

### PO/IR319 EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST IES Abroad Berlin

## **DESCRIPTION:**

This interdisciplinary course provides an in-depth introduction to the international politics of the Middle East. The engagement with crucial empirical understandings of the region including transnational ideologies (e.g. pan-Arabism, pan-Islamism), international conflicts (e.g. the conflict in Israel/Palestine,), and the relation between globalisation and regional politics as well as contentious politics constitutes the introduction of the course. In the wake of the so called "Arab Spring", the "refugee crisis" in 2015 and the rise of ISIS, the Europe's neighbouring region became a central topic in various forms. These substantial changes and conflicts do not only re-shape the political map of the Middle East, but also influence the political situation, public discourse, and policy-making process in Europe and on a global scale. The spillover of Middle-East conflicts beyond the region's borders challenges traditional thinking about core matters of European security and social cohesion. However, in many of these discourses the long history, including colonial history, of relations between the Middle East and Europe is neglected. The course will thus shed light on the different historical connections between Europe and the Middle East. Drawing on this historical background, the course will examine and contextualize what is labelled the "Arab Spring" the "refugee crisis" and recent developments with regard to Islamic radicalism and Jihadi-Salafism. The course will also critically engage with concepts such as identity politics, sectarianism, and Islamic fundamentalism, which often appear as explanations for conflicts. The last part of the course will be dedicated to analyzing the impact of the conflict situation in the Middle East and transnational dynamics on European politics and society. In this context, we will focus on two strategic interfaces: (1) forced migration from conflict areas and (2) terrorism and radicalization, as two threads connecting the events in the Middle East with the social and political reality in Europe. We will also examine the systemic impact of these topics on the current political discourse and through one excursion where we will meet groups/representatives from refugee communities/ diaspora activists.

CREDITS: 3

**CONTACT HOURS:** 45

INSTRUCTOR: Dr. Nora Jasmin Ragab

PREREQUISITES: No prerequisite

### **METHOD OF PRESENTATION:**

Lecture, discussion, student presentations, course-related trip.

ADDITIONAL COST: None

### LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION: English

### LEARNING OUTCOMES:

By the end of the course, students will be able to:

- Identify and analyze structural causes of conflict escalation in regional and global conflicts
- Understand and analyze present and past relations between the Middle East and Europe
- Identify historical continuities and (post-)colonial dynamics shaping international relations between the two neighboring regions
- Analyze the influence of (1) forced migration, and (2) terrorism and radicalization as two separate phenomena on the political discourse and strategic policy making in Europe today
- Critical understanding of key concepts often used to explain conflicts
- Understand differences between actors, ideological backgrounds and histories
- Contextualize the term "crisis" in a more global perspective



# **REQUIRED WORK AND FORM OF ASSESSMENT:**

- Course participation- 10 %
- Class Presentation 15 %
- Midterm exam 25 %
- Research essay 25 %
- Final Exam 25 %

# **COURSE PARTICIPATION**

The development of a meaningful discussion depends on students' active participation in class and on their critical reflection on the reading materials. Each session will be structured around a distinct topic, which will be addressed with the help of one or more texts posted on Moodle beforehand. Students will be expected to prepare for class by reading and reflecting upon the assigned texts, and to participate in class discussions, showing that they have understood and critically evaluated the authors' arguments. The IES rubric for participation will be uploaded to moodle.

## **CLASS PRESENTATION**

Each session will be introduced by two students with a 15 minute presentation on key concepts, central arguments and open questions of the readings assigned in the respective course session. This will be in form of a joint presentations by two students, but each student will need to identify their contribution to the presentation. These presentations will provide the possibility to focus on central aspects and open questions students have. In the first session, students will be assigned for one presentation (to be held in session 2-17).

## MID-TERM EXAM

The midterm exam (4-6 questions) has the dual purpose of testing students' knowledge of facts, and evaluating their ability to critically analyze and contextualize historical events and political trends. It will focus on material covered in the first half of the course (90 minutes, week 6 /midterms week).

## **RESEARCH ESSAY**

Students will write a research essay (ca. 2,000 words) which is due in session 19. In their essay, students develop a coherent argument with the support of textual sources to be cited according to MLA or Chicago standards. Students will be required to schedule a time to discuss their topic with the instructor before session 5.

### **Final Exam**

The final exam (4-6 questions) focuses on material covered in the second half of the semester. Students should, however, also be able to integrate ideas discussed in the first half of the semester in their answers on the final (90 minutes, last week /finals week).

### ATTENDANCE POLICY:

Attendance and punctuality in all courses and field studies are mandatory. Absences can only be excused for valid reasons. Unexcused absences can affect students' grades. Students who miss 25% or more of all class sessions will fail the course. Missed exams cannot be taken at another time except in case of documented illness. Late submission of term papers and other work will result in grade reduction unless an extension due to illness or an emergency is approved. Please consult the IES Berlin Academics Manual on Moodle for additional details.

### ACADEMIC INTEGRITY:

Students are expected to abide by the IES Abroad Academic Integrity Code. Assigned papers need to be properly and amply footnoted where appropriate, with all sources attributed, including images. Suspicious papers may be checked with plagiarism-detecting software.

### CONTENT:

Week	Content	Readings	Assessment
Week 1	Session 1: Introduction	No readings assigned	



	Session 2 State formation in the Middle East & international conflicts: colonial institutions, ideologies and political violence	Hinnebusch, Raymond. 2003. <i>The international politics of the Middle East</i> . Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press. 73-90. Halliday, Fred. 2005. <i>The Middle East in</i>	
		<i>international relations: power, politics and ideology.</i> Cambridge University Press. 193-228.	
Week 2	Session 3 Introduction: Middle East identity politics and the construction of a region	Bilgin, Pinar. 2004. "Whose 'Middle East'? Geopolitical Inventions and Practices of Security." <i>International Relations</i> 18 (1): 25-41.	
	Session 4 Identity, Religion and Sectarianization in the Middle East	Hashemi, Nader and Danny Postel, eds. 2017. Sectarianization: mapping the new politics of the Middle East. London: Hurst & Company. 1-34	Student presentation
Week 3	Session 5 Religious extremism and sectarian disputes:	Gerges, Fawaz A. 2016. <i>ISIS: a history</i> . Princeton: Princeton University Press. 50-97.	Student presentation
	Where did ISIS come from?	See also public lecture by F. Gerges https://lecture2go.uni-hamburg.de/l2go/- /get/v/19455	
		" <u>The Secret History of ISIS</u> " — Frontline (2016) <u>http://www.pbs.org/video/frontline-secret-</u> <u>history-isis/</u>	
	Session 6 Divided by a common language?	Al-Anani, K. 2015. Upended Path: The Rise and Fall of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood. <i>The Middle East Journal</i> , 69(4), 527-543.	Student presentation
	The Muslim Brotherhood and Hezbollah	Saade, Bashir. 2016. <i>Hizbullah and the Politics of Remembrance: Writing the Lebanese Nation</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 16-39.	
Week 4	Session 7 The Middle East in European Politics – The cases of Israel/Palestine and Libya	Müller, Patrick and Sharon Pardo. 2018. "Israel and Palestine and the European Neighbourhood Policy." In The Routledge handbook on the European neighbourhood policy, edited by Tobias Schumacher, Andreas Marchetti and Thomas Demmelhuber, New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 347-357.	Student presentation
		Capasso, Matteo. 2014. "The Libyan Drawers: 'Stateless Society,' 'Humanitarian Intervention,' 'Logic of Exception' and 'Traversing the Phantasy'." Middle East Critique: 1-18.	
	Session 8 The Middle East in European Politics – The case of the 'Arab Spring'	Teti, Andrea. 2012. "The EU's First Response to the 'Arab Spring': A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Partnership for Democracy and Shared Prosperity." Mediterranean Politics 17 (3): 266- 284.	Student presentation
		Demmelhuber, Thomas. 2018. "The challenges of a changing Southern neighbourhood." In The	



Week 5	Session 9 History of Relations and discourses between Europe and the Middle East I Session 10 History of Relations and discourses	Routledge handbook on the European neighbourhood policy, edited by Tobias Schumacher, Andreas Marchetti and Thomas Demmelhuber, New York, N.Y.: Routledge. 177- 185. Hollis, Rosemary. 2016. "Europe in the Middle East." In International Relations of the Middle East, edited by Louise Fawcett, 344-362. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Said, Edward W. 2003 [1978]. Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient. London: Penguin. 73-92. Dis:Orient Workshop	
	between Europe and the Middle East II		
Week 6	Mid-term exam (90 minutes in class)		
Week 7	<b>Session 11</b> The Arab Spring: the struggle for civil and political liberties	Tripp, Charles. 2013. <i>The Power and the People:</i> <i>Paths of Resistance in the Middle East</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1-18. Anderson, Lisa. 2014. "Authoritarian Legacies and Regime Change: Towards Understanding Political Transition in the Arab World." In <i>The</i> <i>new Middle East: protest and revolution in the</i> <i>Arab World</i> , edited by Fawaz A. Gerges, 41-59. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.	Panel discussion with political activists from Lebanon, Syria and Tunisia
	Session 12 The "refugee crisis" or a crisis for refugees?	Chatty, Dawn. 2015. "Displacement and Dispossession in the Middle East." In <i>A</i> <i>Companion to the Anthropology of the Middle</i> <i>East</i> , edited by Soraya Altorki, 249-261. Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell. Chatty, Dawn. 2013. "Forced migration." In <i>The</i> <i>Encyclopedia of Global Human Migration</i> , edited by Immanuel Ness, 1-5. Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell. Kukathas, Chandran. 2016. "Are Refugees Special?" In <i>Migration in Political Theory: The</i> <i>Ethics of Movement and Membership</i> , edited by Sarah Fine and Lea Ypi, 249-268. Oxford: Oxford University Press. See also Public Lecture by Dawn Chatty The Syrian Humanitarian Disaster: Sustainability of Containment in the Conflict Region <u>https://lecture2go.uni-hamburg.de/l2go/- /get/v/19312</u>	Student presentation



Week 8	Session 13 The refugee crisis: current	Adamson, Fiona B. 2016. Crossing Borders: International Migration and National	Student presentation
	developments	Security. International security 31.1: 165-199.	
		Bank, André, Christiane Fröhlich and Andrea	
		Schneiker. 2017. "The Political Dynamics of	
		Human Mobility: Migration out of, as and into	
		Violence." <i>Global Policy</i> 8 (S1): 12-18.	
		Trauner, Florian. 2016. Asylum Policy: The EU's	
		'Crises' and the Looming Policy Regime Failure.	
		Journal of European Integration 38(3): 311-325.	
	Session 14	Huysmans, Jef. 2002. "Shape-Shifting NATO:	Student
	The influence of the refugee crisis on the European political debate and	Humanitarian Action and the Kosovo Refugee Crisis." <i>Review of International Studies</i> 28 (3):	presentation
	electoral patterns	599-618.	
		Holmes, S. M., & Castañeda, H. (2016).	
		Representing the "European refugee crisis" in	
		Germany and Beyond: Deservingness and	
		Difference, Life and Death. <i>American Ethnologist</i> , <i>43</i> (1), 12-24.	
Week 9	Session 15	Bank, Roland. 2014. "Forced Migration in	Student
	The refugee crisis in the context of	Europe." In The Oxford handbook of refugee and	presentation
	European and international structures	forced migration studies, edited by Elena	
	of governance	Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Gil Loescher, Katy Long and	
		Nando Sigona,. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 690-702	
		Betts, Alexander. 2011. "International	
		Cooperation in the Refugee Regime." In Refugees	
		<i>in international relations</i> , edited by Alexander	
		Betts and Gil Loescher, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 53-84.	
		European Commission – Fact Sheet: EU-Turkey	
		Statement: Questions and Answers. 19 March	
		2016. 1-4.	
		http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release MEMO- 16-963 en.htm	
	Session 16	Betts, Alexander and Paul Collier. 2015. "Help	Student
	From first aid to long-term	Refugees Help Themselves: Let Displaced Syrians	presentation
	development: European policies and	Join the Labor Market." <i>Foreign Affairs</i> 94 (6):	
	political violence in the context of immigration	84-92.	
	-	Didier, B., & Guild, E. 2015. The EU Counter-	
		Terrorism Policy Responses to the Attacks in	
		Paris. Towards an EU Security and Liberty	
		Agenda. Brussel: CEPS. 1-17.	
		Long, Katy. 2014. Rethinking 'Durable' Solutions.	



		In Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, E., Loescher, G., Long, K., &	
		Sigona, N. (Eds.). The Oxford Handbook of	
		Refugee and Forced Migration Studies. Oxford.	
		Oxford University Press. 475-487.	
Week 10	Session 17	Adib-Moghaddam, Arshin. 2011. A metahistory	Research essay
Week 10	Migration, Terror and Racialization	of the clash of civilisations: us and them beyond	due
		orientalism. London: C. Hurst & Co. 1-25. See	uue
		also public lecture: https://lecture2go.uni-	
		hamburg.de/l2go/-/get/v/19246	
		Clayer, Nathalie. 2015. "The Muslims in	
		Southeastern Europe: From Ottoman subjects to	
		European citizens." In <i>Routledge handbook of</i>	
		Islam in the West, edited by Roberto Tottoli, 70-	
		84. London: Routledge.	
		Huntington, Samuel P (1993) The Clash of	
		Civilizations? Foreign Affairs (1993): 22-49.	
	Session 18	Abbas, Tahir. 2015. "Muslim political	
	Contexts of Fundamentalism:	radicalization in the West." In <i>Routledge</i>	
	Radicalization between Europe and	handbook of Islam in the West, edited by	
	the Middle East	Roberto Tottoli, 272-285. London: Routledge.	
		Roy, Olivier. 2017. Jihad and death the global	
		appeal of Islamic State. English language edition	
		ed. London: Hurst & Company. 1-40.	
Week 11	Session 19-20	Excursion where we meet	
	Confronting a "new" threat: Europe's	groups/representatives from refugee	
	efforts to counter new challenges of transnational terror	communities/ diaspora activists.	
	Radicalization within local Muslim		
	communities in Europe		
Week 12	Session 21	Youngs, Robert. 2014. Europe in the New	
	Europe and the new Middle East:	Middle East: Opportunity or Exclusion?	
	challenges and opportunities	Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1-22, 170- 184	
	Session 22		
	Final discussion, exam preparation		
Week 13	Final Exam (90 minutes in class)		

## EXCURSIONS

Visit at one of the think tanks that consult the German government/EU on ME such as the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF) with an office in Berlin and a focus on jihadism in Germany; or the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP).

### **REQUIRED READINGS:**

• Abbas, Tahir. 2015. "Muslim political radicalization in the West." In *Routledge handbook of Islam in the West*, edited by Roberto Tottoli, 272-285. London: Routledge.



- Adamson, Fiona B. 2016. Crossing Borders: International Migration and National Security. International security 31(1): 165-199.
- Adib-Moghaddam, Arshin. 2013. On the Arab Revolts and the Iranian Revolution: power and resistance today. New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Adib-Moghaddam, Arshin. 2011. A metahistory of the clash of civilisations: us and them beyond orientalism. London: C. Hurst & Co.
- Al-Anani, K. 2015. Upended Path: The Rise and Fall of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood. *The Middle East Journal*, 69(4), 527-543.
- Anderson, Lisa. 2014. "Authoritarian Legacies and Regime Change: Towards Understanding Political Transition in the Arab World." In *The new Middle East: protest and revolution in the Arab World*, edited by Fawaz A. Gerges, 41-59. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bank, André, Christiane Fröhlich and Andrea Schneiker. 2017. "The Political Dynamics of Human Mobility: Migration out of, as and into Violence." *Global Policy* 8 (S1): 12-18.
- Bank, Roland. 2014. "Forced Migration in Europe." In *The Oxford handbook of refugee and forced migration studies*, edited by Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Gil Loescher, Katy Long and Nando Sigona, 690-702. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Betts, Alexander and Paul Collier. 2015. "Help Refugees Help Themselves: Let Displaced Syrians Join the Labor Market." *Foreign Affairs* 94 (6): 84-92.
- Betts, Alexander. 2011. "International Cooperation in the Refugee Regime." In *Refugees in international relations,* edited by Alexander Betts and Gil Loescher, 53-84. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bilgin, Pinar. 2004. "Whose 'Middle East'? Geopolitical Inventions and Practices of Security." International Relations 18 (1): 25-41.
- Capasso, Matteo. 2014. "The Libyan Drawers: 'Stateless Society,' 'Humanitarian Intervention,' 'Logic of Exception' and 'Traversing the Phantasy'." *Middle East Critique*: 1-18.
- Chatty, Dawn. 2015. "Displacement and Dispossession in the Middle East." In *A Companion to the Anthropology of the Middle East*, edited by Soraya Altorki, 249-261. Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell.
- Chatty, Dawn. 2013. "Forced migration." In *The Encyclopedia of Global Human Migration*, edited by Immanuel Ness, 1-5. Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell.
- Clayer, Nathalie. 2015. "The Muslims in southeastern Europe: From Ottoman subjects to European citizens." In *Routledge* handbook of Islam in the West, edited by Roberto Tottoli, 70-84. London: Routledge.
- Demmelhuber, Thomas. 2018. "The challenges of a changing Southern neighbourhood." In *The Routledge handbook on the European neighbourhood policy*, edited by Tobias Schumacher, Andreas Marchetti and Thomas Demmelhuber, 177-185. New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Didier, B., & Guild, E. 2015. The EU Counter-Terrorism Policy Responses to the Attacks in Paris. Towards an EU Security and Liberty Agenda. Brussel: CEPS. 1-17.
- European Commission Fact Sheet: EU-Turkey Statement: Questions and Answers. 19 March 2016. 1-4. http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release MEMO-16-963 en.htm
- Gerges, Fawaz A. 2016. ISIS: a history. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Halliday, Fred. 2005. The Middle East in international relations: power, politics and ideology. Cambridge University Press.
- Hashemi, Nader and Danny Postel, eds. 2017. Sectarianization: mapping the new politics of the Middle East. London: Hurst & Company.
- Hinnebusch, Raymond. 2003. *The international politics of the Middle East*. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 1993. The Clash of Civilizations? Foreign Affairs (1993): 22-49.
- Huysmans, Jef. 2002. "Shape-Shifting NATO: Humanitarian Action and the Kosovo Refugee Crisis." *Review of International Studies* 28 (3): 599-618.
- Hollis, Rosemary. 2016. "Europe in the Middle East." In *International Relations of the Middle East*, edited by Louise Fawcett, 344-362. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Holmes, S. M., & Castañeda, H. (2016). Representing the "European refugee crisis" in Germany and Beyond: Deservingness and Difference, Life and Death. *American Ethnologist*, 43(1), 12-24.
- Kukathas, Chandran. 2016. "Are Refugees Special?" In *Migration in Political Theory: The Ethics of Movement and Membership*, edited by Sarah Fine and Lea Ypi, 249-268. Oxford: Oxford University Press.



- Long, Katy. 2014. Rethinking 'Durable' Solutions. In Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, E., Loescher, G., Long, K., & Sigona, N. (Eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*. Oxford. Oxford University Press.
- Müller, Patrick and Sharon Pardo. 2018. "Israel and Palestine and the European Neighbourhood Policy." In *The Routledge* handbook on the European neighbourhood policy, edited by Tobias Schumacher, Andreas Marchetti and Thomas Demmelhuber, 347-357. New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Saade, Bashir. 2016. *Hizbullah and the Politics of Remembrance: Writing the Lebanese Nation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Said, Edward W. 2003 [1978]. Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient. London: Penguin.
- Roy, Olivier. 2017. *Jihad and death the global appeal of Islamic State*. English language edition ed. London: Hurst & Company.
- Teti, Andrea. 2012. "The EU's First Response to the 'Arab Spring': A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Partnership for Democracy and Shared Prosperity." *Mediterranean Politics* 17 (3): 266-284.
- Trauner, Florian. 2016. Asylum Policy: The EU's 'Crises' and the Looming Policy Regime Failure. *Journal of European Integration* 38(3): 311-325.
- Tripp, Charles. 2013. *The Power and the People: Paths of Resistance in the Middle East*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Youngs, Robert. 2014. Europe in the New Middle East: Opportunity or Exclusion? Oxford: Oxford University Press.

# **RECOMMENDED READINGS:**

- Adib-Moghaddam, A. (2011) A metahistory of the clash of civilisations: us and them beyond orientalism, London: C. Hurst & Co.
- Anderson, Betty S. (2016) A history of the modern Middle East rulers, rebels, and rogues. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Barnett, M.N. (1998) Dialogues in Arab politics: negotiations in regional order, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Bellin, E. (2012). Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring. *Comparative Politics*, 44(2), 127-149.
- Diez, Thomas, Ingvild Bode, and Aleksandra Fernandes da Costa, eds. 2011. *Key Concepts in International Relations*. London: Sage.
- Esposito, John L. and Emad El-Din Shahin. (2013) *The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fawcett, L. ed. (2013) International relations of the Middle East, 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Halliday, F. (2005) The Middle East in international relations: power, politics and ideology: Cambridge University Press.
- Hinnebusch, R. (2003) The international politics of the Middle East, Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press.
- Tottoli, R. (2015) Routledge handbook of Islam in the West. London: Routledge.