPEC as a foreign policy instrument. Energy and conflicts in the region.

Required readings for class discussion:

Luciani, G. (2009), "Oil and Political Economy in International Relations of the Middle East", in Fawcett, L. (ed.), International Relations of the Middle East, 2nd edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 81-103.

WEEK 11 : FOREIGN ACTORS AND THE REGION (Date & Time: TBC)

The colonial legacy and its impact over the European-Middle Eastern relations. The Mediterranean as EU's point of reference: The Barcelona Process and the Union for the Mediterranean. The European Neighborhood Policy towards the region. The E.U. and the Arab-Israeli Peace Process. The E.U. and the "Arab Spring". Origins of the U.S. involvement in the Middle East. The Middle East and the logics of the Cold War: from the Eisenhower Doctrine to the intervention in Lebanon. The "special relation" between the U.S. and Israel, and the U.S. and Saudi Arabia. The U.S. and the "Arab Spring".

Required readings for class discussion:

Balfour, Rosa (2012), "Changes and Continuities in EU-Mediterranean Relations after the Arab Spring", in Biscop, S., Balfour, R. & Emerson, M., *An Arab Springboard for EU Foreign Policy?*, CEPS Paperbacks, pp. 27-35.

Hudson, Michael C. (1996), "To play the Hegemon: Fifty years of U.S. policy toward the Middle East", *Middle East Journal*, vol. 50, no. 3, pp. 329-343.

WEEK 12 : CONCLUSIONS: TO WARDS A NEW MEDITERRANEAN AND MIDDLE EAST? (Date & Time: TBC)

Globalization and the Middle East. The region after 2011: A New Middle East? Continuity and change in the international relations of the Middle East.

Required readings for class discussion:

Henry, C. M. (2009), "The clash of globalization in the Middle East", in Fawcett, L. (ed.), *International Relations of the Middle East*, 2nd edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 104-128.

Malmvig, Helle (2013), "Ambiguous Endings: Middle East Regional Security in the Wake of the Arab Uprisings and the Syrian Civil War", DISS Report, no. 23.

Required readings: Course reading pack prepared by the instructors.

Al-Ali, Nadje. (2012) " Gendering the Arab Spring", *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication*, no. 5, pp. 6-31. Available at <http://eprints.soas.ac.uk/13493/>

Al-Anani, Khalil (2013), "Arab Islamists: From Opposition to Power: A Critical Appraisal", *IEMed. Mediterranean Yearbook 2013*, Barcelona: European Institute of the Mediterranean. Available at <http://www.iemed.org/observatori/arees-danalisi/arxiu-adjunts/anuari/iemed-2013/alAnani%20Islamist%20Opposition%20to%20Power%20EN.pdf>

Balfour, Rosa (2012), "Changes and Continuities in EU-Mediterranean Relations after the Arab Spring", in Biscop, S., Balfour, R. & Emerson, M., *An Arab Springboard for EU Foreign Policy?*, CEPS Paperbacks, pp. 27-35.

Bellin, Eva (2004), "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East", *Comparative Politics*, no. 36, pp. 139-157.

Blanchard, Cristopher M.; Humud, Carla E. & Nikitin, Mary B. (2014), "Armed Conflict in Syria: Overview and U.S. Response", *CRS Report*, September.

Brumberg, Daniel (2002) "The Trap of Liberalized Autocracy", *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 13, no. 4, pp. 56-68.

Diamond, Larry (2010), "Why Are There No Arab Democracies?", *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 21, no. 1, pp. 93-112.

El-Houdaiby, Ibrahim (2013), "From Prison to Palace: the Muslim Brotherhood's Challenges and Responses in Post-revolution Egypt", *Working Paper Fríde & Hivos*, no. 117, http://fride.org/download/WP_117_From_Prison_to_Palace.pdf

- Esposito, John L. (2005), *Islam: The Straight Path* (revised 3rd ed.), New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-31.
- Gasper, Michael (2014), "The Making of the Modern Middle East", in Lust, E. (ed.), *The Middle East*, Los Angeles: SAGE, pp. 1-71.
- Gause III, F. Gregory (2009), "The international politics of the Gulf", in Fawcett, L. (ed.), *International Relations of the Middle East*, 2nd edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 272-289.
- Halliday, Fred (1996), "The Middle East and International Politics", *Islam and the Myth of Confrontation*, London: I.B.Tauris, pp. 11-41.
- Henry, C. M. (2009), "The clash of globalization in the Middle East", in Fawcett, L. (ed.), *International Relations of the Middle East*, 2nd edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 104-128.
- Hinnesbusch, Raymond (2002), "The Middle East regional system", in Hinnesbusch, R. & Ehteshami, A. (eds.), *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, pp. 29-50.
- Hudson, Michael C. (1996), "To play the Hegemon: Fifty years of U.S. policy toward the Middle East", *Middle East Journal*, vol. 50, no. 3, pp. 329-343.
- Khatib, Lina; Lust, Ellen (2014), "The Transformation of Arab Activism New Contexts: Domestic Institutions, and Regional Rivalries", *Policy Brief POMED*. Available at <http://pomed.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/Policy-Brief-Khatib-Lust-May-2014.pdf>
- Luciani, G. (2009), "Oil and Political Economy in International Relations of the Middle East", in Fawcett, L. (ed.), *International Relations of the Middle East*, 2nd edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 81-103.
- Malmvig, Helle (2013), "Ambiguous Endings: Middle East Regional Security in the Wake of the Arab Uprisings and the Syrian Civil War", *DISS Report*, no. 23.
- Owen, Roger (2004), *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East* (3rd ed.), New York: Routledge, pp. 5-23.
- Tessler, Mark (2014), "The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict", in Lust, E. (ed.), *The Middle East*, Los Angeles: SAGE, pp. 287-366.
- Teti, Andrea (2007), "Bridging the Gap: IR, Middle East Studies and the Disciplinary Politics of the Area Studies Controversy", *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 117-145.
- UNDP (2012), *Arab Development Challenges Report 2011*, pp. 1-14.

Recommended bibliography:

- Ajami, F. (1978), "The end of pan-Arabism", *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 57, no. 2, pp. 355- 373.
- Ajami, Fouad (1981), *The Arab Predicament. Arab Political Thought and Practice since 1967*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Albrecht, Holger and Schlumberger, Oliver (2004), "'Waiting for Godot': Regime Change Without Democratization in the Middle East", *International Political Science Review*, vol. 25, no. 4, pp. 371-392.
- Al-Sheikh, S. R. & Sky, E. (2011), "Iraq since 2003: Perspective on a divided society", *Survival*, vol. 53, no. 4, pp. 119-142.
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- Anderson, Lisa (2004), "Scholarship, policy, debate and conflict: Why we study the Middle East and why it matters", *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, vol. 38, no. 1, pp. 2-15.

- Anderson, Lisa (1995) "Democracy in the Arab World: A Critique of the Political Culture Approach", in Rex Brynem, Bahgat Korany & Paul Noble, *Political, Liberalization & Democracy in the Arab World*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publisher.
- Armstrong, Karen (2000), *Islam. A Short History*, London: Phoenix Press.
- Ashley, P. (2012), "The Iranian Nuclear Program: Realist vs. Constructivist Models", *E-International Relations*, August. Available at: <http://www.e-ir.info/2012/08/18/the-iranian-nuclear-program-realist-vs-constructivist-models/> [last visited: December, 18th 2014].
- Ashour, Omar (2009), *The De-Radicalization of Jihadists: Transforming Armed Islamist Movements*, New York: Routledge Publishers.
- Ayoob, Mohamed (2007), *The Many Faces of Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Muslim World*, University of Michigan Press
- Ayubi, N. N. (1995), *Over-Stating the Arab State: Politics and Society in the Middle East*, London: I.B. Tauris.
- Ayubi, Nazih (1993), *Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Arab World*, New York: Routledge.
- Azmeh, al-A. (1995), "Nationalism and the Arabs", *Arab Studies Quarterly*, vol. 17:1- 2, Winter-Spring, pp. 1-19.
- Bahgat, G. (2009), "Egypt and Iran: The 30-year estrangement", *Middle East Policy*, vol. 16, no. 4, pp. 47-54.
- Balta, Paul (1991), *L'Islam dans le monde*, Paris: Le Monde Éditions.
- Barkey, H. (2012), "The push and pull of strategic cooperation: US relationship with Turkey in the Middle East", in Lesch, and Hass, (eds.), *The Middle East and the United States*, 5th edition, Boulder: Westview.
- Barnett, M. & Gause III, G. G. (1998), "Caravans in opposite directions: Society, state, and the development of community in the Gulf Cooperation Council", in Adler, E. & Barnett, M. (eds.), *Security Communities*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Barnett, M. (1993), "Institutions, roles and disorder: The case of the Arab states system", *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 37, no. 3, September, pp. 271-297.
- Bar-Siman-Tov, Y. (1991), "The Arab-Israeli War of October 1973 ", in George, A. (ed.), *Avoiding War: Problems of Crisis Management*, pp. 342-367.
- Bar-Siman-Tov, Y. (1998), "Peace policy as domestic and as foreign policy: The Israeli case", *Davis Occasional Papers*, no. 58, june.
- Bar-Siman-Tov, Y. (2000), "Israel-Egypt peace: Stable peace?", in Kacowicz, A. M. et al (eds.), *Stable Peace Among Nations*, Lanham: Rowman& Littlefield Publishers, pp. 220-238.
- Bass, W. (2003), *Support My Friend: Kennedy's Middle East and the Making of the US-Israel Alliance*, New York: Oxford University Press.
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- Beck, M. (2005), "From divergent views to a common policy: U.S. and E.U. approaches to promoting democratization in the Middle East", *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, vol. 2, no. 4, pp. 123-135.
- Beck, M. (2007), "Paving the way for democracies or strengthening authoritarianism? Reforms in the Middle East, in Fürtig, H. (ed.), *The Arab Authoritarian Regime between Reform and Persistence*, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp. 1-24.

- Beck, M. (2012), "Dyansties", in Anheier, H. K., Juergensmeyer, M. & Faessel, V. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Global Studies*, Thousand Oaks: Sage, pp. 436-439.
- Bellin, E. (2004), "The robustness of authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in comparative perspective", *Comparative Politics*, vol. 36, no. 2, pp. 139-157.
- Bellin, Eva (2012), "Reconsidering the Robustness of Autoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring", *Journal of Comparative Politics*, vol. 44, no.2, pp. 127-149.
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- Brown, Nathan J. (2014), "Political Islam Becomes Less Political", *Op-Ed Immanent Frame*, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2014/03/11/political-islam-becomes-less-political/h3ta>
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- Corm, George (2003), *Le Proche-Orient éclaté 1956-2003*, Paris: Gallimard.
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- Dunne, M. (2003), "The United States, the United Nations and Iraq: Multilateralism of a kind", *International Affairs*, vol. 72, no. 2, pp. 257-277.
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- Ehteshami, A. (2010), "Iranian perspective on the global elimination of Nuclear weapons", *Palestine-Israel: Journal of Politics, Economics and Culture*, vol. 16, no. 34, pp. 19-46.
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- Halliday, F. (2009), "The Middle East and Conceptions of 'International Society'", in Buzan, B. and Gonzalez-Pelaez, A., *International Society and the Middle East*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1-23.
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