Instructor: Mohammed Cherkaoui, PhD   Email: mcherkao@gmu.edu
Location: Founders Hall, Room 308   Office Hours: by appointment

"The main question of the revolution is: is this the end or the beginning of some deeper and longer process? I am of the view that it is a deeper and longer process because the change is deeper and it is not been dealt with yet."

Egyptian Novelist Ezzedine Choukri Fishere, 2013

Objectives:

The open-ended projects of social change, often characterized as "Arab Awakening", "Arab Uprisings", "Arab Revolutions", "Arab Decade", or the orientalist catchy phrase "Arab Spring", have entered their fourth year with rather complex transformation of Arab societies. They have ushered to a new era of contentious politics and collective action, and fueled an unsettled war of narrated legitimacies and political subjectivities. So far, there has been a crisis of governance [Tunisia and Libya], crisis of legitimacy [Egypt], crisis of violence with more than 130,000 casualties [Syria] in the midst of waning international diplomacy through the UN-led Geneva talks. Kingdoms like Morocco, Jordan, and the Gulf States have indirectly argued for their monarchical 'exceptionalism'. Other Arab societies like Yemen are still struggling with pluralism and politico-economic reforms while debating the outcome of the first three years of the uprising. Since democratization remains a long-term challenge in the Arab context, a number of institutions and dominant narratives have been destabilized. New political leadership and parliamentary representation have been contested through and outside the electoral process, and conflicts have emerged between Islamism(s), militarism(s), dynastism(s), modernism(s), secularism(s), and liberal constitutionalism(s).

This course examines the post-uprising conflicts in North Africa and the Middle East, and studies their causality, dynamics, and trajectory. It addresses the emerging animosity between the newly-empowered Islamist groups, which have benefited from the ballots like Tunisia's *Nahda* and Egypt's *Muslim Brotherhood* before July 3rd, 2013, and mainstream Muslims, including liberal and secular groups, within clear divergence between *Islamists* and *Muslims*. The course also focuses on how the Arab youth have contributed to a new Arab dynamic public sphere through their cyber activism. They also brought about what can be claimed as the first full digital mediatization process of social change in history. The course is organized around four main themes:

Part One: Dynamics of the Arab Meta-Conflict
Part Two: Conflict Resolution and the Clash of Narrated Legitimacies
Part Three: The New Arab Imaginary
Part Four: The New Dialectic and Arab Contentious Politics

The course also explores whether this Arab political and cultural awakening will contribute to a new Arab age of enlightenment with its own specificity and dynamics, or will introduce a replica of the European Enlightenment as a global post-Industrial Revolution phase of transformation within world history spanning over various geographies. It ends with a discussion of the potential of Arab conflict resolution in addressing the post-uprisings conflicts.

The Course Format:
The course will be run as a combined lecture and graduate seminar with an emphasis on discussion of the readings and students' reflections. It is therefore imperative that students read the assigned material prior to class. Missing more than one or two classes will inevitably reduce your overall participation and hence result in a lower participation grade. Each meeting will consist of four components: a. lecture, b. reading presentation, c. guest lecture/video presentation, and d. class discussion of various characteristics of the Arab uprisings.

There are two categories of reading materials: required reading and recommended reading. Required reading materials are mandatory. Recommended reading materials are optional but useful for students to deepen their understanding of the complexity of the uprisings. In addition, class members are encouraged to follow and critically examine daily news reports on current events in the region, and read relevant articles in *Journal of Democracy, Foreign Affairs, openDemocracy* (online), and *Third World Quarterly.*

Required books:
- ✓ **David McMurry and Amanda Somers,** *The Arab Revolts: Dispatches on Militant Democracy in the Middle East*, (Indiana University Press, 2013)
- ✓ **Marc Lynch,** *The Arab Uprising: The Unfinished Revolution of the New Middle East,* (Public Affairs, 2012)

Blackboard:
Selected book chapters and articles will be posted on Blackboard. You can access Blackboard 9.1 by following these steps:
1.   Go to http://mymason.gmu.edu
2.   Login using your NETID and password
3.   Click on the 'Courses" tab
4.   Double-click on CONF-695-002 under the "Blackboard 9.1 Course" heading.

Additional Readings (Recommended):
- ✓ **Marwan Muasher,** *The Second Arab Awakening And the Battle for Pluralism*, (Yale University Press, 2014)
- ✓ **Adeed Dawisha,** *The Second Arab Awakening: Revolution, Democracy, and the Islamist Challenge from Tunis to Damascus,* (W. W. Norton & Company, 2013)
- ✓ **Carrie Wickham,** *The Muslim Brotherhood: Evolution of an Islamist Movement,* (Princeton University Press, 2013)
- ✓ **Nathan Brown,** *When Victory is not an Option: Islamist Movements in Arab Politics,* (Cornwell University Press, 2012)

✓ **Jeffery Alexander,** *Performative Revolution in Egypt: An Essay in Cultural Power*, (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2011)

✓ **Jean-Pierre Filiu,** *The Arab Revolution: Ten Lessons from the Democratic Uprising* (Oxford University Press, 2011)

Honor Code Policy:
I expect you to understand and abide by the University's policy regarding the Honor Code, which may be found at http://academicintegrity.gmu.edu/honorcode In short, the University's policy regarding the Honor Code prohibits any form of cheating on exams or written assignments. It also prohibits plagiarism, so be certain to properly cite all information that you use in your papers. It is S-CAR policy to grant grades of "Incomplete" only in cases of proven illness or other personal emergency.

English Language Institute:
The English Language Institute offers free English language tutoring to non-native English speaking students who are referred by a member of the GMU faculty or staff. For more information, contact 703-993-3642 or malle2@gmu.edu.

The Writing Center:
The Writing Center is a free writing resource that offers individual, group, and online tutoring. For general questions and comments please contact us at wcenter@gmu.edu or call: 703-993-4491.

Exercises, Grades, and Course Requirements:
1. **Participation:** Class members are expected to come prepared to engage with the topics and with the class. They should undertake the necessary background readings that will enable them to lead or participate in a discussion of the ideas, issues, and problems that form the focus of attention for each weekly class. *This is worth 20% of your final grade.*

2. **Reading presentation:** Each class member will present the week's readings and lead the discussion once in the semester - *(20%).*

3. **Reflective Essay:** You will need to write a 1250-word paper to answer one of two questions about the Arab uprisings covering the relevant literature of CAR and the material discussed in the course. This take-home exam is due Thursday, March 20th at 7 pm - *(20%).*

4. **Research Paper:** You will need to develop a research project on a particular angle, issue, or a missing link in the study of the Arab uprisings. [18 to 20 pages excluding endnotes, font 12] Due Thursday, May 8th at 6 pm - *(40%).*

   Further descriptions of these exercises will be provided in class. It is S-CAR's policy to grant grades of "Incomplete" only in cases of proven illness or other personal emergency.

Summary:	* Class participation:	20%
	* Reading presentation:	20%
	* Reflective paper:	20% - Due Thursday, March 20th at 7 pm
	* Research paper:	40% - Due Thursday, May 8th at 6 pm

Academic Honesty and Collaboration:

All George Mason University students have greed to abide by the letter and the spirit of the Honor Code. You can find a copy of the Honor Code at academicintegrity.gmu.edu. All violations of the Honor Code will be reported to the Honor Committee for review. With specific regards to plagiarism, three fundamental and rather simple principles to follow at all times are that: (1) all work submitted be your own; (2) when using the work or ideas of others, including fellow students, give full credit through accurate citations; and (3) if you are uncertain about the ground rules on a particular assignment, ask for clarification. If you have questions about when the contributions of others to your work must be acknowledged and appropriate ways to cite those contributions, please talk with the professor. S-CAR requires that all written work submitted in partial fulfillment of course or degree requirements must be available in electronic form so that it can be compared with electronic databases, as well as submitted to commercial services to which the School subscribes. Faculty may at any time submit a student's work without prior permission from the student. Individual instructors may require that written work be submitted in electronic as well as printed form. S-CAR's policy on plagiarism is supplementary to the George Mason University Honor Code; it is not intended to replace or substitute for it.

Plagiarism is a **serious offense**, and all written work for this course should include proper citations in a standard citation format (MLA, APA, etc.). *If you are unsure about how to cite a direct quotation or concept from course or outside readings, then ask for help.* "I wasn't sure how to cite a source, so I left out the reference," is not an acceptable defense for plagiarism. Copies of common style manuals are available at the GMU library reference desk or online at http://library.duke.edu/research/citing/workscited/

Schedule of Classes

Week 1: Jan. 23　　　　　　　**General Overview**

- Self-introductions
- Overview of the syllabus, course requirements, and expectations for the course
- Beyond the Arab "Spring" and "Winter" Assumptions
- Introductory discussion: Why the Arab Uprisings? And why now?
-

Readings:
- ✓ **Ellen Lust,** "Why Now? Micro Transitions and the Arab Uprisings", *Comparative Democratization* 9(3): October 2011
- ✓ **Nicholas Christakis,** "Let's Shake Up the Social Sciences", *The New York Times*, July 19, 2013

Part One – Dynamics of the Arab Meta-Conflict

Week 2: Jan. 30　　　　　　　**Complexity of the Arab Uprisings**

- Dilemma of Typologies
- Beyond the domino-effect hypothesis
- What social change? What Theoretical Approaches?
- What do the Arab uprisings say about social systems?
- Timeline of the Arab Uprisings
- Finalize schedule of topics and presentations

- ✓ **Mark Lynch,** *The Arab Uprising: The Unfinished Revolution of the New Middle East,* Introduction pp. 1-5 & Ch. 1, pp. 7-28
- ✓ **Gregory Cause,** Why Middle East Studies Missed the Arab Spring: The Myth of Authoritarian Stability, *Foreign Affairs,* July/August 2011 Issue
- ✓ **Jason Brownlee, Tarek Masoud, Andrew Reynolds,** Why the Modest Harvest?, *Journal of Democracy,* Volume 24, Number 4, October 2013, pp. 29-44
- ✓ **John Burton,** "The Social System", in *Deviance Terrorism and War,* (John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 1980), pp. 44-54

Recommended:
- ✓ **Mark Lynch et al.,** "Arab Uprisings: New Opportunities for Political Science", Project of Middle East Political Science. No. 12, June 12, 2012

Week 3: Feb. 6　　　　**Old Structure, New Agency, and Demo-movements**

- Disarticulation between society and state
- Generational change

- Arab state fatigue and the over-sixty political syndrome
- Multilingualism and global symbols
- Temporality of Arab developments: An Arab Axial Age?
- Giddens's detraditionalization thesis

✓ **Mark Lynch,** *The Arab Uprising: The Unfinished Revolution of the New Middle East,* Building toward A Revolution, Ch. 3, pp. 43-65
✓ **Martin Beck and Simone Hüser,** *Political Change in the Middle East: An Attempt to Analyze the "Arab Spring",* GIGA Working Paper, Institute of Middle East Studies, No 203 August 2012
   http://www.giga-hamburg.de/en/system/files/publications/wp203_beck-hueser.pdf
✓ **Anthony Giddens,** "Living in a Post-Traditional Society", in *Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*, edited by Ulrich Beck, Anthony Giddens, Scott Lash, 1994, ch. 2, pp. 57-109
✓ **Nathan Brown,** "The Model and the Mother Movement", in *When Victory is not an Option: Islamist Movements in Arab Politics,* Ch. 5, pp. 59-82

Recommended:
✓ **Jack Goldstone,** *Understanding the Revolutions of 2011, Foreign Affairs,* May/June 2011
✓ **Stephan Rosiny,** *The Arab Spring: Triggers, Dynamics and Prospects,* GIGA *Focus* International Edition/English 1/2012

Week 4: Feb. 13   **The Political Economy of the Arab Uprisings**

- Demographic pressures
- Follies of traditional leadership
- Return to economic development
- High or Low Needs?

✓ **Filipe R. Campante and Davin Chor,** "Why was the Arab World Poised for Revolution? Schooling, Economic Opportunities, and the Arab Spring", *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (Spring 2012), pp. 167-187
✓ **Anthony Cordesman,** *The Causes of Stability & Unrest in the MENA Region: Am Analytical Survey*, Center for Strategic and International Studies, April 18, 2012
✓ **Mark Lynch,** *The Arab Uprising: The Unfinished Revolution of the New Middle East,* Building toward A Revolution, Ch. 4, pp. 67-99

Recommended:
✓ **Sami Zubaida,** The "Arab spring" in historical perspective, *openDemocracy,* October 21, 2011
✓ **Oliver Masetti, et al.** *Two years of Arab Spring: Where are we now? What's next?* Deutsche Bank AG DB Research, January 25, 2013

Part Two – Conflict Resolution and the Clash of Narrated Legitimacies

Week 5: Feb. 20   **The Tunisian Conflict: Crisis of Governance**

- ✓ **Mark Lynch,** *The Arab Uprising: The Unfinished Revolution of the New Middle East,* The Empire Strikes Back: The Counterrevolution, ch. 6, pp. 131-159
- ✓ **David McMurry and Amanda Somers,** *The Arab Revolts: Dispatches on Militant Democracy in the Middle East*, Part 1 pp. 13-56

Week 6: Feb. 27   **The Egyptian Conflict: Crisis of Legitimacy**

- ✓ **David McMurry and Amanda Somers,** *The Arab Revolts: Dispatches on Militant Democracy in the Middle East*, Part 2 pp. 57-116
- ✓ **Zoltan Barany,** Armies and Revolutions, *Journal of Democracy,* Volume 24, Number 2, April 2013, pp. 62-76
- ✓ **Nathan J. Brown,** Egypt's Failed Transition, *Journal of Democracy,* January 2013, Volume 24, Number 1

Week 7: March 6   **The Syrian Conflict: Crisis of Violence**

- ✓ **David McMurry and Amanda Somers**, *The Arab Revolts: Dispatches on Militant Democracy in the Middle East*, Part 4 pp. 157-203
- ✓ **Steven Heydemann,** Syria and the Future of Authoritarianism, *Journal of Democracy*, October 2013, Volume 24, Number 4
- ✓ **Michael Weiss,** "The Unraveling: How Obama's Syria Policy Fell Apart", *Politico*, January 02, 2014 http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2014/01/how-obamas-syria-policy-fell-apart-101704_full.html?print#.UtUi1FNnHTo

Week 8: March 13   *Spring Break -No classes*

---

* Reflective paper - Due Thursday, March 20th at 7:20 pm

Week 9: March 20   **The Monarchical 'Exceptionalism':**
                                     Morocco, Jordan and the Gulf States

- ✓ **Sean L. Yom, F. Gregory Gause III,** Resilient Royals: How Arab Monarchies Hang On, *Journal of Democracy,* Volume 23, Number 4, October 2012, pp. 74-88
- ✓ **Ahmed Benchemsi,** Morocco: Outfoxing the Opposition, *Journal of Democracy* January 2012, Volume 23, Number 1
- ✓ **Sean L. Yom,** Jordan: The Ruse of Reform, *Journal of Democracy,* Volume 24, Number 3, July 2013, pp. 127-139
- ✓ **Frederic Wehrey,** Bahrain's Decade of Discontent, *Journal of Democracy,* Volume 24, Number 3, July 2013, pp. 116-126

Recommended:

✓ **Frédéric Volpi,** Algeria versus the Arab Spring, *Journal of Democracy,* Volume 24, Number 3, July 2013, pp. 104-115

✓ **Mieczystaw P. Boduszyski, Duncan Pickard,** Libya Starts from Scratch, *Journal of Democracy,* Volume 24, Number 4, October 2013, pp. 86-96

✓ **April Longley Alley,** Yemen Changes Everything… And Nothing, *Journal of Democracy,* Volume 24, Number 4, October 2013, pp. 74-85

Part Three – The New Arab Imaginary

Week 10: March 27 **The New Arab Public Sphere**

- The Public Sphere from Kant to Alexander
- Awaiting an Arab Civil Sphere
- Arab Mediatization of Social Change
- Arab (Re)constructivism

✓ **Mark Lynch,** *The Arab Uprising: The Unfinished Revolution of the New Middle East,* ch. 5 The Tidal Wave, pp. 101-130

✓ **Graig Calhoun,** *Introduction: Habermas and the Public Sphere*, The MIT Press, 1992, pp. 1-47

✓ **Stig Hjarvard,** The Mediatization of Society: *A Theory of the Media as Agents of Social and Cultural Change, Nordicom Review* 29 (2008) 2, pp. 105-134

✓ **Barrie Axford,** *Talk about a Revolution: Social Media and the MENA Uprisings*

Week 11: April 3 **Crafting the Narrative:**
  Performative Politics of the Arab Uprisings

✓ **Jeffery Alexander,** *Performative Revolution in Egypt: An Essay in Cultural Power*, Bloomsbury Publishing, 2011 [pp. TBA]

✓ **Marc F. Plattner,** Media and Democracy: The Long View, *Journal of Democracy,* Volume 23, Number 4, October 2012, pp. 62-73

Week 12: April 10 **Arab (Re)constructivism:**
  The Narrative-Identity Formation of We/They Arabs

✓ **Ken Seigneurie,** Discourses of the 2011 Arab Revolutions, *Journal of Arabic Literature 43 (2012) 484-509*

✓ **Waed Athamneh and Caroleen Sayej,** Engaging the Authoritarian State: Voices of Protest in Syria, *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies,* 13 (2013): 169-190

✓ **Sherine Hafez,** "No Longer a Bargain: Women, Masculinity, and the Egyptian Uprising", *American Ethnologist,* Vol.39, No.1, February 2012, pp.37–42

✓ **Farhad Khosrokhavar,** "*The Symbolic Dimensions of the Arab Spring*", in *The New Arab Revolutions that Shook the World*, (Paradigm Publisher, 2012), ch. 11, pp. 232-327

Week 13: April 17   **Beyond the Arab 'Spring' or 'Winter':**
Revolution, Regime Change, or Social Uprising?

✓ **George Lawson,** The Arab Uprisings: Revolution or Protests? IDEAS reports - special reports, Kitchen, Nicholas (ed.) SR011. *LSE IDEAS,* (London School of Economics and Political Science, 2012)
✓ **James C. Davies**, Toward a Theory of Revolution, *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (Feb., 1962), pp. 5-19
✓ **Steven Levitsky, Lucan Way,** The Durability of Revolutionary Regimes, *Journal of Democracy,* Volume 24, Number 3, July 2013, pp. 5-17

Recommended:
✓ **Raymond Tanter, and Manus Midlarsky,** A Theory of Revolution, *Journal of Conflict Resolution,* 1967, Vol. XI No. 3.

Part Four – The New Dialectic and Arab Contentious Politics

Week 14: April 24   **Competing Discourses:**
Arabism, Islamism, Secularism, and Globalism

✓ **Mark Tessler, Amaney Jamal, Michael Robbins,** New Findings on Arabs and Democracy, *Journal of Democracy,* Volume 23, Number 4, October 2012, pp. 89-103
✓ **Tariq Ramadan,** *Islam and the Arab Awakening* (Oxford University Press, 2012) Ch. 3, pp- 67-96
✓ **Alfred Stepan and Juan J. Linz,** *Democratization theory and the "Arab Spring"*
✓ **Sami Zubeida**, *Islam in the Arab Transformations,* openDemocracy, February 18, 2013

Recommended:
✓ **Olivier Roy,** There Will Be No Islamist Revolution, *Journal of Democracy Volume 24, Number 1 January 2013*
✓ **Adrian A. Basora,** *Do The Post-Communist Transitions Offer Lessons for the Arab?* Foreign Policy Research Institute, August 2011
✓ **David S. Sorenson,** Transitions in the Arab World: Spring or Fall? *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, Fall 2011

Week 15: May 1   **Immanuel Kant in Tahrir Square:**
                                              Arab "Enlightenment"?

- ✓ **Immanuel Kant,** An Answer to the Question: What is Enlightenment? (1784)
- ✓ **Abdou Filali-Ansary,** The Languages of the Arab Revolutions*, Journal of Democracy,* April 2012, Volume 23, Number 2
- ✓ **Hilal Khashan,** *The Eclipse of Arab Authoritarianism and the Challenge of Popular Sovereignty,* Third World Quarterly, Vol. 33, No. 5, 2012, pp 919–930

Wrap-up Discussion: The Uprisings and Arab Conflict Resolution

* **Research paper - Due Thursday, May 8th at 6 pm**