

Leaders in the Middle East and North Africa

The study of politics in the MENA region has traditionally been dominated by historical and case study approaches. In this innovative book, Özgür Özdamar and Sercan Canbolat instead adopt a social science-based methodology to reconsider the dynamics of power and leadership in Africa and the Middle East. By analyzing the psychological profiles of fourteen leaders across eight countries and three nonstate organizations, they develop a nuanced portrait of modern leadership. Using this approach, the authors are able to draw connections between apparently disparate political ideologies, from Sunni Islamism to Shia revolutionism, from secular nationalism to armed nonstate groups. Demonstrating the previously unacknowledged commonalities and divergences in these leaders' approaches, Özdamar and Canbolat illuminate their tactics and strategies and offer novel insights into how best to negotiate with them.

ÖZGÜR ÖZDAMAR is Associate Professor and Chair of the Department of International Relations at Bilkent University in Ankara. From 2019 to 2020, he was a visiting Fulbright Scholar at the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University. He currently serves as Director of Research at the Center for Foreign Policy and Peace Studies at Bilkent University. He has published two books: *An Expected Utility Approach to Energy Security in Eurasia* (2017) and *Role Theory in the MENA* (co-authored, 2019).

SERCAN CANBOLAT is a Fulbright PhD candidate in Political Science at the University of Connecticut. His work has been published in *International Studies Review*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Polity*, and *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*. For his well-received scholarly works, he was awarded the 2018 Polity Prize by the Northeastern Political Science Association and the 2020 and 2021 Margaret G. Hermann Awards by the International Studies Association.



Leaders in the Middle East and North Africa

How Ideology Shapes Foreign Policy

ÖZGÜR ÖZDAMAR
Bilkent University
SERCAN CANBOLAT
University of Connecticut







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781316514016

DOI: 10.1017/9781009076500

© Özgür Özdamar and Sercan Canbolat 2023

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2023

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Özdamar, Özgür, author. | Canbolat, Sercan, author.

Title: Leaders in the Middle East and North Africa: how ideology shapes foreign policy / Özgür Özdamar, Bilkent University, Ankara, Sercan Canbolat, University of Connecticut.

Description: New York: Cambridge University Press, 2023. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2023019724 (print) | LCCN 2023019725 (ebook) | ISBN 9781316514016 (hardback) | ISBN 9781009076500 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Political leadership – Philosophy – Middle East. | Political leadership – Philosophy – Africa, North. | Middle East – Foreign relations – 1979– | Africa, North – Foreign relations.

Classification: LCC JC330.3 .O96 2023 (print) | LCC JC330.3 (ebook) | DDC 324.256/012–dc23/eng/20230601

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2023019724

LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2023019725

ISBN 978-1-316-51401-6 Hardback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Contents

Lıst	of Figures	page vi
List	of Tables	vii
List	of Abbreviations	viii
1	Political Ideology and Foreign Policy Decision-Making in the Middle East and North Africa: An Operational Code Approach	1
2	Political Islam and Sunni Ideology: Muslim Brotherhood Leadership	22
3	Political Islam and Shia Ideology: Iranian and Iraqi Leadership	49
4	Secularist Leaders in the Levant: Syrian, Israeli, and Lebanese Leadership	76
5	Armed Nonstate Actors' Foreign Policy: PKK, PYD, Hezbollah, and ISIS Leaders in the Middle East and North Africa	102
6	Leaders, Foreign Policy Decision-Making, and International Relations	129
7	Policy Implications and Future Research	153
Bibli Inde	iography x	172 194

v



Figures

1.1	Contents of Holsti's revised operational code	
	typology	page 10
1.2	A theory of inferences about preferences (TIP)	
	from beliefs or tactics	12
2.1	Three Muslim Brotherhood leaders' operational code	
	beliefs and leadership styles compared to the average	
	world leader	38

vi



Tables

Z.1	The operational code benef scores of Ghannouchi,	
	Meshaal, and Morsi	page 35
2.2	The subjective games of the three Muslim Brotherhood	
	leaders	41
3.1	The operational code scores of Khamenei, Rouhani,	
	al-Sistani, and al-Maliki	64
3.2	The subjective games of the four Shia political Islamist	
	leaders in Iran and Iraq	68
4.1	The operational code scores of al-Assad, Netanyahu, and	1
	al-Hariri	92
4.2	The subjective games of the three secularist leaders in the	2
	MENA region	98
5.1	The operational code scores of Öcalan, Muslim,	
	Nasrallah, and al-Baghdadi	118
5.2	The subjective games of the four ANSA leaders in the	
	MENA	124
6.1	Three master belief scores for individual leaders and	
	group-level mean scores for Sunni, Shia, secular, ANSA,	
	and the regional MENA leadership norming sample	
	compared to the world leader norming group	130

vii



Abbreviations

AANES Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria

AKP Justice and Development Party

ANSA armed nonstate actor AQI al-Qaida in Iraq

CJTF-OIR Combined Joint Task Force-Operation Inherent

Resolve

EU European Union

FBIS Foreign Broadcast Information Service

FPA foreign policy analysis

FTO foreign terrorist organizations
IAEA International Atomic Energy Agency

IAEA International Atomic Energy Agency
IDF Israeli Defense Forces

IR international relations
IRP Islamic Republican Party
ISI Islamic State in Iraq

ISIS Islamic State in Iraq and Syria ITM Islamic Tendency Movement

MB Muslim Brotherhood

MENA Middle East and North Africa MSC Mujahidin Shura Council MSP National Salvation Party

NPT Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

OCA operational code analysis PKK Kurdistan Workers' Party

PLO Palestine Liberation Organization

PM prime minister

PYD Democratic Union Party of Syria

SCAF The Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, Egypt

UAE United Arab Emirates

viii



List of Abbreviations

ix

UN United Nations

UNSC United Nations Security Council USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

VICS Verbs in Context System WMDs weapons of mass destruction