

1 February 2017

PSC/IRP/MES 400/600: The Road to Democracy in the Islamic World

15-31 May 2017

Professor Mehrzad Boroujerdi

mboroujerdi@maxwell.syr.edu

Professor Matt Bonham

gmbonham@maxwell.syr.edu

IRP 400 and 600 | PSC 400 and 600 | MES 400 and 600

Class Meeting Time: 9:30 to 12:30

Office: TBA | Classroom: | Office Hours: 13:00 to 14:00

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

Why has there been a democracy deficit in the Islamic world for so long? What types of domestic and international factors can account for this phenomenon? What factors caused the Arab Spring? How relevant was political Islam to these uprisings? What does the literature of political science can tell us about moving from the breakdown of authoritarianism, to the process of transition itself, to post-transition trajectories? What type of long-term implications will the "Arab Spring" have for America's engagement with the Muslim world?

The course examines the problem of "democratic deficit" in the Muslim world, and analyzes the causes and consequences of the recent wave of revolutions against authoritarian rule in the Arab World. In addition, the course will look at the commitment of the United States to the promotion of democratic institutions and values in the Middle East. Case studies include Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey.

Detailed information about the program can be found at: http://syr-sa.terradotta.com/index.cfm?FuseAction=Programs.ViewProgram&Program_ID=10195.

PROGRAM STRUCTURE

This three-credit course (PSC/ IRP/ MES 400/600)—open to both undergraduate and graduate students from Syracuse as well as other universities—is made up of two stand-alone units. In the first unit Professor Boroujerdi will examine the dynamics of the recent wave of revolutions against authoritarian rule in the Arab World. In the second unit Professor Bonham will ascertain the extent to which American foreign policy has helped or hindered the development of democratic governance in the Islamic world. The seminars will meet on different days (see dates below) with classes generally held from 9:30 to 12:30.

INDEPENDENT STUDY OPTION

Undergraduate or graduate students wishing to earn an additional three credits and at the same time explore in more depth some of the themes discussed in the course, can sign up for an optional Independent Study (PSC/ IRP/ MES 490/690). Working closely with Professor Boroujerdi and Professor Bonham, they will define a research topic, conduct research and present the results in a research paper format. Students pursuing the independent study option will have individual conferences with the professors in the afternoons.

Independent Study Requirement

Undergraduate and graduate students who have signed up for the Independent Study credit are expected to write one major research paper, 10-15 double-spaced pages long, focusing on a particular paradigm, concept, or problem/issue examined in class. This paper, which should have a theoretical rather than a descriptive focus, is due on **15 June 2017**. Papers should be submitted as an email attachment to Mehrzad Boroujerdi: mboroujerdi@maxwell.syr.edu and Matt Bonham: gmbonham@maxwell.syr.edu.

These papers will be evaluated on the basis of the following criteria: 1. Coherence and persuasiveness of major thesis and arguments presented; 2. Ability to counter possible objections. 3. Form/style (spelling, grammar, and composition). In writing your research papers, please keep the following additional guidelines in mind:

- Choose a topic that interests you and encourages you to think deeply.

- A good paper has a clear structure with an introduction, a middle section elaborating an argument, and a conclusion.
- Defending your argument means carefully choosing and analyzing specific evidence, not simply repeating unsupported generalizations with slightly different wordings again and again.
- Do not repeat entire sections from books or articles. Quotations are occasionally effective, but you should not need the quotations to do the work for you. Quote only selectively, and quote only that which is particularly valuable as evidence.
- Try to consult a variety of sources (books, periodicals, internet sources, lectures, etc.). If you need to do research on a particular country for your paper, you may wish to consult the Library of Congress Country Studies available at:
<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/cshome.html>

Statement Regarding Disability-Related Accommodations

Students who are in need of disability-related academic accommodations must register with the Office of Disability Services (ODS), 304 University Avenue, Room 309, (315) 443-4498. Students with authorized disability related accommodations should provide a current Accommodation Authorization Letter from ODS to the instructor and review those accommodations with the instructor. Accommodations, such as exam administration, are not provided retroactively; therefore, planning for accommodations as early as possible is necessary. For further information, see the ODS website, [Office of Disability Services](http://disabilityservices.syr.edu/), <http://disabilityservices.syr.edu/>.

Academic Integrity Statement

The Syracuse University Academic Integrity Policy holds students accountable for the integrity of the work they submit. Students should be familiar with the policy (<http://academicintegrity.syr.edu>) and know that it is their responsibility to learn the instructor's expectations and the general academic rules with regard to proper citation of sources in written work. The policy also governs the integrity of work submitted in exams and assignments, as well as the veracity of signatures on attendance sheets and other verifications of participation in class activities. Serious sanctions can result from academic dishonesty of any sort. For more information and the complete policy, see <http://academicintegrity.syr.edu>. Students found to cheat will receive an F for that assignment. Students have a right to appeal.

Program and Course Overview

MON	TUES	WEDS	THURS	FRI	SAT	SUN
						May 14 Students arrive and check into hotel
May 15 14:00 – CIEE orientation and tour 19:00 – 20:30 Welcome dinner	May 16 9:30 – 12:30 – Class	May 17 9:30 – 12:30 – Class	May 18 9:30 – 12:30 – Class	May 19 Weekend	May 20 Weekend	May 21 9:30 – 12:30 – Class
May 22 9:30 – 12:30 – Class	May 23 9:30 – 12:30 Class	May 24 9:30 – 12:30 – Class	May 25 9:30 – 12:30 – Class	May 26 Weekend Ramadan begins at sundown (19:00)	May 27 Weekend	May 28 9:30 – 12:30 – Class 12:45 – 13:45 lunch
May 29 9:30 – 12:30 – Class 12:45 – 13:45 lunch	May 30 9:30 – 12:30 – Class 12:45 – 13:45 lunch 19:00 – 20:30 Farewell dinner	May 31 9:30 – 12:30 – Class Take home exam 12:45 – 13:45 lunch Students depart	June 1			

Professor Boroujerdi

REQUIREMENTS:

Participation

You should complete all required readings *before* each class meeting so that you are familiar with the concepts, facts, theories, and controversies to be discussed. Furthermore, you can engage in discussion through the course page in Blackboard <https://blackboard.syr.edu/webapps/portal/frameset.jsp>. We will use this venue to (a) post interesting or informative e-mail messages about the subject matter of the course; and (b) respond to points and issues raised by the instructors or your peers.

The program is also featured on **Facebook**. Please go to your Facebook account and "like" The Road to Democracy in the Islamic World: <http://www.facebook.com/#!/groups/112093362237141/>. We opened our Facebook group in November 2011 and we have posted many links to newspaper articles, as well as pictures and documents.

Journal of Notes

Both undergraduate and graduate students are expected to turn in a "journal of notes" (a reading log with critical commentary and opinion) on the assigned readings in the unit. In your six entries (each of which must be 2-3 double spaced pages), you are expected to analyze, compare, and contrast works read in the seminar by entertaining the following set of questions: (a) what is the author's *thesis*?; (b) what is the major point s/he is trying to make?; (c) what are the major *assumptions* the author makes (and expects readers to accept) in arguing that thesis?; (d) what are some *useful concepts* s/he presents?; (e) how does the reading *relate to previous readings*?; (f) what are the major *strengths and weaknesses* of the work?; (g) what *questions* have come to mind in light of past readings?; and (h) what are the *implications for research practice* if the author's thesis and underlying assumptions are valid or true? The deadline for turning in your journal of notes is June 15, 2017 and it should be emailed to Mehrzad Boroujerdi: mboroujerdi@maxwell.syr.edu

Take-Home Exam

For Professor Boroujerdi's section both undergraduate and graduate students will submit a Take-Home Examination by **15 June 2017**. This exam will be assigned on 24 June.

GRADING CRITERIA

- 1.** Classroom Participation: 20%
- 2.** Take-Home Exam: 40%
- 3.** Journal of Notes: 40%

Recommended Text

James L. Gelvin (2012). **The Arab Uprisings: What Everyone Needs to Know** (New York: Oxford University Press). ISBN-13: 978-0199891771.

This text is available from Amazon in the Kindle Library. If you have a MAC, an iPad, or an iPhone, you can download and install a Kindle app that enables you to read the book on any or all of your Apple devices. When you highlight text, the highlight will show on all of your devices; for example your MAC computer and your iPad. You can obtain the free app from Amazon (below) or directly from the Apple App Store.

Kindle for iPad: Read eBooks on your iPad - No Kindle Device Required:

www.amazon.com

The Kindle for iPad app lets you read eBooks anytime you have your iPad with you. Learn more or download the Kindle app from the iPad App Store.

May 14: *Student arrival, check-in to hotel.*

May 15, 2:00 pm: *Meet for CIEE Orientation & neighborhood walk.*

May 15, 6:30 to 9:00 pm: *Welcome dinner with Professor Boroujerdi:*

Reading Assignments

The Arab Spring

Indices of Democracy and Democratization (May 16)

Larry Diamond, "Why Are There No Arab Democracies?" **Journal of Democracy** 21, no. 1 (January 2010), pp. 93-104.

Democratic Deficit in the Middle East – Part I (May 17)

Eva Bellin, "Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East," **Comparative Politics** (January 2012), pp. 127-149.

Jack A. Goldstone, "Understanding the Revolutions of 2011: Weakness and Resilience in Middle Eastern Autocracies," **Foreign Affairs** 90, no. 3 (2011), pp. 8-16.

Democratic Deficit in the Middle East – Part II (May 18)

Alfred Stepan and Juan Linz. "Democratization Theory and the Arab Spring," **Journal of Democracy** 24, no. 2 (2013)

Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder. "Democratization and the Arab Spring," **International Interaction** 38, no.5 (2012), pp. 722-733.

Causes of the Arab Spring (May 21)

Lisa Anderson, "Demystifying the Arab Spring," **Foreign Affairs** 90, no. 3 (May 2011), pp. 2-7.

Sami Zubaida, "The 'Arab Spring' in the Historical Perspectives of Middle East Politics," **Economy and Society** 41, no. 4 (November 2012), pp. 568-579.

Asef Bayat, "The Arab Spring and its Surprises," **Development and Change** 44, no. 3 (2013), pp. 587-601.

F. Gregory Gause, III. "The Middle East Academic Community and the Winter of Arab Discontent: Why Did We Miss it?" **Stimson Center** (May 2011).

Sadek J. al-Azm, "The Arab Spring: "Why Exactly at this Time?" **Reason Papers** 33 (Fall 2011): 223-229.

Islamic Parties and Democratic Process (May 22)

Nathan Brown, et al. "How Do Scholars Study Islamist Movements and How Should We Be Studying Them?" **International Journal of Middle East Studies** 43, no. 1 (February 2011): 133-146.

Oliver Roy, "The Transformation of the Arab World," **Journal of Democracy** 23, no. 3 (July 2012), pp. 5-18.

Ibrahim Saif and Muhammad Abu Rumman, **The Economic Agenda of the Islamist Parties**, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (May 2012).

Sectarianism, Women and Prospects for the Future (May 23)

Sami Zubaida, "The Question of Sectarianism in Middle East Politics," **Open Democracy**, 8 July 2013.

Jason Brownlee, Tarek Masoud and Andrew Reynolds. "Tracking the Arab Spring: Why the Modest Harvest?" **Journal of Democracy** 24, no.4 (2013).

Michael L Ross. "Will Oil Drown the Arab Spring?: Democracy and the Resource Curse," **Foreign Affairs** 90, no. 5 (2011), pp. 2-7.

"Is the Arab Awakening Marginalizing Women?" Middle East Program, Woodrow Wilson Center (Summer 2012).

Take-Home Exam

Professor Bonham

REQUIREMENTS:

Participation

You should complete all required readings *before* each class meeting so that you are familiar with the concepts, facts, theories, and controversies to be discussed. Furthermore, you can engage in discussion through the course page in Blackboard <https://blackboard.syr.edu/webapps/portal/frameset.jsp>. We will use this venue to (a) post interesting or informative e-mail messages about the subject matter of the course; and (b) respond to points and issues raised by the instructors or your peers.

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Journal of Notes:

You will be required to keep a journal for the course. The purpose of the journal is to make a record of your thoughts and reactions to the activities of the week, as well as to reflect on their relevance for a possible career in international affairs. The journal must be well written and structured in paragraph format with the dates of each entry clearly designated. The entry for each class should cover the following topics: 1.

What happened (this can be brief); 2. Your reaction to what occurred (including your feelings), and 3. Its relevance, if any, to your career development. *Example of a Journal:* [Click Here](#) The deadline for turning in your journal of notes is June 15, 2017 and it should be emailed to Matt Bonham: gmbonham@maxwell.syr.edu.

Take-Home Exam

For Professor Bonham's section both undergraduate and graduate students will submit a Take-Home Examination by **15 June 2017**. This exam will be assigned on 8 July.

GRADING CRITERIA

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|-----------------------------|-----|
| 1. Classroom Participation: | 20% |
| 2. Take-Home Exam: | 40% |
| 3. Journal of Notes: | 40% |

Recommended Text

David W. Lesch and Mark L. Haas (eds.) (2012), **The Middle East and the United States: History, Politics, and Ideologies** (Boulder: Westview Press), 5th Edition (updated 2013). ISBN: 978-0-8133-4529-1; E-book ISBN: 978-0-81334530-7.

This text is available from Amazon in the Kindle Library. If you have a MAC, an iPad, or an iPhone, you can download and install a Kindle app that enables you to read the book on any or all of your Apple devices. When you highlight text, the highlight will show on all of your devices; for example, your MAC computer and your iPad. You can obtain the free app from Amazon (below) or directly from the Apple App Store.

Kindle for iPad: Read eBooks on your iPad - No Kindle Device Required:

www.amazon.com

The Kindle for iPad app lets you read eBooks anytime you have your iPad with you. Learn more or download the Kindle app from the iPad App Store.

Richard W. Mansbach and Kirsten L. Taylor, **Challenges for America in the Middle East**. Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage, 2017.

Reading Assignments

****Strongly Recommended***

The US Approach to the Islamic World (May 24: 9:30 to 10:30 am)

*Malik Mufti, "The United States and Nasserist Pan-Arabism," in **The Middle East and the United States**, Chapter 8, pp. 128-147.

*Richard W. Mansbach and Kirsten L. Taylor, **Challenges for America in the Middle East**. "Competing Currents in US Foreign Policy," Chapter 2, pp. 29-55.

The US and the Arab Spring (May 24: 10:30 to 12:30 pm)

*Richard W. Mansbach and Kirsten L. Taylor, **Challenges for America in the Middle East**, Chapters 3-5, pp. 60-123.

The Arab-Israeli Conflict (May 25: 9:30 to 12:30 pm)

Fawaz A. Gerges, "The 1967 Arab-Israeli War: US Actions and Arab Perceptions," in **The Middle East and the United States**, Chapter 11, pp. 177-196.

Janis Gross Stein, "Flawed Strategies and Missed Signals: Crisis Bargaining Between the Superpowers, October 1973," in **The Middle East and the United States**, Chapter 12, pp. 197-219.

*Bernard Reich and Shannon Powers, "The United States and Israel: The Nature of a Special Relationship," in **The Middle East and the United States**, Chapter 13, pp. 220-243.

Jeremy Pressman, "From Madrid to Oslo to Camp David: The United States and the Arab- Israeli Conflict, 1991-2001," in **The Middle East and the United States**, Chapter 14, pp. 244-261.

*Robert O. Freedman, "George W. Bush, Barack Obama, and the Arab Israeli Conflict," in **The Middle East and the United States**, Chapter 15, pp. 262-293.

*Richard W. Mansbach and Kirsten L. Taylor, **Challenges for America in the Middle East**, Chapters 9 and 10, pp. 190-215.

Ramada begins at sunset on Friday, May 26

Iraq (May 28: 9:30 to 12:30 pm)

F. Gregory Gause III, "From 'Over the Horizon' to 'Into the Backyard,'" in **The Middle East and the United States**, Chapter 18, pp. 326-340.

*Steve A. Yetiv, "The Iraq War of 2003. Why Did the United States Decide to Invade?" in **The Middle East and the United States**, Chapter 19, pp. 341-360.

*Ali R. Abootalebi, "What Went Wrong in Iraq?" in **The Middle East and the United States**, Chapter 20, pp. 361-375.

Richard W. Mansbach and Kirsten L. Taylor, **Challenges for America in the Middle East**, Chapters 12 and 13, pp. 233-270.

Syria (May 29: 9:30 to 10:30 am)

William R. Polk, "Understanding Syria: From Pre-Civil War to Post-Assad," **The Atlantic**, December 2013.

Graeme Wood, "What ISIS Really Wants," **The Atlantic**, March 2015, pp. 79-94.

Turkey (May 29: 10:30 to 12:30 pm)

*Charles King, **Midnight at the Pera Palace. The Birth of Modern Turkey**, 2014, pp. 1-198.

Iran (May 30: 9:30 to 12:30 pm)

*Gary Sick, "The United States in the Persian Gulf: From Twin Pillars to Dual Containment," in **The Middle East and the United States**, Chapter 17, pp. 309-325.

*Mark L. Haas, "Ideology and Iran's American Policies, 1997-2008," in **The Middle East and the United States**, Chapter 23, pp. 416-438.

G. Matthew Bonham, "The 'Axis of Evil' Metaphor and the Restructuring of Iranian views toward the US," [Word](#) | [PDF](#)

Alternative Futures (May 31: 9:30 to 12:30 pm)

Graham T. Allison and Robert T. Beschel, Jr. (1992), "Can the United States Promote Democracy," **Political Science Quarterly** 107, no. 1 (Spring), pp. 81-98.

Jon B. Alterman, "Is It Time for the United States to Give Up on Arab Liberals?" in **The Middle East and the United States**, Chapter 24, pp. 438-448.

*Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, "Islamist Perceptions of US Policy in the Middle East," in **The Middle East and the United States**, Chapter 25, pp. 449-472.

G. Matthew Bonham (2010), "From Axis of Evil to a New Beginning: Discourses of Bush and Obama." Paper presented at the International Society of Political Psychology, Annual Convention, July: [Word](#) | [PDF](#) | [Presentation](#)

"President Obama Talks about the Arab Spring: Narrative and Metaphor," [Symposium on Warring with Words](#): Narrative and Metaphor in Domestic and International Politics, Claremont Graduate University, March 24, 2012: [PPT](#) | [PDF](#)

Richard W. Mansbach and Kirsten L. Taylor, **Challenges for America in the Middle East**, Chapter 15, pp. 285-294.