

Turkey and the Middle East (undergrad, Lisel Hintz, Cornell, 2016)

Course Overview

Since its founding in 1923 in the wake of Ottoman imperial collapse, Turkey has emerged as a pivotal actor in its many varied neighborhoods. Bordering countries that include Greece, Armenia, Iran, Iraq, and Syria, Turkey's geopolitical role now more than ever is becoming a prime focus of interest for scholars and policy makers alike. As the only Muslim-majority member of NATO, and home to the organization's second-largest armed forces, Turkey is a key ally – but not always willing partner – in securing US interests in the Middle East. As well as being a former head of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, Turkey is also a long-time candidate for membership in the European Union, an overlap of domestic and foreign political preferences that has caused serious tensions for Turkey's ambitions at home and abroad. Indeed, the intertwining of the domestic and the international in Turkey and the Middle East is playing out daily in the headlines: the Turkish government's dramatic shifts in its approaches to the Syrian regime, Israel, and Kurds inside and outside its borders profoundly shape, and are shaped by, Turkey's internal political workings. From students of political Islam to the growing refugee crisis to intra- and inter-state conflict, Turkey provides an excellent empirical window onto developments in its region.

This course therefore delves deep into the fascinating and ever-shifting dynamics of Turkey's politics and society, examining how they are intricately connected to Turkey's location at the crossroads of East and West. The course is designed to give students a thematic and chronological understanding of Turkey's struggles in areas such as democratization, economic development, and identity debates (ethnic, religious/sectarian, gender), as well as securing its borders in a volatile region and later asserting its role as a formidable regional power. Throughout the course, the inside-outside dynamic suggested above will be invoked as an analytical lens through which we interpret the outcomes we observe, both to expand empirical insight and encourage students to think critically about the nature of state borders in theory and in practice. In doing so, the first half of the course will focus on the development of Turkey's domestic political system, tying in how external shocks such as the two world wars, the Cold War, and the collapse of the USSR fundamentally shaped its form and content. The second half of the course then turns the focus to Turkish foreign policy, similarly keeping in mind the domestic-international nexus by investigating how internal developments such as the rise of political Islam, increase in per capita income, and outbreak of war with the Kurdish PKK influenced Turkey's foreign relations, especially in the Middle East. From the Arab Spring to ISIS, from Gezi to Gaza, students will gain important empirical knowledge and critical thinking tools crucial for understanding this complex country and its equally complex neighborhood.

Methods of Assessment

1. Map Quiz (pass/fail)

In order to establish a solid foundation for our study of the Middle East and the borders that have played such a prominent role in debates within the region, students will be required to pass a map quiz. Students are required to place the country names and capitals of Middle East and North African states, plus Turkey's other border states, onto a blank map with no more than two errors. Students may take this quiz as many times as they need, but cannot pass the class until they pass the quiz.

2. Attendance and Participation (10%):

To facilitate productive discussion and active learning, students are expected to attend all classes unless excused **in advance** by the instructor. Students are expected to have completed all assigned readings and come prepared with questions, critiques, and topics for discussion and debate. To make the most of this course, students are also expected to familiarize themselves with topical events involving Turkey and the Middle East, and to be able to raise and critically address these issues as engaged participants. Students will be assessed based on the level and quality of their participation; students with more than two unexcused absences will receive an automatic deduction in their participation grade.

3. 2,000-word Short Essay (20%): Due Monday, March 14 by noon

Students will select one of three suggested topics drawn from material covered in the first six weeks of the term. Students will explore their selected topics in a short essay to be handed in via email to the instructor **and in hard copy** to her office mailbox (Uris Hall 154) at the beginning of the eighth week. Structure of argument and quality of writing will both factor highly into the grade awarded. Written feedback will be provided for these short essays to assist students in preparing for the longer essay.

4. 4,000-word Analytical Essay (40%): Due Friday, May 20 by noon

The analytical essay will consist of an extended examination of one of the topics covered in the course. This paper will provide students with the opportunity to explore in depth an issue area that is of particular interest to them, develop an argument, and present research in support of that argument. The paper should demonstrate the student's ability to engage at least one of the themes presented during the course (e.g., political Islam, domestic and/or regional sectarianism, democratization, foreign policy strategies, the Arab Spring). The paper must feature Turkey as the primary country of focus, but could include a comparative component that considers one or several other countries in its analysis. Whatever the topic, the paper **must be analytical**, in that it presents a well-reasoned argument and includes appropriate supporting evidence that is correctly cited; an essay that only contains description will not receive a top grade. The paper should show strong research and critical thinking skills, be well written in terms of grammar and structure, and include a full bibliography. Students are strongly encouraged to meet with the instructor to discuss their intended topics. The essay must be submitted **via email** to the instructor **and in hard copy** (Uris Hall 154) by the deadline.

5. Final Exam (30%): May 16 Time and Location TBA

The final exam will be a cumulative assessment of the material covered throughout the term. Questions will be pulled from readings, lectures, and discussions. The exam is intended to ensure that students absorb the material presented in the course, and will consist of short-answer IDs and several short (1-2 paragraph) essays.

6. Extra Credit Opportunity (1/3 Grade Raise): Response Paper to Pop Culture Work

Throughout the term, we will use forms of Turkish pop culture including novels, films, and political cartoons to gain insight into vernacular understandings of Turkish politics, society, and daily life. Students may pick ONE of these pop culture works, or another chosen in consultation with the instructor, on which to write a 1000 – 1500 word response paper. The paper should highlight key themes/debates/dilemmas the work engages, and how these themes are represented in the work's pop culture medium (e.g. literature, film, music). Depending on the medium, the paper should contain quotes used in the work, descriptions of visual detail, etc. to support their response. Response papers will be graded pass/fail; students earning a pass will receive a 1/3 grade raise on their lowest method of assessment.

Technology in the Classroom

To reduce distractions for all students and provide the most productive learning environment possible, the use of laptops or tablets will not be permitted during class without permission from the instructor. Cell phones **must** be switched off for the duration of class and kept out of reach.

Academic Integrity

Absolute integrity is expected of every Cornell student in all academic undertakings. Integrity entails a firm adherence to a set of values, and the values most essential to an academic community are grounded on the concept of honesty with respect to the intellectual efforts of oneself and others. Academic integrity is expected not only in formal coursework situations, but in all University relationships and interactions connected to the educational process, including the use of University resources. While both students and faculty of Cornell assume the responsibility of maintaining and furthering these values, this document is concerned specifically with the conduct of students. A Cornell student's submission of work for academic credit indicates that the work is the student's own. All outside assistance should be acknowledged, and the student's academic position truthfully reported at all times. In addition, Cornell students have a right to expect academic integrity from each of their peers. For the full set of guidelines to which students are expected to adhere in this class, see: <http://cuinfo.cornell.edu/aic.cfm>.

Students with Disabilities

Cornell University is committed to ensuring equal access to university programs and activities for students with disabilities. Policy and procedures have been developed to provide students with as much independence as possible, to preserve confidentiality, and to offer students with disabilities the same exceptional opportunities available to all Cornell students. Student Disability Services (SDS) is the office responsible for providing services and accommodations to meet the individual needs of students with documented disabilities. For a full guide to resources, see: sds.cornell.edu/Brochures/SDS_Access_Guide.pdf.

Useful Reference Texts

The following books, sections of some of which are assigned as class readings below, should be very helpful for students wishing to familiarize themselves with, or gain greater background context for, the subjects we will discuss in this course. Students are not expected to have read all of the books, but can consult the list for reputable English-language sources to be used in their research in this class and elsewhere. This should also not be considered an exhaustive list; students are encouraged to draw from sources they locate themselves, and are welcome to discuss the suitability of any source for a particular topic with the instructor.

Asef Bayat. *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010).

Niyazi Berkes. *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal: McGill Univ. Press, 1964).

Sinan Ciddi. *Kemalism in Turkish Politics: The Republican People's Party, Secularism, and Nationalism*. (London: Routledge, 2009).

Ümit Cizre (ed). *Secular and Islamic Politics in Turkey: The Making of the Justice and Development Party* (London: Routledge, 2008).

Steven Cook. *Ruling But Not Governing: The Military and Political Development in Egypt, Algeria, and Turkey* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).

Graham Fuller. *Turkey and the Arab Spring: Leadership in the Middle East* (Lexington, KY: Bozorg Press, 2014).

- Ellis Goldberg, Reşat Kasaba, and Joel Migdal (eds). *Rules and Rights in the Middle East: Democracy, Law, and Society* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1993).
- William Hale. *Turkish Foreign Policy since 1774* (3rd ed.) (New York, NY: Routledge, 2013).
- Ersin Kalaycıoğlu. *Turkish Dynamics: Bridge across Troubled Lands* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
- Kemal Karpat. *Studies in Turkish Politics and Society: Selected Essays*. (Leiden: Brill, 2004).
- Marc Lynch, *The Arab Uprising: The Unfinished Revolutions of the New Middle East* (New York, NY: PublicAffairs, 2012).
- Marc Lynch (ed) *The Arab Uprisings Explained: New Contentious Politics in the Middle East* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2014).
- Alan Makovsky and Sabri Sayarı (eds). *Turkey's New World: Changing Dynamics in Turkish Foreign Policy* (Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2000).
- Philip Robins. *Suits and Uniforms: Turkish Foreign Policy since the Cold War* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2003).
- David Romano and Mehmet Gürses (eds). *Conflict, Democratization, and the Kurds in the Middle East: Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
- Barry Rubin and Kemal Kirişçi (eds). *Turkey in World Politics: An Emerging Multiregional Power* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2001).
- Sultan Tepe. *Beyond Sacred and Secular: Politics of Religion in Israel and Turkey* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008).
- Akın Ünver. *Turkey's Kurdish Question: Discourse and Politics since 1990* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2015).
- Jenny White. *Islamist Mobilization in Turkey: A Study in Vernacular Politics* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2002).
- Erik Zürcher. *Turkey: A Modern History* (3rd ed) (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005).
- Erik Zürcher *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building: From the Ottoman Empire to Atatürk's Turkey* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010).

News Media and Blogs

To keep up with current events on Turkey and the Middle East, students can read news articles and blog posts at the English-language sites listed below.

Hürriyet Daily News (Turkey's largest newspaper in English):
<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/>.

“Turkey Pulse” section of *Al-Monitor*:
<http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/turkey-pulse>.

“Türkiye” section of *Jadaliyya*:
<http://turkey.jadaliyya.com/>.

Al Jazeera Middle East:
<http://www.aljazeera.com/topics/regions/middleeast.html>.

Today's Zaman (Owned and operated by supporters of the Gülenist *Hizmet* movement):
<http://www.todayszaman.com/home>.

James in Turkey (Blog by a British journalist and Turkish election analyst):
<http://www.jamesinturkey.com/>.

Kamil Pasha (Blog by Turkey specialist and anthropologist Jenny White):
<http://kamilpasha.com/>.

Schedule of Classes and Assigned Course Materials

NOTE: Those readings that are preceded by a star (*) are short blog-style pieces selected to a) give students a sense of how the issues covered that week shape current social and political dynamics, and b) add a variety of perspectives on an issue not widely covered in the scholarly literature. While these pieces are intended as commentary rather than more formal academic writing, students should give the same attention and consideration to them as they do journal articles and book excerpts. Readings are subject to change with due notice.

Week 1 (Jan 27): Introduction, Course Logistics, Talking Turkey in the Classroom

PART I: Turkey's Political Institutions and Society

Week 2 (Feb 3): Forging a Republic: Imperial Legacies and Nation-Building

First Attempt at Map Quiz; View short *Incredible Turk* documentary in class

Erik Zürcher. "The Ottoman Legacy of the Kemalist Republic," in *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building* (Ch. 11).

Ersin Kalaycıoğlu. "From Collapse to Liberation" and "Founding the Republic and the Cultural Revolution," in *Turkish Dynamics: Bridge Across Troubled Lands* (Chs. 1 and 2).

Şerif Mardin. "Center-Periphery Relations: A Key to Turkish Politics?" *Daedalus*, Vol. 102, No. 1, 1973.

*Nick Danforth. "Forget Sykes-Picot: It's the Treaty of Sèvres the Explains the Modern Middle East," *Foreign Policy*, 10 August 2015: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/08/10/sykes-picot-treaty-of-sevres-modern-turkey-middle-east-borders-turkey/>.

Week 3 (Feb 10): Post-War Transition: Multi-Party Politics and the Democrat Party

Second Attempt at Map Quiz

John VanderLippe. *The Politics of Turkish Democracy: İsmet İnönü and the Formation of the Multi-Party System 1938-1950*, pp. 97-136.

İlkay Sunar. "Populism and Patronage: The Democrat Party and Its Legacy in Turkey," *Il Politico*, Vol. 55, No. 4, 1990.

William Hale. *Turkish Foreign Policy since 1774*, (3rd ed.) (New York, NY: Routledge, 2013) (Chs. 3 and 4).

W. B. Sherwood. "The Rise of the Justice Party," *World Politics*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 1967.

*Ayla Jean Yackley. "Turkish President Casts Self as Heir to Reformer Who Died on Gallows," *Reuters*, 28 August 2014: <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/08/28/us-turkey-erdogan-vision-idUSKBN0GS1ZP20140828>.

Week 4 (Feb 17): Transition, Interrupted: Understanding Turkey's Military Coups

NOTE: Film viewing of *Babam ve Oğlum (My Father and My Son)*, schedule TBA

G. S. Harris. "The Causes of the 1960 Revolution in Turkey," *The Middle East Journal*, Vol. 24, No. 4, 1970.

Kemal Karpat. "Turkish Democracy at an Impasse: Ideology, Party Politics, and the Third Military Intervention," in *Studies on Turkish Politics and Society* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

Feroz Ahmad. *The Turkish Experiment in Democracy* (London, C. Hurst, 1977), Ch. 11.

William Hale. *Turkish Politics and the Military* (London: Routledge, 1994), Ch. 10.

*Ali Aslan Kılıç. "Coup General Evren Dies but Anti-Democratic Legacy Still Alive," *Today's Zaman*, 10 May 2015: http://www.todayszaman.com/anasayfa_coup-general-evren-dies-but-anti-democratic-legacy-still-alive_380312.html.

Week 5 (Feb 24): Identity Politics: Rise (and Fall?) of Political Islam in Turkey

Nilüfer Narlı. "The Rise of the Islamist Movement in Turkey," *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1999.

Jenny White. *Islamist Mobilization in Turkey* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2002). Ch. 3 ("The Institutional Expression of Islam" and Ch. 4 (Generation X and the Virtue Party."

Ziya Öniş. "The Political Economy of Islamic Resurgence in Turkey," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 18, No. 4, 1997.

Haldun Gülalp. "Globalization and Political Islam: The Social Bases of Turkey's Welfare Party," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 3, 2001.

Ümit Cizre and Menderes Çınar. "Turkey 2002: Kemalism, Islamism, and Politics in the Light of the February 28 Process," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. 102, No. 2/3, 2003.

*Barçın Yinanç. "Feb 28 Coup Unintentionally Spawned AKP, Says Academic," *Hürriyet Daily News*, 21 April 2012.

Week 6 (Mar 2): Identity Politics Revisited: Turkey's Kurdish and Alevi Questions

Robert Olson. "The Kurdish Question in the Aftermath of the Gulf War: Geopolitical and Geostrategic Changes in the Middle East," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 13, No. 3, 1992.

M. Hakan Yavuz and Nihat Ali Özcan. "The Kurdish Question and Turkey's Justice and Development Party," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 2006.

*Cengiz Çandar. "Is Ankara Heading for All-Out War with Turkey's Kurds?" *Al-Monitor*, 7 August 2015: <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/08/turkey-united-states-kurds-pkk-peace-process.html>.

David Shankland. *The Alevis in Turkey: The Emergence of a Secular Islamic Tradition* (London: Routledge, 2003), Introduction, Ch. 1 and Ch. 7.

Kabir Tambar. *The Reckoning of Pluralism: Political Belonging and the Demands of History in Turkey* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2014), Ch. 3.

Kıvanç Ulusoy. "The 'Europeanization' of the Religious Cleavage in Turkey: The Case of the Alevis," *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 2013.

*Semih Idiz. "Turkey's Alevi Question," *Al-Monitor*, 19 November 2013: <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/11/turkey-erdogan-alevi-strengthen-relations-sectarian-policies.html>.

Week 7 (Mar 9) From Economic Crisis to Electoral Triumph: The AKP Decade

Mihai Macovei. "Growth and Economic Crisis in Turkey: Leaving Behind a Turbulent Past?" Economic Paper written for European Commission, October 2009. **NOTE:** Only pp. 1-8 are required reading. Accessible at: http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/publications/publication16004_en.pdf.

Ali Çarkoğlu. "Turkey's November 2002 Elections: A New Beginning?" *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 6, No. 4, 2002.

Vali Nasr. "The Rise of 'Muslim Democracy,'" *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 2005.

İhsan Dağı. "Turkey's AKP in Power," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 2008.

Ziya Öniş. "The Triumph of Global Conservatism: The Political Economy of the AKP Era," *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 2012.

*Daniel Dombey. "Six Markets to Watch: Turkey (How Erdoğan Did It – and Could Blow It)," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2014: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/turkey/2013-12-06/six-markets-watch-turkey>.

Week 8 (Mar 16): No class

Attend lecture Turkey opposition MP and human rights advocate Şafak Pavey on March 14 at 5:00pm in McGraw 165. Prepare three questions to ask her and send them to me in advance. Students unable to attend will write a blog-style piece on one of their questions.

Week 9 (March 23): The Gezi Protests and Beyond: Challenges to the AKP

NOTE: Film viewing of *Mutluluk (Happiness)* on gender rights and violence, schedule TBA

Ergun Özbudun. "AKP at the Crossroads: Erdoğan's Majoritarian Drift," *South European Society and Politics*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 2014.

Ali Balcı "When Foreign Policy Matters: The Gülen Movement's Fight with the AK Party over Iran," *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 17, No. 1, 2015. PDF available for download at: <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1706363115?pq-origsite=gscholar>.

Freedom House Special Report: *Democracy in Crisis: Corruption, Media, and Power in Turkey*, February 2014. PDF of report accessible at: <https://freedomhouse.org/report/special-reports/democracy-crisis-corruption-media-and-power-turkey>.

Ali Çarkoğlu. "Plus ça Change, Plus C'est le Même Chose: Consolidation of the AKP's Predominance in the March 2014 Elections," *South East European Society and Politics*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 2014.

*Lisel Hintz. "The Might of the (Pen)guin," *Foreign Policy*, 10 June 2013: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2013/06/10/the-might-of-the-penguin-in-turkeys-protests/>.

*Cihan Tuğal. Towards the End of a Dream? The Erdogan-Gülen Fallout and Islamic Liberalism's Decline," *Jadaliyya*, 22 December 2013: <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/15693/towards-the-end-of-a-dream-the-erdogan-gulen-fallo>.

Spring Break

PART II: Turkey's Foreign Policy and the Middle East

Week 10 (April 6): A Western Foreign Policy Tradition? NATO ally, EU candidate

Philip Robins. *Suits and Uniforms: Turkish Foreign Policy since the Cold War* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2003). Read Ch. 1 (pp. 11-28 **only**), Ch. 3 (entire chapter), and Ch. 4 (pp. 136-144 **only**).

Bruce Kuniholm. "Turkey and the West," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 70, No. 2, 1991.

James Vander Lippe. "Forgotten Brigade of the Forgotten War: Turkey's Participation in the Korean War," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 1, 2000.

Ziya Öniş and Sunnaz Yılmaz. "The Turkey-EU-US Triangle in Perspective: Transformation of Continuity?" *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 59, No. 2, 2005.

*Metin Gurcan. "Is NATO Membership Shackling Turkey?" *Al-Monitor*, 29 October 2014: <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/10/turkey-nato-polarized-membership.html>.

*Elçin Poyrazlar. "Why Turkey Hearts Europe (Again)," *Vocativ.com*, 10 October 2014: <http://www.vocativ.com/world/turkey-world/turkey-hearts-europe/>.

Week 11 (April 13): Breaking with Tradition: The Middle Eastern Pivot

Ali Resul Usul: The Justice and Development Party and the European Union: From Euro-skepticism to Euro-enthusiasm and Euro-fatigue," in Ümit Cizre (ed). *Secular and Islamic Politics in Turkey: The Making of the Justice and Development Party* (London: Routledge, 2008) (Ch. 7).

Lisel Hintz. "'Take It Outside!' National Identity Contestation in the Foreign Policy Arena," *European Journal of International Relations*, Epub ahead of print: 26 June 2015.

William Hale. "Turkey and the Middle East in the 'New' Era," *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 11, No. 3, 2009.

Ziya Öniş. "Turkey and the Arab Revolutions: Boundaries of Regional Power Influence in a Turbulent Middle East," *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 2014.

*Ahmet Davutoğlu. "Turkey's Zero-Problems Foreign Policy," *Foreign Policy*, 20 May 2010: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2010/05/20/turkeys-zero-problems-foreign-policy/>.

*Kadri Gürsel. "Turkey Finds Out One Is the Loneliest Number," *Al-Monitor*, 29 October 2014: <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/10/turkey-perilous-loneliness-turkey-middle-east.html>.

Week 12 (April 20): Turkey–Iran–Israel: Non-Arab Rivalries in the Middle East

Graham Fuller. "The Challenge of Shi'ism: Iran as a Geopolitical Threat?" Ch. 19 in *Turkey and the Arab Spring: Leadership in the Middle East* (Bozorg Press, 2014).

Merve Tahiroğlu and Behnam Ben Taleblu. "Turkey and Iran: The Best of Frenemies," *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 2015.

Philip Robins. *Suits and Uniforms: Turkish Foreign Policy since the Cold War* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2003). Read Ch. 7, "Turkey and Israel: Embattled Allies in the 'New Middle East.'"

Matthew Cohen and Charles Freilich. "Breakdown and Possible Restart: Turkish-Israel Relations under the AKP," *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 8. No. 1, 2014.

*Enis Erdem Aydın. "What Zarrab's Arrest Means for Rouhani," *Al-Monitor*, 29 March 2016: <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/03/reza-zarrab-arrest-iran-turkey-us-erdogan-rouhani.html>.

*Arad Nir. "Relations with Turkey Sink Lower after Erdoğan's Israel Comments," *Al-Monitor*, 21 July 2014: <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/07/turkey-jewish-community-anti-semitism-demonstrations-israel.html>.

Week 13 (April 27): Sectarian and Ethnic Dynamics in the Middle East

Daniel Byman. "Sectarianism Affects the New Middle East," *Survival*, Vol. 56, No. 1, 2014.

Gregory Gause. "Beyond Sectarianism: The New Middle East Cold War," Analysis Paper No. 11 for Brookings Doha Center, July 2014. Link to paper available at: <http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2014/07/22-beyond-sectarianism-cold-war-gause>.

Bill Park. "Turkey, the US, and the KRG: Moving Parts and the Geopolitical Realities," *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 14, No. 3, 2012.

Graham Fuller. "The Kurdish Regional Web," Ch. 22 in *Turkey and the Arab Spring: Leadership in the Middle East* (Bozorg Press, 2014).

*Semih İdiz. "Turkey Rethinking Sectarian Approach to Region," *Al-Monitor*, 17 June 2014: <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/06/idiz-turkey-isis-iraq-syria-mosul-sunni-shiites-consulate.html>.

*Pinar Tremblay. "Is Iran-phobia Spreading in Turkey?" *Al-Monitor*, 25 February 2016: <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/pt/contents/articles/originals/2016/02/turkey-iran-ankara-encircled-by-shiite-threat.html#>.

*Marina Ottaway and David Ottaway. "How the Kurds Got their Way: Economic Cooperation and the Middle East's New Borders," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2014: <https://www.foreignaffairs.org/articles/turkey/2014-04-17/how-kurds-got-their-way>.

Week 14 (May 4) Turkey–Syria: The Arab Spring, ISIS, and the Refugee Crisis

Raymond Hinnebusch. "Back to Enmity: Turkey-Syria Relations since the Syrian Uprising," *Orient*, Vol. 56, No. 1, 2015. PDF accessible at: <https://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/handle/10023/6068>.

Fred Lawson. "Syria's Mutating Civil War and Its Impacts on Turkey, Iraq, and Iran," *International Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 6, 2014.

Damla Aras. "Turkish-Syrian Relations Go Downhill," *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 2012. Accessible at <http://www.meforum.org/3206/turkish-syrian-relations>.

Ahmet İçduygu. "Syrian Refugees in Turkey: The Long Road Ahead." Report for the Transatlantic Council on Migration, April 2015. Report accessible at: <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/syrian-refugees-turkey-long-road-ahead>.

*Amberin Zaman. "Captured Soldier Details Islamic State's Turkey Connection," *Al-Monitor*, 17 June 2015: <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/06/turkey-syria-iraq-isis-new-turkish-unit-lures-kurds.html>.

*Kelsey P. Norman. "Refugees in Turkey: Implications of Increasing Polarization," *Jadaliyya*, 6 June 2015: http://interviews.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/21815/refugees-in-turkey_implications-of-increasing-poli

*Mehmet Çetingüleç. "Syria's New Capital... Istanbul," *Al-Monitor*, 14 September 2015: <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/09/turkey-syria-refugees-new-capital-istanbul.html>.

Week 15 (May 11): A Model Debate: Can/Should Turkey Be a Post-Arab Spring Model?

Kemal Kirişçi. "Turkey's 'Demonstrative Effect' and the Transformation of the Middle East," *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 2011.

Aslı Bali. "A Turkish Model for the Arab Spring?" *Middle East Law and Governance*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 2011.

H. Akın Ünver. "The Forgotten Turkish Secular Model," *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 2013. Accessible at: <http://www.meforum.org/3458/secular-turkish-model>.

Ahmet Kuru. "Muslim Politics without an Islamic State: Can Turkey's Justice and Development Party Be a Model for Arab Islamists?" *Brookings Policy Briefing*, Feb 2015.

*Şebnem Gümüşçü. "Egypt Can't Replicate the Turkish Model, But It Can Learn from It," Report for Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2012: <http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/?fa=46454>.