

Politics of the Middle East and North Africa (undergrad, Lisel Hintz, Barnard, 2017)

This course is designed to provide students with a strong foundation in the contemporary politics of the states and societies that comprise the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. Although sometimes painted as a monolithic hotbed of violence by the media, the MENA region is made up of richly diverse geographies, populations, cultures, and economic systems, and institutions of governance. In this class, we explore the impact of imperial legacies – Ottoman, Persian, European – to understand contemporary challenges of state formation and economic and societal development. We examine the vast array of regime types across a region spanning from Morocco to Iran, from Turkey to Yemen, comparing and contrasting the conditions that produced the forms of governance we see today, including political Islam, the rentier state, sectarianism, and foreign influence. While focusing on the state apparatus, we also study various forms of opposition to the state, from Iran’s Islamic Revolution to its Green Movement, from Arab Spring protests in Tunisia to Bahrain, seeking to understand why some opposition movements succeed and others fall victim to strong counter-mobilization by the state (or outside forces).

As we will briefly examine, the MENA region is one in which the borders were drawn by outsiders, have sometimes shifted, remain contested, and often are secondary to ethnic, sectarian, and other ties that bind populations. Thus, although this is a course centered in the study of comparative politics – i.e., the study of domestic politics within countries – we will often take regional relations and influences into account as a secondary focus. The first half of the course is designed to examine themes common across several or many MENA states, whereas the second half of the course

The class will be held in the style of lecture and discussion. During the first class of the week Prof. Hintz will outline the issues being studied that week. In the Thursday class, students will engage in discussion to clarify ideas, raise issues for debate, and identify points of convergence and divergence across cases based on a close reading of the texts assigned. Students are expected to have read all the class material and **be prepared to engage** by the second (Thursday) class. Students are encouraged to familiarize themselves and regularly read blogs that engage issues of the region (*Foreign Policy*, *Al Jazeera*, *Al-Monitor*, *The Monkey Cage*) as well as keep current with issues in MENA politics that may present good cases for analysis in our discussions.

Student Learning Outcomes

Students who complete this course successfully will be able to:

- *Demonstrate empirical knowledge of the major actors in contemporary MENA, including identifying countries and their capitals on a map
- *Demonstrate knowledge of academic and policy debates about a variety of key empirical and theoretical issues in comparative studies of the MENA region
- *Synthesize facts and arguments across cases in order to reason critically and argue creatively in class discussions and in written assignments
- *Find high-quality source material online and in the library, and master the arts of proper citation and bibliography construction

*Design, research, and write an analytical paper of 4000 words that makes a clear, compelling argument about an issue related to the politics of MENA of particular interest to the student, but chosen in consultation with the professor.

Methods of Assessment

1. Participation (20%):

To facilitate productive discussion and active learning, students are expected to attend all classes and arrive **ON TIME**. Students with more than one unexcused absence will receive an automatic deduction in their participation grade. As noted above, students are expected to have completed all assigned readings and come prepared with questions, critiques, and topics for discussion and debate by the second class of the week. Some of these readings are heavy, so students should be prepared to space out their readings so as best to prepare for discussion. To make the most of this course, students are also expected to familiarize themselves with topical events involving issues of foreign policy, and to be able to raise and critically address these issues as engaged participants. Lecture notes and other related course materials discussed or distributed during class will **NOT** be posted online or otherwise distributed.

2. 2,000-word Response Essay (20%): Due Monday February 27 by noon

Students will select one of three suggested topics drawn from material covered in the first five weeks of the term. Students will explore their selected topics in a short essay to be handed in via email to Prof. Hintz **and in hard copy by noon** to her office mailbox (233 LeFrak Center). 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 paper.

3. 1500-word Pop Culture Analysis (20%): Due Monday April 17 by noon. Students will view, read, or listen to a work of popular culture (film, TV episode, novel, song, poem, etc.) that explores an issue related to the politics of the Middle East and North Africa. Students will evaluate how the pop culture piece contributes to or detracts from the public's understanding of the issue. For example, students could read Elif Şafak's *The Bastard of Istanbul* or view Eran Riklis' film *The Lemon Tree* and discuss how the author's/director's portrayal of events complements or detracts from scholarly accounts we've read on the issues taken up in these works. In particular, students should discuss how the **medium of pop culture** serves to enhance/clarify or degrade/oversimplify (or any combination thereof) the subjects at hand. Students are strongly encouraged to discuss their proposed topics with Prof. Hintz.

4. 4,000-word Analytical Essay (40%): Due Monday May 1 by noon

The research paper 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 a country/countries of the MENA region as the primary topic 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** (233 LeFrak Center) by the deadline.

5. Map Quiz (Pass/Fail): To ensure a firm understanding of the geography and borders that are so vital the politics of the MENA region – in large part because many of them are disputed – all students must pass a map quiz. Students must correctly identify the countries of the MENA region as specified by Prof. Hintz on a blank map, along with their capitals. To pass, students must make no more than two errors. Students may take the quiz as many times as is necessary, but will not pass the class unless they have passed the map quiz.

Late Work Policy

Date and time deadlines for written work should be taken very seriously. Assignments turned in late will lose a third of a grade for each day they are late (e.g. B+ >>> B). Extensions will only be granted in case of emergency. Please discuss any concerns you have with Prof. Hintz **AHEAD OF TIME**.

Grading Scale

98% - 100% = A+	77% - 79% = C+
94% - 97% = A	74% - 76% = C
90% - 93% = A-	70% - 73% = C-
87% - 89% = B+	67% - 69% = D+
84% - 86% = B	66% - 64% = D
80% - 83% = B-	60% - 63% = D-
	Below 60% = F

Barnard Honor Code

All assignments in this class are to be completed in accordance with the Barnard Honor Code, with expectations outlined in the following paragraph. Any student who violates the Honor Code will face dean's discipline at her or his home college, and will earn a failing grade in the course. Students affirm that all work turned in is their own, and that they have fully and accurately cited every written source, including web-based sources and unpublished sources (such as prior student papers), used in their writing. Students are encouraged to consult with each other to get feedback as they are writing their major research papers and the intermediary assignments associated with the research papers, but no collaboration is allowed when writing the short papers on the assigned readings. All students receive in-depth briefings on plagiarism and proper citation techniques as part of their introductory days at Barnard and Columbia; any student who has any remaining questions about proper citation technique or about how to avoid plagiarism should discuss these questions and concerns with Prof. Hintz before turning in the assignment in question.

Barnard Wellness Statement

It is important for undergraduates to recognize and identify the different pressures, burdens, and stressors you may be facing, whether personal, emotional, physical, financial, mental, or academic. We as a community urge you to make yourself--your own health, sanity, and wellness--your priority throughout this term and your career here. Sleep, exercise, and eating well can all be a part of a healthy regimen to cope with stress. Resources exist to support you in several sectors of your life, and we encourage you to make use of them. Should you have any questions about navigating these resources, please visit these sites:

- <http://barnard.edu/primarycare>
- <http://barnard.edu/counseling>
- <http://barnard.edu/wellwoman/about>
- [Stressbusters Support Network](#) <pdf>

Statement for Students with Disabilities

If you are a student with a documented disability and require academic accommodations, you must visit the Office of Disability Services (ODS) for assistance. Students requesting eligible accommodations in their courses will need to first meet with an ODS staff member for an intake meeting. Once registered, students are required to visit ODS each semester to set up new accommodations and learn how to notify faculty.

Accommodations are not retroactive, so it is best to register with ODS early each semester to access your accommodations. If you are registered with ODS, please see me to schedule a meeting outside of class in which you can bring me your faculty notification letter and we can discuss your accommodations for this course. Students are not eligible to use their accommodations in this course until they have met with me. ODS is located in Milbank Hall, Room 008.

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.

Readings and Class Schedule

All readings will be posted on CourseWorks. Students are not required to acquire any textbooks. Readings may be updated with ample notice to reflect and incorporate foreign policy developments throughout the term. Most weeks will include a few policy/blog-style pieces; these in particular are subject to updating.

Week 1 (Jan 17 and 19)

Introduction: What Is the Middle East and How Do We Study It?

Michele Penner Angrist, "The Making of Middle East Politics," in *Politics & Society in the Contemporary Middle East*, 1-28

C. G. Smith, "The Emergence of the Middle East." *Journal of Contemporary History* Vol. 3, No. 3, 1968.

Richard Haas, "The New Middle East," *Foreign Affairs*, Nov/Dec 2006:
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2006-11-01/new-middle-east>.

Eric Davis, "10 Conceptual Sins in Analyzing Middle East Politics," *The New Middle East*, 2009.

Week 2 (Jan 24 and 26)

Making States I: Anti-imperialist Struggles and Imperial Legacies

Eugene Rogan, "The Emergence of the Middle East into the Modern State System," in Louise Fawcett (ed) *International Relations of the Middle East* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Molly Greene, "The Ottoman Experience," *Daedalus 134* (Spring 2005): 88-99.

Adria Lawrence, *Imperial Rule and the Politics of Nationalism: Anti-Colonial Protest in the French Empire* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press), Excerpts from Chapter 5.

Toby Dodge, *Inventing Iraq: The Failure of Nation Building and a History Denied* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), Chapters 4 and 7.

Şener Aktürk, "Persistence of the Islamic Millet as an Ottoman Legacy," *Middle East Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 6, 2009.

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 (Jan 31 and Feb 2)

Making States II: The Political Economy of Oil

Hazem El Beblawi, "The Rentier State in the Arab World," *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 4, 1987.

Michael Herb, "No Representation without Taxation? Rents, Development, and Democracy," *Comparative Politics* (April 2005): 297-316.

Benjamin B. Smith, *Hard Times in the Lands of Plenty: Oil Politics in Iran and Indonesia* (Cornell University Press, 2007), Chapter 1.

Timothy Mitchell, "Carbon Democracy," *Economy and Society* 38 (August 2009): 399-432.

Sean Yom, "Oil, Coalitions, and Regime Durability: The Origins and Persistence of Popular Rentierism in Kuwait." *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Vol. 46, No. 2 2011.

Miriam Lowi, "Oil Rents and Political Breakdown in Patrimonial States: Algeria in Comparative Perspective," *The Journal of North African Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 2004.

Week 4 (Feb 7 and 9)

Making States III: Political Islam in Governance Institutions

Jillian Schwedler, "Religion and Politics," in *Politics & Society in the Contemporary Middle East*, 111-131

Amr Hamzawy & Nathan Brown, "Islamist Parties: A Boon or a Bane for Democracy?" *Journal of Democracy* 19 (July 2008): 49-54.

Bassam Tibi, "Islamist Parties: Why They Can't Be Democratic," *Journal of Democracy* 19 (July 2008): 43-48.

Vali Nasr, “The Rise of ‘Muslim Democracy,’” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 2005.

Jenny White, *Islamist Mobilization in Turkey* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2002). Chapter 3.

Rory McCarthy, “How Tunisia’s Ennahda Turned from Religious Opposition Movement into Consensus-Seeking Political Party,” *Project on Middle East Political Science*, Vol. 20, 2016.

Week 5 (Feb 14 and 16)
Making Nations I: Turkey and Iran

Touraj Atabaki & Erik Zürcher (eds) *Men of Order: Authoritarian Modernization under Atatürk and Reza Shah* (London, UK: I.B. Tauris, 2004), Chapters 2 and 6.

Ersin Kalaycioglu. “Ottoman Collapse” and “Founding the Republic and the Cultural Revolution,” (Chs. 1 and 2).

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

Ahmad Ashraf, “The Bazaar-Mosque Alliance: The Social Basis of Revolts and Revolutions,” *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1988.

Nikki R. Keddie, “Religion and Irreligion in Early Iranian Nationalism,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1962.

Mehrzad Boroujerdi, “Triumphs and Travails of Authoritarian Modernization in Iran.” In Stephanie Cronin (ed.), *The Making of Modern Iran: State and Society under Reza Shah, 1921-1941* (Routledge, 2003), pp. 146-154.

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

Week 6 (Feb 21 ONLY due to ISA conference)
Making Nations II: Israel

Meron Benvenisti, *Sacred Landscapes*, Chapter 3.

Nadav Shelef, *Evolving Nationalisms*, Chapters TBA.

Uri Ben-Eliezer, "A Nation-in-Arms: State, Nation, and Military in Israel's Early Years," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 37, No. 2, 1995.

Moshe Semyonov and Noah Lewin-Epstein, "Immigration and Ethnicity in Israel: Returning Diaspora and Nation-Building," Chapter 19 in Rainer Münz and Rainer Rainer Phliger (eds) *Diasporas and Ethnic Migrants* (London, UK: Frank Cass, 2003).

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.'"

Uri Savir, "Should Palestinians Recognize Israel as Jewish State?" *Al-Monitor*, 27 June 2016: <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/06/palestinian-authority-permanent-status-agreement-security.html>.

Week 7 (Feb 28 and Mar 2) **Making Nations III: Arab Nationalism**

Adeed Dawisha, *Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), Chapters 7-9.

C.E. Dawn, "The Formation of Pan-Arab Ideology in the Interwar Years," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 1988.

Malik Mufti, *Sovereign Creations: Pan-Arabism and Political Order in Syria and Iraq* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), Introduction and Part I.

Fouad Ajami, "The End of Pan-Arabism," *Foreign Affairs*, 1978.

Jihad El-Zein, "Today's Arabism Characterized by Fragmentation, Diversity," *Al-Monitor*, 10 May 2013: <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/politics/2013/05/state-of-arabism-today.html>.

Week 8 (Mar 7 and 9) **Nations without States? Exploring the Kurdish Question**

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

Matin van Bruinessen, "The Kurds in Movement," University of Tokyo: Islamic Area Studies Project, 2007.

Mesut Yeğen “Turkish Nationalism and the Kurdish Question,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 1, 2007.

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

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>.

Denise Natali, “Is Iraqi Kurdistan Heading Towards Civil War?” *Al-Monitor*, 3 January 2017: <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/01/kurdistan-civil-war-iraq-krq-sulaimaniya-pkk-mosul-kurds.html>.

Semih İdiz, “US Support of Syrian Kurd Ruffles Turkey’s Feathers,” *Al-Monitor*, 4 August 2015: <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/08/turkey-syria-united-states-kurds-pkk-ypg-pyd-kuridsh-reality.html>.

SPRING BREAK (Mar 14 and 16): No class

Week 9 (Mar 21 and 23)

A New Cold War? Sectarianism in the Middle East

Daniel Byman. “Sectarianism Afflicts the New Middle East,” *Survival*, Vol. 56, No. 1, 2014.

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).

Katerina Dalacoura, “The Arab Uprisings Two Years On: Ideology, Sectarianism, and the Changing Balance of Power in the Middle East,” *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 15, No. 1, 2013.

Raymond Hinnebusch, “The Sectarianization of the Middle East: Transnational Identity Ways and Competitive Interference,” *Project on Middle East Political Science*, Vol. 21, 2016.

Haddad, Fanar. *Sectarianism in Iraq: Antagonistic Visions of Unity* (London: Hurst, 2011), pp. 31-64.

Ussama Makdisi, “Reconstructing the Nation-State: The Modernity of Sectarianism in Lebanon,” *Middle East Report, No. 200: Minorities in the Middle East*, 1996.

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>.

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>.

Week 10 (Mar 28 and 30)

MENA Puzzle: What Explains the Lack of Democracy?

Alfred Stepan with Graeme Robertson, “An “Arab” more than “Muslim” Gap,” *Journal of Democracy* 14:3 (July 2003): 30-44.

Michael Ross, “Does Oil Hinder Democracy?” *World Politics* 53 (2001): 325-61.

Larry Diamond, “Why are there no Arab democracies?” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 21, No. 3, 2010.

Eva Bellin, “The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective,” *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 32, No. 2, 2004.

Sheila Carapico, “Foreign Aid for Promoting Democracy in the Arab World,” *Middle East Journal* (Summer 2002): 379-395.

Steven Heydeman, “Upgrading Authoritarianism in the Arab World,” (Brookings Institution, 2007).

Michael Herb, “Emirs and Parliaments in the Gulf,” *Journal of Democracy* (October 2002): 41-47.

Lisel Hintz, “Adding Insult to Injury: Vilification as Counter-Mobilization Strategy in Turkey’s Gezi Protests,” *Project on Middle East Political Science*, Vol. 20, 2016.

Week 11 (Apr 4 and 6)

Arab Spring: Mobilization and Counter-Mobilization

Marc Lynch, *The New Arab Wars: Uprisings and Anarchy in the Middle East* (New York, NY: Public Affairs, 2016), Chapters 2 and 3.

Ahdaf Soueif, *Cairo: Memoir of a City Transformed* (New York, NY: Anchor Books, 2012), “An Interruption: Eight Months Later, October 2011,” pp. 49 – 97

Vincent Durac, “Yemen’s Arab Spring – Democratic Opening or Regime Maintenance?” *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol. 17, No. 2, 2012.

Zoltan Barany, “Comparing the Arab Revolts: The Role of the Military,” *Journal of*

Democracy, Vol. 2, No. 4, 2011.

Jason, Brownlee, Tarek E. Masoud, and Andrew Reynolds. "Why the Modest Harvest?" *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 24, No. 4, 2013.

Eva Bellin, "Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring." *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 44, No. 2, 2012

Week 12 (Apr 11 and 13)
Understanding the Rise of the Islamic State

Marc Lynch, *The New Arab Wars: Uprisings and Anarchy in the Middle East* (New York, NY: Public Affairs, 2016), Chapter 7.

Charles Lister, "Profiling the Islamic State," (Washington DC: Brookings Institution, 2014).

Victoria Fontan, "Out beyond Occupy Fallujah and the Islamic State Iraq and Sham there is a Field..." in Ioannis Tellidis and Harmonie Toros (eds) *Researching Terrorism, Peace and Conflict Studies* (London, UK: Routledge, 2015).

Aaron Zelin. "The War between ISIS and al-Qaeda for Supremacy of the Global Jihadist Movement," Report from the Washington Institute for Near East Policy," No. 20, June 2014.

Anthony Celso. "The Islamic State and Boko Haram: *Fifth Wave* Jihadist Terror Groups," Report for the Foreign Policy Research Institute, 19 February 2015.

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>.

Week 13 (Apr 18 and 20)
Syria: From Arab Spring to Proxy Civil War

Robin Yassin_Kassab and Leila al-Shami, *Burning Country: Syrians in Revolution and War* (London, UK: Pluto Press, 2016), Chapters 5 and 6.

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.

Other readings TBA as events develop

Week 14 (Apr 25 and 27)
The Real Refugee Crisis Is in the Middle East

Füsun Türkmen. “From Libya to Syria: The Rise and Fall of Humanitarian Intervention?” Paper for ACUNS Annual Meeting at Kadir Has University, 2014. Accessible at <http://goo.gl/KYWQcl>.

Robin Yassin_Kassab and Leila al-Shami, *Burning Country: Syrians in Revolution and War* (London, UK: Pluto Press, 2016), Chapter 7 (“Dispossession and Exile”).

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>.

Rawan Arar, Lisel Hintz, and Kelsey P. Norman. “The Real Refugee Crisis Is in the Middle East,” *The Washington Post*, 14 May 2016.

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>.