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DEGREES OF CAUSALITY: AN ASSESSMENT OF ENDOGENOUS

CONTRIBUTORS TO INSTABILITY IN JORDAN, SYRIA, & TURKEY

By

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Honors in the Major Program in International and Global Studies
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ABSTRACT

The political instability of the Middle East is often perceived to be derived primarily from the interaction of Middle Eastern nations with external forces; with significant emphasis placed upon the disruptive effects of modern colonialism and Westernization. While this study does not seek to directly contest the catalytic primacy of exogenous factors, it does seek to establish the necessary causality of pre-existing internal factors. Rather than approaching the situation from a linear causal perspective, this assessment is oriented around an interdisciplinary examination of confluent factors. By examining the political history, ethno sociology, and economy of the region, the analysis investigates the underlying variables which have contributed to the instability of the Jordan, Syria, and Turkey. The primary conclusion of this analysis is that the interactions of multiple endogenous variables provide a basis of necessary causality which may be of equal causal import to that of modern colonialism and Westernization.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express gratitude to all those who have encouraged me through this process and who took the time to convince me that it would be worth it, even when I didn't always believe. Thank you to my professors who challenged me to push the limits and question everything, who told me to form my own opinion rather than mimicking another's. Thank you to Dr. Houman Sadri for helping coalesce my scattered rambling into a cohesive research topic and to all of my committee members for their willingness to work with me throughout the past year. Thank you to my friends who believed in me, distracting me when I needed it and encouraging me when I felt like it would never end. I would especially like to express my appreciation to my family for first sparking my interest in the Middle East, for instilling in me a love of reading, and for teaching me to believe that the pursuit of knowledge is an unending path. And, most of all, I would like to thank God for carrying me up this mountain even when I would have preferred to stay in the valley.

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LIST OF TERMS

Stability/Instability:

In brief, the definition of stability utilized herein is derived from the definition of
political stability laid out by Karl Deutsch and J. David Singer as "the probability that [a]
system retains all of its essential characteristics…".[1] Although rather broad scope, the use
of this definition places any variable which contributes to the probability that the systems
examined will not retain all of their essential characteristics under the purview of this
assessment. Further definition and discussion of political stability and the methods for its
evaluation can be found in *A Definition of Political Stability*.[2]

Endogenous/Exogenous:

Throughout this study, the term "endogenous" will be utilized in reference to those
variables which do not directly originate from the current actions of an external force.
While these variables may be the result of previous external stimuli or may be currently
augmented or accelerated by such a force, they currently originate from within the system.
In contrast, variables originate from the current actions of external actors will be referred
to as "exogenous". In delineating between endogenous and exogenous variables, this study
in no way intends to imply a static relationship between the two categories. Rather, a level
of constant fluidity exists with perception of variables continuously transforming relative
to positional interaction and temporal development. A great deal of the framework for this
categorization of variables is derived from James Rosenau's seminal works in the areas of

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linkage politics. For in-depth theoretical evaluation and discussion of the applicability of

domestic/foreign categorization of variables, please refer to the existing body of

research.[3,4,5]

List of Terms. Endnotes

[1] Karl W. Deutsch and J. David Singer, "Multipolar Power Systems and International Stability," *World Politics* 16 (1964): 390-406.

[2] Claude Ake, "A Definition of Political Stability," *Comparative Politics* 7 (1975): 271-283.

[3] Conference on Public Opinion and Foreign Policy, *Domestic sources of foreign policy*, ed. James N. Rosenau (New York: Free Press, 1967).

[4] James N. Rosenau, ed., *International aspects of civil strife* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1964).

[5] James N. Rosenau, ed., *Linkage politics; essays on the convergence of national and international systems* (New York: Free Press, 1969).

I. RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

(A) Thesis

Political instability is often seen as an intrinsic aspect of the amorphous geopolitical region generally referred to as the Middle East. However, this progressive growth in volatility is also viewed as linked to relatively new developments in the regional dynamic. Although the area has experienced its share of internally catalyzed instability, violence, and societal disruption over the centuries, recent decades have presided over a disturbingly aggressive rise in the occurrence of these phenomena. Given the modernity of this trend, it would appear that causational factors must have transpired thereby, singly or collectively, initiating the current tendencies. Further, these variables should be relevant in their temporal placement to the origins and development of the existing instabilities.

In the cases of Middle Eastern nations, however, there are three obvious elements which must be considered in an analysis of the situation and its derivation. At the outset, it is imperative that the influences of historical external political forces be analyzed; specifically, the impact of imperialist and colonialist elements upon the existing institutional and legal structure. Secondly, one must consider the intrinsic internal socio-political and cultural factors and interactions which may have contributed to the development of an unstable political environment. Finally, the nature and implications of the political economic structure and the impact of demographic shifts are inextricable from

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any discussion of national instability. The confluence of these variables can clearly be seen as integrally linked to the progression of instability within the region.

Further, it can thereby be hypothesized that the interaction of these variables may provide necessary causality for the initiation and/or acceleration of instability in the Middle East, specifically within the states of Jordan, Syria, and Turkey.

(B) Significance of Subject Matter

The obvious geopolitical import of the region, coupled with the significance of its economic resources, not to mention the wealth of cultures native to the area, combine to make the Middle East one of the most globally influential regions. Considering the conflict and instability, which have come to define many aspects of international interaction with the region, the importance of understanding and learning from the results of previous interactions cannot be overstated. Further, recent events have shown an even greater acceleration of instability within a number of Middle Eastern nations; with the overthrow of many of the existing governments and reordering of sociopolitical systems, the nascent potential for the development of new relationships must be explored.

By investigating the political context of national instability in the region, it may become possible to track the long-range political impact of these relations. Beyond simply gaining a more profound understanding of the causative and correlative elements of national instability, the analysis of these events and their repercussions has significant bearing upon current and future diplomatic policy. Bearing in mind the current

revolutionary environment of the region, it strongly behooves all external elements to strenuously examine the reverberations of previous actions as well as the existing circumstantial dynamic before directly influencing the structural development of the region.

(C) Review of Existing Literature

Raphael Patai published some of the seminal work on Middle Eastern instability in relation to cultural factors in his 1955 work, *The Dynamics of Westernization in the Middle East*, specifically drawing attention to the displacement of native culture over the past 300 years. He especially emphasizes the impact of Western influence and its disruption of existing norms.[1] Charles Issawi carried this concept even further in 1965, when he wrote *The Arab World's Heavy Legacy*; he incorporated the existing Arab culture and economy, as well as the reaction to Western political and economic values, into the equation of stability.[2] In 1979, Richard F. Nyrop went on to divide the study of the Middle East in to country specific cases, notably that of Syria in his work *Syria, a Country Study*. This focus of study allowed a greater degree of detail to be integrated into the research parameters, giving the field a greater depth of information, including extensive analysis of the social, historic, & economic aspects of Syrian society.[3] Following his work on Syria, Nyrop went on to publish studies of both Jordan and Turkey, in *Jordan, a Country Study* and *Turkey, Country Study*, he was able to utilize a variety of sources, including official reports from governments and international organizations, to greatly expand the existing work.[4,5] In 1987, Thomas Collelo expanded and updated *Syria, a Country Study*, incorporating a

detailed study of the sociopolitical structure and international interactions. Specifically, he

analyzed the political and social dynamic between the Syrian Communist Party and the

Ba'ath party, as well discussing the role played by the Soviet Union and its influence on

Syrian politics.[6]

Collelo and Nyrop's work in country specific studies seem to have opened the door

for and expansion of in-depth national subject studies. In 1987, Mary C. Wilson wrote an

especially interesting study of the political historical origins of Jordan in *King Abdullah,*

Britain, and the Making of Jordan. She provides a detailed look into the creation of Trans-

Jordan, including the Hashemite interaction with the British and the transformation of the

mandate state. Further, she looks at Abdullah's influence on the political structure,

international influences, and the consequences of the 1948 war.[7] In 1989, this case specific

study of instability was taken even further in Linda L. Layne's article *The Dialogics of Tribal*

Self-Representation in Jordan. Layne significantly expanded the field by introducing the

elements of cultural denigration and conflict between tribal and urban culture into the

equation of national and regional stability.[8]

Also in 1989, Daniel Pipes published an extremely informative study of the shifting

balance of economic & social power in *The Alawi Capture of Power in Syria*. By analyzing the

developments in the economic, social, & military structure and their interaction with

traditional structures, Pipes expands upon potential mechanisms of instability.[9] This

perspective of political economic variables was further developed in the 1991 work by

Abdul-Karim Rafeq, *Work Ethics, and the Strains of Change in Ottoman Syria*. By

investigating the traditional socioeconomic and political structure of Syria under Ottoman

rule and the modern developments, Rafeq displays the historical background for the many

of the issues of present day Syria.[10] 1993 saw a significant development in the field of

stability studies with the book *Turkey and the West: Changing Political and Cultural*

Identities by Metin Heper, Öncü Ayse, and Heinz Kramer. Through a study of the changing

Turkish identity and the impact of artificial sociopolitical development, the element of the

internal origins of instability as well as the effects of external influences, Heper et al

expanded stability studies to include the interactions of a variety of variables.[11]

 With *Village, Steppe and State: The Social Origins of Modern Jordan* in 1994, Eugene

L. Rogan and Tariq Tell tied Jordanian stability studies contextually to regional social

development rather than simply the ramifications of imperialist elements or the Arab-

Israeli conflict. Specifically, Rogan and Tell draw on original fieldwork and Jordanian

archives as sources, rather than external observation and analysis, giving their research a

very internally focused perspective.[12] Alternately, Bülent Gökay paints instability in

modern Turkey as a direct result of the influences of external forces in his 1997 book *A*

Clash of Empires: Turkey between Russian Bolshevism and British Imperialism, 1918-1923.

Gökay directly joins the political history of the area (especially the after effects of the

"Great Game") to political development and structure.[13] But 1997 also saw *Rethinking*

Nationalism in the Arab Middle East published, the first book its kind to apply elements of

literary criticism, cultural anthropology, socioeconomics, and psychology to a theoretical

framework for the study of nationalism in the Middle East. As a resource for regional

political studies of any kind, *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East* has been integral in regional and national stability studies.[14]

The end of the 20th Century saw a an increasing trend in the field toward regional over national analysis; for example, Berch Berberglu's 1999 publication of *Turmoil in the Middle East: Imperialism, War, and Political Instability*. While drawing upon national case studies for specifics, Berberglu constructs an internally comparative study of the region. And while he pays special attention to external historical influences, Berberglu also incorporates multiple variables, including political sociology, economics, and history.[15] Simultaneously, James A. Bill, in collaboration with Robert Springborg, released a new edition of *Politics in the Middle East*. Focusing on elements of sociopolitical stratification, developments in civil society and leadership, religious factors, and the impact of U.S. foreign policy, Bill and Springborg introduce a broad regional perspective to the study of Middle Eastern stability.[16] 1999 also saw the release of Efraim and Inari Karsh's *Empires of the Sand: The Struggle for Mastery in the Middle East, 1789-1923*, which provides an exhaustive historical analysis of current Middle Eastern instability. The Karshs emphasize the impact of the artificial division of the region with the fall of the Ottoman Empire as integral, as well as the internal pressures of regional forces (such as the Hashemites).[17]

Mohammad G. Alkadry carried this regionally based perspective further in 2002 with *Reciting Colonial Scripts: Colonialism, Globalization and Democracy in the Decolonized Middle East*. By inspecting colonial and post-colonial Western interactions with the existing indigenous cultural and civil structures, Alkadry uses both social and historical variables in

his analysis of regional political instability. Further, he introduces aspects of industrialization to the equation and connects the clash of national economic interests with localized economies with the destruction of regional socioeconomic dynamics. Alkadry is one of the first to recognize all of these variables as interactive elements in national, as well as regional, stability.[18] And in 2003, Roy Anderson, Robert F. Seibert, and Jon G. Wagner published *Politics and Change in the Middle East: Sources of Conflict and Accommodation*; a comprehensive work in the area of Middle Eastern stability and conflict, it integrates a variety of regional aspects into the analysis. Looking at economic, historical, social, cultural, and religious issues, Anderson et al. offer an all-inclusive breakdown of the contributing factors of Middle Eastern conflict. Although *Politics and Change in the Middle East* does tend to address factors within the context of political history, the historical perspective allows for the analysis of multiple aspects of each variable (such as, traditional vs. modern vs. reactionary religious political cultures). By reducing the analytical divisions between the variables and acknowledging versatility of interaction and interdependence, Anderson et al. helped alter the theoretical research framework for future studies of regional stability.[19]

The late 2000s saw a deviation from the trend of regional studies with the release of such works as Salam Al-Mahadin's *An economy of legitimating discourses: the invention of the Bedouin and Petra as national signifiers in Jordan* in 2007. Al-Mahadin's work returns to the tradition of extremely specific national case studies, but he also includes elements of the Anderson/Alkadry style of analysis by examining his variables through a temporally comparative lens and keeping in mind the impact of other factors. Exploring the

development of national identity in Jordan, Al-Mahadin focuses on the artificial creation of

nationality and incorporates elements of historical cultural reconstruction, sociopolitical

change, and economic development.[20] Lucas Russell went on to expand upon this work

with *Side Effects of Regime Building in Jordan: The State and the Nation*, in which he

examines the historical sociopolitical origins of Jordanian national stability. Looking at the

social underpinnings of Jordan's monarchial system and the political, economic, and

cultural currents involved in the National Charter, Russell sets an interesting precedent

through examining the legitimacy and stability of the Jordanian state by investigating the

interactions of its integral parts.[21] Alternately, in 2009 Christopher Houston chose to reject

both the regional and state based perspectives in *An anti-history of a non-people: Kurds,*

colonialism, and nationalism in the history of anthropology and instead investigate ethnic

groups as a basis for stability. While still looking at political history, economic power, and

sociopolitical interaction, Houston does so from an ethnocentric perspective; specifically,

he examines the Kurds and other stateless people groups. By viewing Middle Eastern

stability from an ethnically oriented analysis, Houston introduces a new potential

framework for examining stability related variables and the interactions of non-state, state,

regional, extra-regional forces.[22]

The developments of the 2011 Middle Eastern revolutions spurred a massive

increase in the publication of regional stability studies; including an updated version of

Anderson et al.'s *Politics and Change in the Middle East*, which incorporated an analysis of

the 2011 developments[23]. But one of the most interesting recent works is Kjetil Selvik and

Stig Stenslie's *Stability and Change in the Modern Middle East*; by utilizing a state and government based perspective, they successfully introduce an active political element to the analysis. Without abandoning the historical social, economic, and international context, Selvik and Stenslie analyze the self-perpetuation of Middle Eastern states; specifically looking at the fragility of political stability in economically impoverished states and the actions of non-democratic governments. Selvik and Stenslie include the on-going interactions of historically influenced socioeconomic and cultural variables, but contextualize the discussion within the politics of the modern state.[24]

(D) Relation to the Existing Body of Work

Although there is a significant amount of standing research pertaining to specific variables of Middle Eastern stability and even limited analyses of the confluence of the variables, the majority of existing sources suffer either from an over-specificity of perspective or the limitations of temporal cultural bias. These margins tend to entail a distinct inability to adequately discuss the multifaceted origins of modern instability. Given the amount of recent attention and research into the Middle Eastern affairs, it is relatively surprising to find such a gap in academic literature. It is true that, at times, it can be difficult to discern the exact relevance and impact of specific events or factors within the fluid dynamic which is Middle Eastern politics, but it is of often rather obvious that such an impact does exist. It is vital that the variables which effect changes within the stability of the national system be recognized and evaluated, even if their impact cannot be specifically and individually quantified. By incorporating three main originating elements of instability

into the analysis and applying those aspects to an evaluation of Middle Eastern stability, it is the aim of this study to address the gap in comprehensive investigation, without providing an overabundance of analysis.

(E) Research Design

Due to the complexity inherent to undertaking a full scale analysis of the socio-political, historical, and economic interactions within the Middle Eastern region, and in the interest of brevity and efficiency, it becomes necessary to narrow the focus of research to a comparison of specific national case studies. The proposed research will be divided into five sections; the first being introductory, the next three will center upon a different modern Middle Eastern state and its experiences in relation to the variables discussed above, with the final section correlating, highlighting, and offering an overall analysis of the information. First attention will be turned to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, with specific emphasis placed upon the external installation of the Hashemite Dynasty, the societal & economic integration of the Bedouin ethnic group and the introduction of the Palestinian refugee population. The next case study will be an analysis of the Syrian Arab Republic, with strong interest drawn to the "Frenchification" of culture, the creation and spread of Ba'athism, the eventual rise of the Alawites within the sociopolitical & economic structure, the impact of urbanization, and the significance of vital resource limitations. Lastly, this project will bring under consideration the somewhat unique situation of the Republic of Turkey, expressly highlighting the rise of the Kemalist Western secularization

movement, the creation of Turkish nationalism, the social & economic marginalization of minority groups, and the divergence created through demographic shifts.

The criteria employed in selecting these specific national case studies are twofold. Firstly, in attempting to achieve a regional assessment rather than an interregional comparison, it is necessary that the specific countries chosen fall within the geopolitical region of the Middle East. After having controlled for unrelated variables by narrowing the geographic parameters to a very specific sub-region, it becomes highly desirable that maximum diversity be achieved within the sample data. The modern historiographical development of each of the countries examined differs significantly from the others, specifically from the fall of the Ottoman Empire to the present. The modern developmental origins of their governmental structure appear to be derived from divergent interactions during the Mandate period. Regardless, each of the selected nation's models of government differs highly from the others. The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is a constitutional monarchy with ultimate authority resting with the king. The Syrian Arab Republic is a single party dominated, nominal democratic, unitary presidential republic with oligarchical and dynastic tendencies. The Republic of Turkey is a functionally democratic parliamentary republic with a dynamic political landscape. Through the selection of these national case studies, it is anticipated that a degree of comparative diversity may be found to exist in the resultant findings, allowing for a greater depth of analysis.

Generally, factors involving the growth of national and ethnic groups and their interactions with domestic forces will be examined. Further, attention will be given to

historical structural disruption; specifically, the structural displacement and permutation

resultant from the imperial years. Additionally, the political economy's systematic dynamic

will be analyzed; especially the political division of wealth and resources, particularly in

relevance to social stratification. Although other elements pertinent to the national case

studies may be examined on a situational basis, the majority of any designated research

will fall within the range of one of these variables.

<u>Chapter I. Endnotes</u>

[1] Raphael Patai, "The Dynamics of Westernization in the Middle East," *Middle East Journal* 9 (1955): 1-16.

[2] Charles Issawi, "THE ARAB WORLD'S HEAVY LEGACY," *Foreign Affairs* 43 (1965): 501-512.

[3] Richard F. Nyrop, *Syria, a Country Study* (Washington D.C.: American University, 1979).

[4] Richard F. Nyrop, *Jordan, a Country Study* (Washington D.C.: American University, 1980).

[5] Richard F. Nyrop, *Turkey, a Country Study* (Washington D.C.: American University, 1980).

[6] Thomas Collelo, *Syria A Country Study* (Washington D.C.: Federal Research Division, 1987).

[7] Mary C. Wilson, *King Abdullah, Britain, and the Making of Jordan* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

[8] Linda L. Layne, "The Dialogics of Tribal Self-Representation in Jordan," *American Ethnologist* 16 (1989): 24-39.

[9] Daniel Pipes, "The Alawi Capture of Power in Syria," *Middle Eastern Studies* 25 (1989): 429-450.

[10] Abdul-Karim Rafeq, "Craft Organization, Work Ethics, and the Strains of Change in Ottoman Syria," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 111 (1991): 495-511.

[11] Metin Heper, Ayşe Öncü, and Heinz Kramer, *Turkey and the West: Changing Political and Cultural Identities* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1993).

[12] Eugene L. Rogan and Tariq Tell, *Village, Steppe and State: The Social Origins of Modern Jordan* (London: British Academic Press, 1994).

[13] Bülent. Gökay, *A Clash of Empires: Turkey between Russian Bolshevism and British Imperialism, 1918-1923* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1997).

[14] James P. Jankowski and I. Gershoni, *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).

[15] Berch Berberoglu, *Turmoil in the Middle East: Imperialism, War, and Political Instability*, (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1999).

[16] James A. Bill and Robert Springborg, *Politics in the Middle East* (Glenview, Ill: Scott, Foresman/Little, Brown Higher Education, 1999).

[17] Efraim Karsh and Inari Karsh, *Empires of the Sand: The Struggle for Mastery in the Middle East, 1789-1923* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).

[18] Mohamad G. Alkadry, "Reciting Colonial Scripts: Colonialism, Globalization and Democracy in the Decolonized Middle East," *Administrative Theory & Praxis* 24 (2002): 739-762.

[19] Roy Andersen, Robert F. Seibert, and Jon G. Wagner, *Politics and Change in the Middle East: Sources of Conflict and Accommodation* (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 2003).

[20] Salam Al-Mahadin, "An economy of legitimating discourses: the invention of the Bedouin and Petra as national signifiers in Jordan," *Critical Arts: A South-North Journal of Cultural & Media Studies* 21 (2007): 86-105.

[21] Russell Lucas, "Side Effects of Regime Building in Jordan: The State and the Nation." *Civil Wars* 10 (2008): 281-293.

[22] Christopher Houston, "An anti-history of a non-people: Kurds, colonialism, and nationalism in the history of anthropology," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 15 (2009) 19-35.

[23] Roy Andersen, Robert F. Seibert, and Jon G. Wagner, *Politics and Change in the Middle East: Sources of Conflict and Accommodation* (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 2011).

[24] Kjetil Selvik and Stig Stenslie, *Stability and Change in the Modern Middle East* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011).

II. THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN

(A) Introduction

i. Summary

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan poses an interesting case for an assessment of contributing stability factors. It significantly differs from the other national case studies chosen on a number of key historical aspects and has displayed a relatively strong trend toward continuous stability. This is not to say that variables do not exist which are conducive to Jordanian instability. In fact, there is a varied array of factors which continue to exert pressure upon the stability of the Hashemite Kingdom. As in the following chapters, this case study will seek to divide the factors into three distinct topical areas of analysis and attempt to correlate the relevance of the disparate variables.

ii. Research Framework

This assessment will first examine the political history of the region of the modern Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Specifically, the traditional power structure under the Ottoman Empire, the growth of Arab nationalism, the impact of the Arab Revolt and the subsequent collapse of the Empire, as well as the implementation of the Mandate system and the rise of Hashemite dominance will be touched upon. Next, the social disruption caused by the Bedouin consolidation will be examined, as well as the alterations to the traditional power structure instigated by the introduction of Hashemite rule. Additionally, attention will be directed to the sociopolitical implications of the incorporation of the

Palestinian refugee population and the potential for full integration. Finally, the question of economic stratification will be addressed, along with the subjects of post-industrialism, water resource control and allocation, and agricultural vs. industrial development. As in the following case studies, the significance of each variable will assessed, keeping in mind the interconnection of the various factors as well as their inherent interdependent functionality.

This assessment proposes that the stability of Middle Eastern states appears to be tied to an array of historical, socio-cultural, and economic variables. Further, that the connections are often both singular and multifaceted in nature, resulting in an extremely volatile environment. The variables function uniquely within each country, both exerting influence upon national stability and altering the national dynamic of the other variables. Specifically, this chapter serves to sustain the hypothesis that existing factors within the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan play a significant role in the causality of Jordanian stability. It is the contention of this assessment that, although current external forces retain the potential to play a catalytic role in Jordanian instability, the existing political environment carries an equal level of necessary causality. As stated previously, it is not the intention of this study to contend the primacy of exogenous variables in catalyzing instability, but rather to display the preexisting domestic factors which have played a necessary role in modern Jordanian dynamic.

<center>(B) Political History: Empire, Mandate, & Kingdom</center>

The history of the Hashemite Kingdom is extremely complicated and involves a long term interaction of various internal factors as well as the periodic influence of external forces. The interrelations of these factors have collectively and singularly shaped the political environment of the modern Jordanian state. This assessment will attempt to touch upon a few of the most significant variables; initial attention will be given to the rise of Arab nationalism and the fall of the Ottoman Empire, followed by an examination of the implementation of the mandate system, and concluding with an investigation of the creation of the Hashemite monarchy.

<center>*i. A Heritage Reborn*</center>

The decline of the Ottoman Empire coincided with a dramatic rise in nationalism throughout the Empire, particularly Arab nationalism. While it is not within the purview of this study to theorize as to the causal effect which this development played in the fall of the Empire, it would be remiss to not point out the growth and divisive impact of this phenomenon, as well as its role in the creation of modern Jordan.[1] As scholars began to promote so called "Arab" literature and arts, they effectively created an artificially unified Arab nationality which would have a significant impact upon the development of modern Middle Eastern states.[2] When the Empire joined the Central Powers in World War I, Arab nationalism made its first appearance on the global stage. Sayyid Hussein bin Ali, the Sharif and Emir of Mecca, declared himself the King of the Hejaz and initiated the Arab Revolt under the auspices and with the recognition of members of the Triple Entente.[3] Although

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the Sharif was misled in a number of ways and the unified kingdom he envisioned never truly materialized, actions laid the groundwork for and directly impacted the creation of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. In the process of fostering a unified Arab identity, the Sharif also renewed the heritage of Hashemite rule, implanting a tradition of legitimacy which has defined Jordanian stability to this day.

ii. Lines in the Sand

The triumph of the Triple Entente gave birth to a whole new world, populated by an array of freshly minted nation states with little to no historical foundations. Many blame the Western powers for molding the mandates in their own image, exploiting their resources, and disrupting the social order, but the greatest disruption was one inherent to the new system. The synthetic nation states of the modern Middle East had few ties to the past; in a region which is steeped in tradition and defined by its history, the state was suddenly without legitimacy. [4] The borders were no longer the historical bounds of a great clan's power, a strong Emir's influence, or a Caliph's decree; rather they were the product of a politician's pen, lines in the sand, said to have been swayed by an arbitrary sneeze. Amid this inherent instability, Transjordan the "Desert Mandate" came to root its legitimacy in a legacy so strong that it had defined the very concept of Arabism.[5]

iii. Lineage of the Prophet

At the birth of Islam, it was the Prophet and his family who welded the disparate and warring tribes of the Hejaz into a cohesive whole. For the first time, the nomads of the desert became a unified people centered on common ethno-linguistic and religious

traditions. With the rise of other Islamic empires, this definitive Arabism faded into the background, only to be reborn as a wave of nationalism swept the Ottoman Empire. As the descendant of the Prophet, the Sharif of Mecca and Hashemite Emir, Sayyid Hussein bin Ali called for a unified Arab nation state, but he also revitalized the traditional legitimacy of the Hashemites. When the British chose to create a monarchy in Jordan (at least partially) based in the historical authority of the family Hashemite, they also attempted to imbued it with a legitimacy lacking in much of the modern Middle East.[6] This historical foundation (no matter how artificial) has remained a powerful contributor toward stability within the Hashemite Kingdom. Although the monarchy itself has also inspired a number of insurgent movements, overall it has stood as an anchor for Jordanian stability.

(C) Political Sociology & Anthropology: Bedouins, Hashemites, & Palestinians

Considering the historical background of the Hashemite Kingdom, it is unsurprising that the state's socio-political and ethno-political composition reflects a number of unique characteristics. This assessment will first analyze the impact of the rise of the Bedouins as a military and political force, followed by an examination of the Hashemite political structure, and conclude with an investigation of the Palestinian integration.

i. A Desert Power

The collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the creation of the Transjordan Mandate saw the rise of modern military force in the Middle East unlike any previously seen. As the British led government sought to consolidate power within the state, they utilized a method which would have interesting implications for the future structure of Jordanian

society. By defeating and then training, arming, and integrating each of the influential tribal elements, the government created one of the most effective desert warfare units in the world.[7] The fierce loyalty of the Arab Legion to the newly installed Hashemite monarchy was reinforced by a symbiotic distribution of political favor and influence by the state. The Bedouin's political weight eventually came to be the foundation upon which the East Bank Jordanian political power would be based. In unifying the Bedouin forces, the initiative also served to accentuate the existing divisions within the region, creating a greater divide between the Bedouins and the urban population (see below, *The Desert, the City, and the Divide*, for further details).

But recent years have seen a growing divergence between the Bedouin/East Bank political base and the Hashemite leadership. As the economic gap between the Bedouin and Palestinian community has continued to grow, many tribal leaders have become increasingly dissatisfied with the apparent trend. As globalization and modernization has increasingly meant that economic power is equitable to political power, the traditional influence of the tribes may be gradually falling by the wayside. Although still politically and militarily powerful, the Bedouin influence upon state policy appears to have begun declining in recent years, resulting in a growing element of instability with the Hashemite state.[8] Long the foundation of Hashemite stability, the potential loss of Bedouin support may result in a period of nearly unprecedented uncertainty for the Jordanian monarchy.

ii. By Divine Mandate?

While the (perhaps artificially initiated) revitalization of the traditional legitimacy of Hashemite authority was, in many ways, solely augmented in Jordan by the support of tribal elements, the very state is a result of historical external intervention. The Hashemite monarchy, as it exists today, was largely shaped by the hands of foreign entities. As mentioned above, the ruling family installed during the mandate is itself ethnically derived from the Hejaz, rather than Jordan.[9] The intentional design of the newly created Jordanian state imported a foreign power structure and integrated it with the restructured social hierarchy. The consolidation of traditional tribal forces and their alignment behind the Hashemite monarchy legitimized the artificially created hierarchy by integrating it into the existing social structure.

Although comparatively successful in artificially creating a legitimate social structure, the inherently foreign organization of the Transjordanian Mandate also laid the groundwork for potential instability in the future.[10] As an artificially designed social hierarchy, the Jordanian construction inherently incorporates greater rigidity than an organic system. The direct linear connections of a shaped social power structure allows for the limited integration of external factors. As new social factions have developed or been introduced, their structural integration has catalyzed disproportionate instabilities in the social structure. Consequently, the creation of the Hashemite monarchy in Jordan can function as either a stabilizing or destabilizing variable, dependent upon its interaction with other factors.

iii. The Stateless People

From the early stages of the process of forming the Jordanian nation state, the question of national identity was a matter of concern. The East Bank Jordanians primarily adhered to tribal identities but if those of West Bank heritage could be said to have an identity, it would be Palestinian. Just as a national identity began to coalesce, the annexation of portions of the West Bank in 1948 saw a massive influx of Palestinians (estimated at 670,000).[11] From this point on, Palestinians were the demographic majority within the Hashemite state. The issue then became one of political, rather than demographic, capital. Although Palestinians continue to constitute 60-70% of the Jordanian population, they have traditionally had little influence upon the policies of the state.[12]

The established powerbase of the East Bank Jordanians allowed them to effectively constrain the expansion of Palestinian political power within the governmental system. It must be noted that this restriction pushed many Palestinians toward the economic sectors rather than military or political. In general the range of Palestinian influence has been negligible in comparison to their demographic base.[13] This lack of influence has continued to act as a destabilizing factor in the Jordanian political structure. The unbalanced distribution of political capital has led to growing dissatisfaction among the Palestinian population.[14] Considering the inherent long term instabilities of a disproportionate structural distribution of power, the probability is high that the Jordanian population dynamic will continue to unfold as a contributor to instability.

<u>(D) Political Economy & Demography: Urbanization, Industrialization & Resource</u>

<u>Distribution</u>

Any examination of Jordanian stability would be severely lacking without including

analyses of the progressions of urbanization and industrialization, as well as a basic

discussion of resource allocation. The bearing which these economic and demographic

factors have upon the distribution of political power and the interaction of political

movements within the state cannot be overstated. The growing schism between rural and

urban populations, as well as power struggle between the traditional agricultural powers

and the rising industrial/post-industrial sectors, exert significant influence upon the

stability of the Hashemite Kingdom and will not be omitted from this study. In addition, the

possibility of resource scarcity exacerbating the volatility of these both situations must be

examined in reference to the question of stability.

i. The Desert, the City, and the Divide

The Hashemite Kingdom has not been left behind by the accelerating trend of

urbanization which has been sweeping the Middle East. In a region historically inclined

toward pastoralist and semi-nomadic lifestyles, the drive toward urbanity has left a

divisive mark upon the cultural identity. The separation between the nomadic tribal

Bedouins and their semi-nomadic or sedentary counterparts has long been a point of

cultural, as well as economic, divergence. With the large scale influx of a relatively

sedentary Palestinian population, the demographic trend became heavily skewed toward

urbanization.[15]

As industrialization and advancements in transportation combined to transform Jordan's urban centers into international crossroads, the economic viability of the cities began to explode. As the urban population was primarily dominated by Palestinians, the resultant economic affluence of the Palestinians population quickly outpaced that of the East Bank Jordanians.[16] The historical divergence of urban and rural power bases soon assumed an additional nationalist aspect which has accentuated the demographic separation. The resultant clash of social power centers has significantly contributed to the overall instability of the Hashemite state.

ii. Tradition, Progress, and Power

Jordan has experienced a number of phases in the trend toward modernization and industrialization. The mandate years ushered in massive shifts toward modernization and industrialization under British oversight. While the developments implemented by the British were often designed to be of the most benefit to the mandate power, the progress toward industrialism was accelerated by the British impetus.[17] The latter half of the Twentieth Century saw an especially large increase in industrialization as Jordan increasingly integrated with the global markets.[18]

As in many industrializing nations, the movement toward industrial dominance has been marked by a corresponding loss of influence among the agricultural sectors. These sectors, which have traditionally dominated in terms of economics and demographics, are now in direct conflict with the demographic drain of the industrial and post-industrial

sectors. Further, the economic weight of these new sectors threatens a long assumed

power structure, a fact which bodes ill for agricultural-industrial interaction.

iii. Water and Life

Water has always been a scarce resource in the Hashemite Kingdom, but recent

demographic and economic developments have placed an even greater strain upon existing

resources. As urban and industrial development places ever increasing demands upon the

aquifers and available surface water, the distribution has become increasingly skewed from

traditional patterns.[19] The issue can be traced to a number of developmental and

population growth factors but, essentially, the early predictions of extreme and expanding

scarcity appear to have been justified.[20] Further, a significant portion of Jordan's water

supply is derived from external sources, conferring an even greater element of instability

upon the situation. Considering the probability for amplified resource competition, in

addition to the inherent instabilities of Jordanian reliance on foreign sources, water

limitations and distribution is likely to remain a major contributor to instability for the

foreseeable future.

(E) Conclusion

i. Reiteration of Hypothesis and Summary of Findings

While modern Jordanian instability may, at times, be catalyzed by external forces,

many of the current causal variables are internally grounded. The interconnection and

interdependence of these contributors creates a web work of factors which do not always

adhere to linear causal linkages. Although external forces may exert an influence upon a specific variable, the inherent confluence of reliant variables constitutes a near certain probability of unanticipated reactions. The fragility of the existing dynamics confers an increased potential for exponential instability. Essentially, the historical, socio-cultural, demographic, and economic environment carries a relative equitable burden of necessary causality in comparison to external catalysts.

The modern Hashemite Kingdom has displayed comparative stability in a region which has experienced nearly continuous instability. Although derived from a historical context not unlike that of its neighbors, with extremely disruptive cultural issues, not to mention dramatic demographic and economic divisions, yet the Hashemite Kingdom has managed to avoid the majority of the issues faced by other regimes. The interplay of various internal variables, primarily the stabilizing force of the Hashemite authority structure, seems to have played a critical role the relative stability of the Jordanian state so far. Conversely, many of the socio-cultural, economic, and demographic issues display a growing trend toward accelerated instability. The disproportionate distribution of political resources and the limited availability of vital resources especially pose a high probability for contributing to instability. The interactions of traditional and developing power structures, as well as the growing divide between East and West Bank Jordanians does not augur well for the ability of the Hashemite structure to maintain stability. Regardless, the primary contributors to the instability which Jordan appears to be facing are principally endogenous in nature.

Chapter II. Endnotes

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III. THE SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

(A) Introduction

i. Summary

Stability studies can incorporate any number of a diverse range of variables and perspectives, but this very multiplicity of aspects can easily lead to an insular analysis of a selected "causal" variable. It is of paramount importance that investigations of such a central concept as national stability include an examination of as many relevant elements as possible, whether they are causal, contributive, or correlative. Consequently, in the interest of accuracy and veracity, this case study of the Syrian Arab Republic will include as many relevant variables as feasibly possible; the examination will be divided into three distinct, but interdependent, topical research sections.

ii. Research Framework

The first section will include a historical analysis of the political structure, law and the judiciary, the impact of the division of Greater Syria under the French mandate, reactionary nationalist sentiment and the creation of the modern Syrian state. Next, attention will be given to the social implications of the development of Ba'athism in conjunction with the rise Pan-Arabism and Nasserism, a sociopolitical comparison of ethnic and religious minorities in Syria, and the ramifications of the traditional ethnic, cultural, and tribal divisions of Syria. And lastly, the origins and implications of the industrialization movement will be examined, along with the growing issue of water scarcity and

distribution, as well as the modern acceleration of economic stratification. In each instance, the variable's relevance to political stability and impact upon related variables will be evaluated; it must be noted that each section will necessarily involve a modicum of contextual overlap due to variable interdependence. This study contends that Middle Eastern regional, and national, stability is inextricably connected to a myriad of historical, social/cultural, and economic factors, both individually and collectively. Further, that the variables' unique national dynamic of is, itself, directly tied to the intrinsic political stability (or lack thereof) inherent to modern Middle Eastern nation states. Specifically, this analysis contends that the existing instabilities of the Syrian Arab Republic are not solely tied to the modern introduction of external forces. It is not the intention of this study to contend the primacy exogenous elements in catalyzing instability, but rather to display the preexisting domestic factors which have contributed to modern Syrian instability.

(B) Political History: Empire, Mandate, & Republic

i. Shifts in the Legal System

The historical development of the modern day Syrian Arab Republic has involved the interaction of a multitude of external variables and internal elements, all of which can be seen to have significantly altered the political structure and climate of the state. In deference to brevity, only a few of the most noteworthy will be examined herein; starting with an examination of external alterations of the legal system and framework, this analysis will continue to detail the impact of the division of Greater Syria, and conclude

with an investigation of the reactionary underpinning of the Republic and the origins of the of Ba'athism.

Some of the earliest elements of the Syrian legal system date back to the Ottoman period, sections of the Ottoman property laws being integral to the social structure. Further, the Millet system of the Ottoman period permanently affected the cultural religious dynamic of the region. But the events which have the most direct bearing on the modern legal system took place with the institution of the French Mandate and the eventual creation of the Republic. During the Mandate years, from C.E. 1920- 1946, the French introduced a variety of civil, commercial, & criminal codes, based on existing French laws. This infusion of, essentially, Napoleonic Code into what had been a basically Islamic oriented, Ottoman system caused a substantial deviation from the traditional structure. While the French initially allowed for a partial continuation of the customary traditional religious and ethnic courts, their role and authority was extremely limited in comparison to the new French judiciary.

This secularization and Westernization of the judiciary was to continue even after the end of the Mandate and the creation of the Republic, despite the continued growth of anti-colonialist sentiment. Over time, the new legal system incorporated elements of the traditional religious law; for example, the 1955 modification and assimilation of elements of the existing Sharia into the modern framework.[1] This developing system especially altered the traditional rights of women, first in the areas of legal status and inheritance and later going so far as to incorporate women into the judiciary itself.[2] By 1975, the legal

system had opened its doors to the acceptance of women as both public prosecutors and judges in the civil and criminal systems. The years following this development, especially after the founding of the Institute of Judicial Studies in 2002, have seen a dramatic rise in women interacting with and influencing the judicial process.[3] This advancement of women's rights and involvement, along with the generally French structure of the judiciary, is often seen as an evidence of Western influence and corruption, by traditionalist and fundamentalist movements in Syria and has become a point of internal conflict.

ii. The Division of Greater Syria

But, in matters of direct external alteration, none are more obvious or of greater impact than the artificial division of Greater Syria into the independent nation states of Lebanon and Syria. This counter historical intervention dramatically altered a number of extremely significant stability factors within the Syrian state. One of the most observably influential to instability being the loss of key water rights; even with the comparably high rainfall of the Syrian region, the loss of traditional access to the constant rivers of Lebanon has been a hard blow to Syrian industry and agriculture. Further, it created an artificial division between the socioeconomic hierarchies; by forcibly dividing Greater Syria along religious lines, the French effectively removed one of the most economically affluent demographics of the population.

iii. Backlash and the Development of Modern Syria

The artificial division created strong feelings of resentment toward the colonial powers and assisted in the expansion of militant pan-Arab movements. This situation

created a fertile bed for the growth of anti-colonialist, pan-Arab movements such as the Syrian Ba'ath party. These trends, combined with anti-Israeli developments, eventually resulted in the consolidation of political and military power within the modern oligarchic power structure. By destabilizing the exiting sociopolitical and socioeconomic structure, the colonialist powers created the opportunity for the subversion of the state by aggressively militant groups. Additionally, the demarcation of artificially created nation states along religious lines fashioned an environment of religious division which has contributed to the general instability of the entire region. This concentration militant pan-Arab sentiment has caused Modern Syria to be called the "beating heart of Arabism" and a central feature in many international conflicts within the Middle East.[4]

(C) Political Sociology & Anthropology: Ba'athism & Ethnic Division

i. The Ba'ath Party, Pan-Arabism & the Nasser Connection

Due to these historical influences, the political sociology of Syria has very interesting characteristics, not dissimilar to those of other Mandate and Colonial states. Specifically, the ideological political climate is heavily skewed toward almost hyper-nationalism; and yet the Ba'ath party's development has been distinctly influenced by external forces. The Republic exhibits the phenomena of minority rule, despite an outwardly semi-democratic structure; and there remains a great disparity of power distribution between minority groups. Further, the overall ethnic and religious dynamic of the nation has been somewhat unbalanced by the artificial alteration of the traditional sociopolitical framework.

As mentioned above, the genesis and rise to power of the Syrian Ba'ath Party epitomized the development of pan-Arab movements throughout the Middle East. Begun in Damascus in 1946 by two Syrians, Michael Aflaq (a Greek Antiochian Orthodox Christian) and Salah al-Bitar (a Sunni Muslim), the movement was initially relatively secular in orientation, not adhering to any specific religion or sect.[5] A hyper-ethnic/nationalist, anti-colonialist group, the Syrian Ba'ath Party was, nevertheless, heavily influenced by (although distinctly divergent from) Marxism and the socialism of the USSR, eventually drawing the movement into a close association with elements within Moscow.[6] As the movement gained momentum, it eventually took an integrally leading role in the politics of Syria and, with the 1963 coup, became the sole purveyor of power in the Republic. The instability of the country after the withdrawal of French forces had continued to accelerate until, with the failure of President al-Quwatli's plans of union with Nasser's Egypt and the military coup of 1961, a group of Ba'athist military and civil officers seized control of the state.[7]

ii. Minority Groups Dynamics: The Alawites

Even as the Ba'ath Party extended its power, spreading the Party's influence throughout the state, the internal stability of the Party began to weaken. The French Mandate had accentuated the existing ethnic and religious divisions within Syria, especially among the minority groups. One of these groups was the Alawites; a sub-division of Shia Islam, the Alawites historically tended to have little political, economic, or social influence, even considered blasphemers by portions of the Sunni population.[8] Internally divided into

four loose allied subgroups, "the Kalbiyya, Haddadin, Khayyatin, and Matawira/Numilatiyya", the Alawites lacked the strength of a cohesive cultural and political identity previous to the Mandate, especially growing in commonality of purpose with the opportunities presented by the secular Ba'ath Party.[9] During the rise of Ba'athism throughout the years of sociopolitical instability, elements of the Alawite minority had begun to heavily ally with the Ba'ath Party, rising to influential positions throughout the state. This dynamic culminated in the *1970 Corrective Movement*, essentially an internal power struggle and coup which resulted in a young Alawite, General Hafez al-Assad, Defense Minister of Syria, assuming near complete control of the state.[10]

<center>*iii. Ethnic and Religious Dynamics*</center>

This internal power shift has had dramatic results for the both the sociopolitical and religious structures of Syria. The initial consequence has been the rise to power of a previously marginalized ethno-religious group. But, along with the socioeconomic ramifications of this revolutionary power shift, the coup heralded an important mutation of the religious focus of the political structure. While the original Ba'ath movement was based mainly upon socialism and nationalism, the Assad family and the Alawite influence quickly shifted the elite power structure of the movement to an Alawite oriented vehicle of (their version of) Shia Islam. Further, Hafez al-Assad was able to quickly establish a governmental oligarchy directly associated with the family of Assad. Essentially, due to internal elements of sociopolitical instability, a family from a marginalized ethnoreligious minority has succeeded in artificially altering the entire sociopolitical, religious, and economic structure

of the whole state of Syria; not to mention, set up a dynastic familial oligarchy which is still in existence today (if under siege).[11]

In an interesting contrast, the existing ethnoreligious divisions of the region have been harnessed to create temporary political stability. The Alawite minority only represents an estimated 15% of the total Syrian populationany, placing the Assad government on a precarious political footing .[12] This situation forced the state to incorporate minority groups into government, in an effort to balance the stability of the Republic. But the intrinsic ethnoreligious divisions of the of the country have begun to undermine the stability of the minority integration in favor of the originally dominant Sunni ethnoreligious majority.[13] As the Sunni population has become increasingly influential within the state structure, the stability of the Alawite sociopolitical dominance has degraded.This fluxuating ethnoreligious social dynamic has long existed in the the Levant region, historically held in relative check by the imposition of exogenous structure and order.

(D) Political Economy & Demography: Urbanization, Industrialization, & Water

i. Economic Stratification

Of the major factors pertaining to Syria's national stability, one of the most patently important is the economic distribution of power. Over the past few decades, the trend within Syria toward a consolidation of urban economic influence in opposition to the traditional agricultural economy has had interesting consequences for the stability of the

nation. Of especial import is the methodology for the distribution of limited water resources, the growth of demand through population expansion and urban industrialization, and the consequences of attempts to increase supply. Further, of relatively separate but increasing significance, considering evident social unrest, the phenomena of economic stratification must be examined, specifically in relation to the distribution of power and resource access.

The division of Syria and Lebanon disrupted the old economic stratification, specifically the socioeconomic influence of the Maronite community, and the resultant vacuum added much to the national instability which characterized the first thirty years after the French withdrawal. But the introduction and explosive expansion of the Alawite influence soon resolved into a newly formed socioeconomic elite. This dramatic reorganization of the political economy has caused reverberations throughout the socioeconomic structure which can be traced to a number of stability issues, the latest of which has been expressed through the revolutionarily persistent protests which have been ongoing since January 2011 (as of March 2012).[14]

<center>

ii. Urbanization

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Another variable of paramount concern in the analysis of the structural stability of the political economy must be the continuous trend toward urbanization. The Middle Eastern region, as a whole, is in the midst of massive urbanization movement. As globalizing and modernizing forces permeate Middle Eastern society, rural areas have experienced an acceleration of urban demographic transfer.[15] The influences of such

phenomena as "dream migration", the inter-cultural transference of personal or social aspirations via globalization (especially through technological means), have undermined the traditional hold of the rural communities, resulting in even greater demographic shifts.[16] This ongoing urbanization has created a new socioeconomic tension between the traditional rural and the expanding urban economic structures.[17] The issues of water usage, access, and sustainability have increasingly become matters of national (and even international) stability for the Republic.[18]

iii. The Water Dilemma

With the growing demographic shift from rural to urban has come a corresponding resource demand shift from agriculture to industry. In a region with major natural resource limitations in the areas of water and arable land, the creation of an industrial class in addition to an established agricultural class has initiated a resource crisis of international proportions. The Turkish control of the major headwaters, coupled with increased demand and drought conditions has stretched the stability of the entire region to the breaking point on multiple occasions.[19,20] Military interactions with both Lebanon and Israel have been fueled (at least partially) by the increasingly obvious need for a sustainable source of water.[21]

Further, the expansion of the population of Syria has contributed in vast increases in demand for water and arable land.[22, 23] Long term analyses of the environmental and vegetation coverage trends have shown a dramatic movement toward deforestation and agricultural development.[24] This trend corresponds to equally striking increases in water

resource usage which have had devastating effects on the sustainability of the water

table.[25] Aquifer levels have begun dropping at accelerated rates; with both the

introduction of new industrial demands and expanded population strain, the existing water

usage levels far outweigh the available resource replenishment rate.

The unstable stratification of the socioeconomic structure has resulted in an

unsound social dynamic which has severely undermined the stability of the nation. The

growing trend toward urbanization and modernization has begun to undermine the

demographic base of the rural socioeconomic political power structure. Further, the severe

divergence of economic sectors between industrial and agricultural has created a hostile

resource allocation environment and contributed to the urban/rural demographic schism.

Collectively and individually, these factors have strongly contributed to the overall

instability of the Syrian Arab Republic and the region as a whole.

<div align="center">(E) Conclusion</div>

<div align="center">*i. Reiteration of Hypothesis and Summary of Findings*</div>

The origins and the genesis of instability are inextricably tied to a multiplicity of

non-linearly linked variables, causal factors, and catalytic elements. But this is not to say

that the confluence of factors implies an untraceable temporal and causal linkage of the

variables. As in most studies, the variables can be broken down into external influences and

internal circumstances. The obvious contention has tended to be that the influences of the

external colonial forces have catalyzed the evolution of intrinsically unstable conditions

within their client states. While this study does not argue the catalytic effects of external influences, it does relegate them to the variables of necessary rather than sufficient cause for the situation. The historical internal structures and dynamics of sociological and cultural variables, coupled with the innate economic situations of the region carry a nearly equal burden of necessary causality.

It cannot be denied that the French Mandate of Syria and Lebanon has played an integral role in the development of the state of Syria, as it exists today. Specific attention can be drawn to the division of Greater Syria and the Frenchification of the legal system, but the revolutionary and reactionary elements of Syrian society far predate the Mandate state. Further, the religious and economic divisions accentuated by the French influence and interaction predate any modern external influences at all. While the current issues of urbanization and the resource dilemma are the ramifications of modernization & globalization, the issues themselves only exist because of resource limitations intrinsic to the region and the reactions of traditionalist cultural elements. It is thereby arguable that the burden of necessary cause rests almost equally upon both external and internal variables.

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IV. THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

(A) Introduction

i. Summary

In seeking to understand the underpinnings of stability in the Republic of Turkey, it is of paramount import that one examines the full range of factors which contribute the nation's solidity. With such a historically interconnected and unstable region, the danger in any analysis is the tendency to focus on a single integral variable or group of variables, rather than attempting to view the variables as varied elements of a comprehensive whole. As in the previous chapter, this study will seek to divide the factors into three distinct topical areas of analysis and attempt to correlate the relevance of the disparate variables.

ii. Research framework

The initial area of examination will focus on the political history of the area of modern Republic of Turkey. Specifically including an examination of the religious structure under the Ottoman Empire, the modernization trends which took place in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries, as well as the collapse of the Empire, the implementation of accelerated Westernization, and the fostering of Turkish nationalism. Secondly, attention will be directed toward the tensions engendered by the continued implementation of extreme secularism, the politicization of the military structure, the impact of ethnic diversity in relation to Turkish nationalism, and specifically the political integration of

ethnic and religious groups. Lastly, the issues of economic stratification will be addressed, along with the subjects of post-industrialism, water resource control and allocation, and agricultural vs. industrial development. As before, the significance of each variable will assessed, keeping in mind the interconnection of the various factors and their inherent interdependence.

This study contends that Middle Eastern national stability is inextricably connected to a myriad of historical, social/cultural, and economic factors, both individually and collectively. Further, that the variables' unique national dynamic is, of itself, directly tied to the intrinsic political stability (or lack thereof) inherent to modern Middle Eastern nation states. Specifically, this chapter supports the theory that the existing instabilities of the Republic of Turkey are not solely tied to the modern introduction of external forces, rather that preexisting elements have carried a burden of necessary causality. As before, it is not the intention of this study to contend the primacy of exogenous elements in catalyzing instability, but rather to display the preexisting domestic factors which have played a necessary role in modern Turkish instability.

(B) Political History: Empire, Collapse, & Republic

Of initial import in examining the modern origins of instability within the Republic of Turkey, is the process of tracing any historically events which have influenced the modern situation; namely, the Ottoman Empire, its collapse, and the institution of the modern state.

i. Consequences of the Millet System

Rather than making a full study of the history of the Ottoman Empire, which has been extensively discussed by other authors and does not fall within the purview of this analysis, only the later years of the Empire will be discussed along with a few essential elements. First, the long standing religious diversity of the region must by noted; the nature of the Ottoman Millet System strictly divided the rules of civil governance and judicial process along the lines of religious affiliation. This intentional division allowed non-Islamic traditional laws to co-exist within the Ottoman system and temporarily ameliorated conflicts of religion.[1] The Ottoman implementation of a structurally based solution simply accentuates the significance of the historical divergence inherent to the region. Interestingly, the official Ottoman recognition of the authority of the disparate religious organizations within the Empire simply preserved the religious hierarchies intact and postponed the potential for conflict.

ii. Secular Military Influence

One important element which was not provided legitimacy was that of Islamic conservativism; groups, such as the Wahabis, who threatened the official authority of the Caliphate where strictly persecuted.[2] This secularist state opposition to the threat of religious conservativism was to become one of the defining characteristics of the later days of the Empire and still extends into the political dynamic today. The rise to power of modern secularism through the influence and power of the military structure as become a

pattern which has stood in stark opposition to the religious right since the late 19th Century.[3]

The greatest example of this long standing dynamic can be seen in the reforms instituted by Kemal Atatürk during and after the collapse of the Empire. Considered of the most important figures in modern Turkish history, Atatürk rose from the secular military establishment drawing his power from it rather than from the civil structure. Commonly quoted as disparaging the reliance of religion and emphasizing the importance of science and reason, Atatürk rule of the new Republic was marked by a strict suppression of many of the religious minorities which had existed under the old Empire. Specifically, the persecution of the Sufi brotherhoods and the institution of massive scale secularization and Westernization within the state ignited powerful reactionary conservative movements which still exist today.[4]

iii. Artificial Nationalism

Further, the new Republic's emphasis on Turkish nationalism was itself an extension of the burgeoning nationalism of the entire region. The rise of Arabic, Kurdish Turkish, Armenian, and other national groups within the Empire had significantly contributed to its defeat and collapse. Atatürk's intent to create a purely Turkish state backfired as he attempted to divest the Kurds and others of their traditional ethno-cultural history. The very disparity which he sought to discard became a major point of contention within the new Republic.[5]

These historical sources of instability are still major factors in the nation today; as in the past, the very religious and ethnic diversity which has defined the Turkish state is also a matter of extreme concern. While the Ottomans chose to incorporate of the disparate ethno-religious traditions into the structural institutions of the state and thereby control the potential for conflict, the modern Republic has trended toward secularization. By ignoring or attempting to suppress the historical ethno-religious dynamics within the state, the modern Republic of Turkey has emphasized rather than reduced their significance and brought the surface a number of historical political divergences which still play a role in Turkish politics today.[6, 7, 8]

(C) Political Sociology & Anthropology: Modernization, Secularization, & Ethno-Religious Division

The progression of the trends of Atatürk's day has continued throughout the current Turkish political system. And, as mentioned above, the major issues of that period continue to be integral to the stability of the Republic of Turkey; namely, the modernization of the social structure, the secularization of the state, and the conflict of nationalism.

i. Modernization Along Western Lines

One of the main issues intrinsic to the political culture of the Republic is the interplay of Eastern and Western ideas and social structures. The drive for modernization has long been linked to a correlative drive toward Westernization. This perceived symbiotic relationship between advancement and the adoption of Western practices has led to a strong trend toward the Westernization of the state structure and an attempt to

carry the process into the social structure.[9] The initiative to reform and revitalize the educational sector, the equalization of women's roles in society, and the development of liberal economic institutions have all been the results of this trend toward modernization. But for each of these developments, a corresponding stability issue has also arisen. Education reforms have emphasized the importance of secular education, disrupting the role played by traditional religious schools. The equalization of women's roles has angered conservative religious elements. And the liberalization of the economic structures has disrupted long standing socioeconomic hierarchies.[10]

ii. The Battlefield of Secularization

The divergence between the secular state and the traditional Islamic foundations of legitimate governance in the region has become a significant source of national instability. Attempts to diffuse or suppress religious activism have resulted in a reactionary politicization of religious movements. Rather than dispelling religious influences within the state, the political structure has necessitated the introduction of direct religious motivation as a political platform. This politicization of religion has polarized many political debates along secular and conservative religious lines. The divergence has spurred accusations of both religious discrimination and religious extremism. The partisanship of the climate of political participation in modern Turkey has been marked by an accentuation of this divisive issue.[11]

iii. Ethnic Minorities and the Consequences of Nationalism

However, arguably the most divisive issue within the ethno-political system of modern Turkey is the issue of self-determination. The artificial reinforcement of Turkish nationalism which marked the later years of Ottoman rule and the early years of the Republic under Atatürk also correlate to the rise of a reactionary backlash of minority nationalism.[12] The cultural imperialism and ethnic suppression implemented to accelerate the development of pure Turkish nationalism met a strong resistance among the non-Turkish population. This near anti-Turkish sentiment was most strongly felt among distinct ethnic minorities who had never integrated into Turkish society. The ethno-religious division of the Ottoman period almost encouraged an insular ethno-political attitude, which resulted in a deeply divided cultural landscape after the Empire's collapse.[13]

Especially common within geographically isolated ethnic groups, such as the Kurds (Atatürk's "mountain Turks"), the issue of burgeoning nationalism has led to major questions as to the self-determination rights of ethnic minorities, which has resulted in significant national instability within the Republic. The rise of self-determinist motivated terrorist groups, such as the PKK, within the political struggle for minority rights simply emphasizes the social magnitude of the issues involved. The inherent ethnic diversity of the country and the development of distinct nationalist movements are elements of paramount import to the stability of the Republic of Turkey.[14]

(D) Political Economy & Demography: Urbanization, Industrialization, & Resource

Distribution

i. Demographic Shifts

Similar to the other cases examined within this study, the trend toward urbanization

has created an interesting dynamic in the Republic of Turkey. The latter half of the 20th

Century saw a dramatic shift of over 30% of the total population from rural to urban

environments (through a combination of urban development and demographic shift).[15]

This shift in population concentration from rural to city has significantly altered the

traditional economic dynamic of the sociopolitical framework of the Republic. As in many

political landscapes, the interests of rural and urban constituents rarely coincide, resulting

in a further polarization of the divergent groups. Further the opportunities for educational

and economic advancement offered by the urban centers have resulted in an internal brain

drain similar to that suffered by developing and undeveloped nations with strong ties to

the developed world. The severity of these demographic shifts has become increasingly

apparent as over 70% of the total population of Turkey now resides in urban areas,

resulting in not only a massive strain upon the developing infrastructure, but a growing

political economic schism between the urban and rural environment.[16]

ii. Agricultural, Industrial, & Post-Industrial Conflict

Correspondingly, the progress of industrialization and modernization has

significantly impacted the political economic dynamic of the agricultural, industrial, and

post-industrial sectors. The traditional influence of the agricultural community has been

countered by both a growing industrial segment of the economy and the expansion of the

post-industrial sector. The early years of the 21st Century have seen a strong politicization

of the Turkish economy, specifically in the area of potential entrance into the European

Union. This political economic drive toward EU membership has strongly influenced other

elements of the Turkish development. In an effort to qualify for membership the Republic

altered many social & educational policies to promote minority integration and equality;

these measures have, in many ways, emphasized the socioeconomic issues facing the

Republic. Further, the efficacy of the new policies and the possibility of additional

implementation may be impeded by the solubility issues currently being experienced by

the European Union. The growing politicization of the economic sectors has resulted in not

only the political polarization of the economic sectors but also influenced the

implementation of social policies which may hold influence over the future stability of the

Republic of Turkey.[17]

iii. Resource Limitations

Both the growth in the industrial sector and the urban shift in demographics have

had a large impact of the demand for limited resources within the Republic. Further, the

latter half of the 20th Century saw an astonishing expansion of the national population,

resulting in even greater economic demand. Combined, these elements have placed greater

strain on the agricultural sector, while simultaneously shifting the growth focus on the

industrial and post-industrial sectors. Considering limitations of land, water, and other

basic resources, the Republic's chosen path toward economically feasible growth has been

pursuit of entrance into the EU and its free trade zone. But, taking into account the fallout

of the European financial crisis, the political stability of the Republic may be challenged in

the second decade of the 21st Century. Without a stable international partner, the potential

for Turkish economic development may be curtailed, resulting in extensive political

upheaval within the economic structure of the Republic.[18]

(E) Conclusion

i. Reiteration of Hypothesis and Summary of Findings

Considering the multitude of variables briefly discussed within this analysis, as well

as acknowledging the multiplicity of variables not examined herein, it is impossible to

dismiss their inherent combined bearing on the structural integrity of the Republic of

Turkey. The interconnection and interdependence of the various elements lends itself to an

intrinsically non-linear interpretation of the stability studies. Rather, the multitude of

partially causal variables implies a confluence of existing factors, simply brought into

alignment through temporal development and catalyzed by external interaction.

This study contends that roots of instability are integrally linked to a vast number of

non-linearly associated variables, causal factors, and catalytic elements. While specific

events of instability may be temporally traceable to a single sequence of catalytic events,

the catalysis is not sufficiently causal to explain the extent of the reaction. In the case of

Turkey, it may be said that the colonial period directly mandated the structure and

geographic bounds of the Republic. It could even be argued that the period indirectly

altered the social and political development of the new nation, demanding a secular

nationalist state. Thereby, the instabilities inherent to the modern Turkish state can draw a

causal link to the influence of colonialism. But, it must also be understood that the elements

necessarily foundational to these instabilities are intrinsic to the historical, sociological,

ethnic, economic, and developmental limitations of the region.

The divisive legacy of the Ottoman Empire, combined with the confusion of the

Empire's fall, created a unique opportunity for colonialist powers to indirectly influence the

development of the new nation. But the existing divisions of traditional authority,

legitimacy, and law were inherent to the area. Additionally, the attempt to establish a pure

European model of nationalism simply emphasized the standing ethno-cultural disparities

of the country and exasperated the issue of self-determination. Despite these factors, as

well as the common issues of the accelerated urbanization, the growth of the politically

polarized economic sectors, a population explosion, and resource limitations, the overall

political situation does appear to be relatively stable at this time. The foundation of what

instability (or stability) exists in the Republic of Turkey cannot be laid solely upon the

influence of external catalysts; but, rather, at least equal weight of necessary cause must be

placed upon the existing endogenous factors.

<u>Chapter IV. Endnotes</u>

[1] Cleveland and Bunton, *Modern Middle East,* 48-49.

[2] Cleveland and Bunton, *Modern Middle East,*71-72.

[3] Cleveland and Bunton, *Modern Middle East,* 87-102.

[4] Lust, *The Middle East,* 41-43, 167-168.

[5] Gavin D. Brockett, "Collective Action and the Turkish Revolution: Toward A Framework for the Social History of the Ataturk Era, 1923-38," in *Turkey before and after Ataturk: Internal and External Affairs*, ed. Sylvia Kedourie (Portland: Frank Cass, 1999), 44-66.

[6] Lucille W. Pevsner, *Turkey's Political Crisis: Background, Perspectives, Prospects* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1984)*, 6-11*.

[7] Soner Cagaptay, *Islam, Secularism, and Nationalism in Modern Turkey: Who is a Turk?* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 156-162.

[8] Martin, *New Frontiers in Middle East Security*, 107-126.

[9] Lust, *The Middle East*, 733-734.

[10] Martin, *New Frontiers in Middle East Security*, 107-126.

[11] Marvin E. Gettleman and Stuart Schaar, *The Middle East and Islamic World Reader* (New York: Grove Press, 2003), 125-127.

[12] Cagaptay, *Islam, Secularism, and Nationalism*, 41-64.

[13] David McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds (*New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 184-213.

[14] Cagaptay, *Islam, Secularism, and Nationalism*, 19-24, 102-123.

[15] Nyrop, *Turkey: A Country Study.*

[16] Nyrop, *Turkey: A Country Study.*

[17] Pevsner, *Turkey's Political Crisis*, 11-20.

[18] Meltem Muftuler-Bac, "The Never Ending Story: Turkey and the European Union," in *Turkey before and after Ataturk: Internal and External Affairs*, ed. Sylvia Kedourie (London: Frank Cass, 1999), 240-258.

V. CONCLUSION

(A) Summary of Research

i. Reiteration of Thesis

As one the most geopolitically important and often volatile regions of the world, the origins of stability and instability in Middle Eastern nations must be a point of critical analysis. Modern accelerations in the unstable characteristics of national and regional dynamics would seem to imply a catalytic introduction of external factors. However, the possibility must also be explored that internal variables also play an integral role in the development of such characteristics. Political instability may be as closely tied to the interplay of endogenous factors as it is to the catalytic effects of exogenous ones.

In pursuing an investigation of the stability of Middle Eastern nations, three nearly inextricably entwined elements appear to be dominant factors in the derivation of instability. Initially, one must examine the historical developments which have produced the current political environment. Next, it is integral that a firm grasp of the socio-political and cultural variables be established, specifically in reference to their stability implications. Finally, the dynamics of the political economy must be evaluated, with aspects of economic stratification, urbanization, modernization requiring particular attention. The interactions of these sets of variables appear to play a vital role in contributing to the instability of Middle Eastern states. Further, it can thereby be hypothesized that the interaction of these

variables may provide necessary causality for the initiation and/or acceleration of instability in the Middle East, specifically within the states of Jordan, Syria, and Turkey.

ii. Summary of Chapter II. Jordan

The state structure of the Kingdom of Jordan is an inherently foreign imposition, not only is the power dynamic of shaped design, but the Monarchy itself is not indigenous to the area. Although this artificial construct appears to have initially disrupted the social dynamic of the nation, the Hashemite family quickly achieved a significant level of legitimacy. Through the consolidation and integration of the Bedouin tribal elements, the Hashemite state simultaneously created a powerful military structure and established a stable traditionalist power hierarchy. However, the subsequent introduction of an extremely large Palestinian population appears to have had a destabilizing effect upon elements of this dynamic. Although, the East Bank Jordanians have managed to maintain a level of political dominance, Palestinian influence has gradually expanded. Further, the growing prominence of urban and industrial centers, primarily populated by Palestinians, has exacerbated the cultural divergence. Effectively limited in their political mobility, the Palestinian population has advanced considerably in the economic hierarchy, comparative to relative Bedouin stagnation. Nevertheless, despite the growing conflict between East and West Bankers, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan exhibits a level of relative stability unusual within the region

iii. Summary of Chapter III. Syria

The significance of the Mandate period cannot be overstated in reference to the creation of the modern Syrian state. The impacts of the division of Greater Syria, deliberate social alteration, and the introduction of French judicial elements have directly shaped much of the Republic's inherent stability issues. The subsequent reactionary movements accentuated existing ethno-religious and socio-economic divisions which had been brought to the fore under French rule. The Alawite rise to power has been especially influential in contributing to the instability of the Syrian power structure. Further aggravating these variables, the accelerating trend toward urbanization has pitted the traditional rural community structure against the developing urban centers. Additionally, developmental efforts have resulted in a progressive industrialization which has challenged the power of the agricultural sector. Perhaps most important, the existing limitations of vital water resources has spurred greater hostility between these sectors, resulting in an acceleration of instability. Considering the direct relationship between the confluence of these variables and the existing instability of the Syrian state, it would appear that a burden of necessary cause rests upon the interactions of endogenous variables.

iv. Summary of Chapter IV. Turkey

Much of Turkey's state structure is a direct result of the rise of nationalism, coupled with the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the events subsequent. The expansion of secularism and nationalism were combined to form a heavily westernized state with an artificially cultivated nationalist tendency. The imposition of this system quickly came into

direct conflict with the existing ethnic and religious dynamics. In attempting to implement a pure model of "Turkish" nationalism, the movement accentuated the actual diversity of the population and spurred the growth of reactionary ethno-nationalist factions. The efforts of such minorities as the Kurds to realize their self-determinist goals have strongly contributed to the overall instability of the Turkish Republic. Additionally, the Republic has undergone a massive population explosion and demographic shift as the population dynamic trends toward urbanization. Not only has this placed great strain on the urban centers and forced the issue of urban development, it has severely disrupted the traditional rural power structure. As modernization has taken hold, the existing agricultural and industrial sectors have come into increasing conflict. Further, these social and economic fluctuations have resulted in a greater stratification of the socio-economic hierarchy. Although the Republic of Turkey is relatively stable at present, the instabilities which do exist appear to be derived from interactions of essentially endogenous variables.

v. Points of Note

It should also be mentioned that although each of the countries selected as national case studies was chosen for its diversity from the other choices, certain contributors appear to have been universally influential. Specifically, political or economic dynamics between minority and majority groups were apparent among the instability contributors for each of the case studies herein. In addition, industrialization seems to be playing an on-going role in economic and demographic destabilization in every nation examined by this study. Lastly, the role of urbanization cannot be overstated; its universal applicability to

every case study and the seeming exponential growth of the phenomenon imply a high degree of regional significance.

(B) Summary of Findings

i. Integration of Data

The resultant data of this study can be broken down into three primary levels of analysis. On a State Level, the interplay of structural variables can be examined in referenced to their contribution to the instability of the broad political climate. The analysis of Local Level variables specifically incorporates an examination of ethnic, religious, demographic, and economic divisions and their consequences. Finally, the Individual Level incorporates the influence of the national leadership, specifically examining variables of composition and legitimacy.

Table 1. Comparative Analysis of Contributors at Various Levels

Level of Analysis / National Case Study	Macro	Meso	Micro (leadership)	Current Status
The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan	Positive*	Positive	Negative	Stable**
The Syrian Arab Republic	Positive	Positive	Positive	Unstable
The Republic of Turkey	Positive	Positive	Negative (at present)	Stable

*A "Positive" delineation indicates a positive contribution to instability (i.e. an acceleration of instability). Conversely, a "negative" delineation indicates negative contribution to instability (i.e. a reduction of instability).
**See LIST OF TERMS (pg. 2) for framework of evaluation.

ii. Comparative Analysis of Jordan

The factors of instability in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan offer an interesting

comparison when examined according to level of analysis. The severe political polarization

of the Jordanian political landscape, partially resultant from a combination of historical

factors including the consolidation of the Bedouin tribes and introduction of a Palestinian

majority, has had significant consequences for national stability. As shown in table 1, it can

be said that the skewed structure of power distribution in Jordan contributes positively to

the instability of the state. Similarly, local divergences between East and West Bankers,

coupled with and accentuated by growing economic and demographic divides, are inherently destabilizing elements within the state. In contrast, the leadership of the Hashemite Monarchy has acted negatively upon the growth of instability, consistently functioning as a stabilizing force in the national dynamic. The perceived traditional legitimacy of Hashemite authority seems to have effectively countered the manifestation of multiple Macro State and Meso Level contributors to instability.

iii. Comparative Analysis of Syria

Conversely, an examination of various levels of analysis in the Syrian Arab Republic appears to show a nearly universal convergence of supporting variables. On the Macro Level, the political structure is severely unbalanced with power almost entirely confined to a very small portion of the population. Further, the reactionary and revolutionary history of the state offers a high probability of exponential increases in structural instability. It must also be noted that the creation of the Syrian national identity after the division of Greater Syria has had a tremendously destabilizing influence upon Syria. An analysis of Meso Level variables exhibits an extremely volatile ethno-religious dynamic, in combination with artificially cultivated socio-economic stratifications and multiple demographic strains. The Micro Level of analysis displays a partially delegitimized authority structure, currently utilizing force in an effort to establish and maintain legitimacy. Although intended to stabilize the regime, the policies being currently pursued by the primary Micro Level actors are inherently contributive to overall instability.

iv. Comparative Analysis of Turkey

A comparative analysis of Turkey offers a particular challenge in that, similar to aspects of Jordan, contributions of Macro Level variables interact on the Meso and Micro Levels. The Macro enforcement of artificial Turkish nationalism and political secularism had a tremendously destabilizing effect on Meso Level dynamics. Nonetheless, the preexisting Meso Level divisions, accentuated by the implementation of the new state structure, have become primary contributors to the Republic's instability. Additionally, the Meso Level developments of population explosion and demographic shift, especially toward urbanization, have positively contributed to social instability in Turkey. Interestingly, on the Micro Level, the contributions of Turkish leadership appear to be having a stabilizing effect. The perceived relative legitimacy of the current authority structure appears to be offsetting, to a certain extent, the general pressure toward instability.

(C) Conclusions

i. Resultant Interpretation

In comparing the national case studies examined in this assessment, each case shows a marked derivation of instability from currently endogenous factors. It appears that, not only do these internal variables carry a degree of necessary causality, they also seem to interact and build off of each other. The interactions and interdependencies of endogenous dynamics confer an inherent complexity to the quantification of causality in comparison to exogenous variables. It seems most expedient to consider them to be

primarily reactive in nature and retaining critical necessary causality. Specific endogenous

factors can be observed to exhibit comparatively high levels of reactivity and can even

display catalytic properties in every national case study. Considering the implications of the

finding listed in Table 1, it appears that Micro Level authority structures exert an especially

disproportionate influence upon overall stability. It is arguable that, in the current political

atmosphere, the most significant factor to consider may be that of perceived legitimacy.

While Jordan and Turkey have experienced and continue to address major issues of social

polarization and resource management, they have both achieved a point of relative

stability. In comparison, the semi-legitimate Assad regime has consistently required

military force to maintain a semblance of national stability. The extremity of this contrast

implies that the issue of legitimacy in the leadership structure is highly significant and may

even hold a level of primacy in comparison to external variables. Regardless, it is the

conclusion of this study that, in assessing contributors to national instability, endogenous

factors appear to carry a burden of necessary causality at least equal to exogenous

influences.

iii. Unresolved and Ensuing Inquiries

In light of the information and resultant interpretation of this study, it is especially

important to contest the applicability of the research hypothesis and findings by expanding

the research to include other Middle Eastern nations and possibly other regions. In

contrast, it may also be extremely helpful to pursue an examination of seemingly regionally

contributive variables, such as urbanization and industrialization. Additionally, it may be

particularly beneficial to investigate individual internal perspectives of instability

contributors in order to establish a greater research depth. This study was intentionally

designed to allow for further development and, as such, remains only partially complete. As

an integral part of further research, it is the goal of this study to open the door for greater

inquiry into the questions of causality in reference to national stability studies.

The investigation of relative causality and reactive endogenous variables has

significant implications for the field of international relations. The evaluation of possible

unintended reactive consequences is critical to the foreign policy decision process. By

identifying individual and interconnected variables, it is possible to better predict

inadvertent reactions before they occur. In order to achieve a degree of practical

applicability, it is highly desirable that comparable research be conducted utilizing

quantitative methodology to verify and quantify the significance which the variables

involved exert.

It is also extremely important that further research be conducted as to the

relationship between external and internal factors; specifically, the eventual conversion of

exogenous forces into existing historical endogenous sustained dynamics and the

implications for static national stability evaluations. Considering the dynamic composition

of endogenous contributors, the necessity of continuous examination, assessment, and

revision takes on a position of paramount import in the construction of foreign policy.

Although it may be tempting to fall into the fallacy of "always fighting the last war", in the

field of international relations, complacency is the root of myopic policy and the only

remedy is constant watchfulness.

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