



**University of Edinburgh
School of Social & Political Science
Politics
2018 – 2019**

**Politics of the Middle East
PLIT10036
Semester 1, Years 3/4**

Key Information

Course Organiser

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Location

Semester 2
Lecture Theatre 2, Appleton Tower
Tuesdays 15:10 – 16:00

Course Tutor

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Course Secretary

Ethan Alexander
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Undergraduate Teaching Office

**Assessment
Deadlines**

- Book review 12 noon Thursday 28th of February 2019
- Essay: 12 noon Thursday 18th of April 2019

Aims and Objectives

This course provides an introduction and overview of the study of the Politics of the Middle East, paying particular attention to the roots of the present crisis in the region. The course covers both theoretical and empirical aspects, with each week focusing on a theme or theoretical approach illustrated by one or more case studies. These include; questions of Orientalism and theoretical frameworks used to approach the region; authoritarian resilience and democratization; contentious politics and revolution; political economy, the rentier state and oil; gender; sectarianism; Islamism; and conflict. Although offering a broad coverage of the region, the course introduces students to the study of states not available in depth in other courses.

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Learning Outcomes

By the end of the course students should: (a) gain a substantive and theoretically informed understanding of the politics of the Middle East; (b) acquire a critical understanding of theories pertaining to the region's politics and the applicability or otherwise of these to specific cases of Middle East states; and (3) develop a comparative and critical knowledge of ME states and politics.

Teaching Methods

This course will involve 2 hours of teaching per week: a 1-hour lecture and a 1-hour tutorial seminar. In sum, the course will include 10 lectures divided in 10 weeks and 9 tutorial sessions (starting week 2). In week 11 we will hold an essay clinic but no tutorial.

Assessment

Students will be assessed by:

| Assessment | Word count limit Do not exceed the word limit or penalties will be applied | Weighting | Submission date | Return of feedback |
|-------------|--|-----------|--|--------------------|
| Book review | 1500 | 40% | 28/2/19 (all coursework is due at 12 noon on the date of submission) | 21/3/19 |
| Essay | 2500 | 60% | 18/4/19 (all coursework is due at 12 noon on the date of submission) | 9/5/19 |

Note: All coursework is submitted electronically through ELMA. Please read the School Policies and Coursework Submission Procedures which you will find [here](#).

Book review

Each student is expected to write a 1500 words book review on a topic related to Middle East politics. Select **one** of the books listed below – the book review is designed to assess topics from the first part of the course:

Aydin, Cemil (2017) *The Idea of the Muslim World*

Ritter, Daniel (2015) *The Iron Cage of Liberalism: International Politics and unarmed revolutions in the Middle East and North Africa*

Edward Said (1979) *Orientalism*

Stacher, Joshua (2012) *Adaptable Autocrats: Regime Power in Egypt and Syria*

Amar, Paul (2013) *The Security Archipelago :human security states, sexuality politics and the end of neoliberalism*

Herb, Michael (1999) *All in the Family: Absolutism, Revolution and Democracy in Middle Eastern Monarchies*

Keddourie, Elie *The Chatham House Version, and other Middle Eastern Studies* (1970)

Yom, Sean (2016) *From Resilience to Revolution: How foreign interventions destabilize the Middle East*

Ismail, Salwa (2018) *The Rule of Violence: Subjectivity, Memory and Government in Syria*

Mitchell, Timothy (2002) *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-politics, Modernity*

Anderson, Betty (2016) *A History of the Modern Middle East: Rulers, Rebels, Rogues*

Anderson, Lisa (2006) *The State and Social Transformation in Tunisia and Libya 1820-1980*

Brownlee, Jason, Massoud, Tarek and Reynolds, Andrew (2015) *The Arab Spring: Pathways of Repression and Reform*

Al-Rasheed, Madawi (2013) *A Most Masculine State: Gender, Politics and Religion in Saudi Arabia*

Asad, Talal *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (2003)

Khalidi, Rashid *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness* (2010)

Tripp, Charles *The Power and the People: Paths of Resistance in the Middle East* (2014)

Assessment Criteria

The book review will be assessed according to the extent to which it:

1. Summarises the questions the author wants to answer, his/her approach and/or methodology and the topic he/she engages in.
2. Provides an analytical summary of the main arguments the book makes.
3. Concludes by providing an independent critical overview of the work by raising questions on whether the book achieves its stated aims, making reference to the other scholarly literature. The review **must** provide a critique of the book that engages with the other scholarly literature. This is an essential part of the exercise.

Essay

Answer one question from the list below:

1. Which was more 'revolutionary', the Iranian revolution of 1979 or the Egyptian revolution of 2011? (Be careful to define what you mean by 'revolution'.)
2. Why are there comparatively few democracies in the Middle East? Compare and contrast two states to support your answer.
3. Has 'state feminism' been successful in the Middle East? Use examples to support your answer.
4. Why has sectarianism become such a prominent feature of politics in the region? Support your answer with empirical examples.
5. Has political Islam failed in the Middle East? Give examples from at least two cases to support your answer
6. Why has conflict in the Middle East proved so frequent and intractable? Pick two cases from Palestine/Israel, Iraq, Syria or Yemen to make your answer.
7. Is the 'rentier state' a useful, or a misleading, lens through which to understand the politics of oil-producing countries in the Middle East? Support your answer with empirical examples.

Assessment criteria

The following are the criteria through which the Essay will be marked. However, it is important to note that the overall mark is a result of a holistic assessment of the

assignment as a whole:

- Does the essay address the question set, and with sufficient focus?
- Does the assignment show a grasp of the relevant concepts and theories?
- Does the essay engage with the literature on the topic
- Does the assignment demonstrate a logical and effective pattern of argument?
- Does the assignment support arguments with relevant, accurate and effective forms of evidence?
- Does the assignment demonstrate reflexivity and critical thinking in relation to arguments and evidence?
- Is the assignment adequately presented in terms of: correct referencing and quoting; spelling, grammar and style; layout and visual presentation?

Please refer to the assessment and submission procedure information on our webpages which you will find in [appendix 2](#)

Attendance

Attendance and participation in the lectures and discussion are essential for developing an understanding of the topics.

Communications and Feedback

You are strongly encouraged to use email for routine communication with lecturers. We shall also use email to communicate with you, e.g., to assign readings for the second hour of each class. All students are provided with email addresses on the university system, if you are not sure of your address, which is based on your matric number, check your EUCLID database entry using the Student Portal.

This is the ONLY email address we shall use to communicate with you. Please note that we will NOT use 'private' email addresses such as yahoo or hotmail; it is therefore essential that you check your university email regularly, preferably each day.

Readings and Resource List

All students should read the Essential readings. These Readings are necessary to create a thorough understanding of the topic. Further readings listed for each topic are intended to allow students to explore and consolidate their knowledge of particular themes. We have given extensive references in order to help students explore the wider literature if they so wish: we would not expect any student to read all the references for all of these weeks. However, if you are intending to write an essay on a particular topic, you **must** demonstrate that you have read many, if not all, the different readings suggested for that topic. An online resource list is available for this course. Please note that this course covers a rapidly evolving field and so this resource list will be **updated** as new books are published and purchased by the library – it is a dynamic list so please check it for new arrivals.

Lecture Summary

| Week | Day | Date | Lecture |
|--|---------------------|---------|---|
| 1 | Tuesday | 15/1/19 | 'Fractured Lands'; Studying a region in crisis (No tutorial) |
| | | | Dr. Jamie Allinson |
| 2 | Tuesday | 22/1/19 | Theoretical Frameworks and Historical Context |
| | | | Dr. Nida Al-Ahmad |
| 3 | Tuesday | 29/1/19 | The World of the 'Jumlukes': Populist, Post-Populist and Resilient Authoritarianism |
| | | | Dr. Jamie Allinson |
| 4 | Tuesday | 5/2/19 | Democracy and Semi-democracy |
| | | | Dr. Jamie Allinson |
| 5 (18-22 February is innovative learning week) | Tuesday | 12/2/19 | Oil and the Rentier State |
| | | | Dr. Nida Al-Ahmad |
| 6 | Tuesday | 26/2/19 | Contentious politics, popular uprisings and revolutions |
| | | | Dr. Jamie Allinson |
| 7 | Tuesday | 5/3/19 | Politics and Gender in the Middle East |
| | | | Dr. Jamie Allinson |
| 8 | Tuesday | 12/3/19 | Sectarianism and Its Politics |
| | | | Dr. Nida Al-Ahmad |
| 9 | Tuesday | 19/3/19 | Islamist Politics and Political Islams |
| | | | Dr. Jamie Allinson |
| 10 | Tuesday | 26/3/19 | Conflicts Old and New – with reference to the Arab Israeli-Conflict |
| | | | Dr. Jamie Allinson |
| 11 | Essay clinic 2/4/19 | | |

Course Lectures and Readings

Week 1 'Fractured Lands?: Studying a Region in Crisis

This lecture will first introduce the course and the main themes the course will cover. Second, it will examine the 'Middle East' as an analytical concept, considering the origins of this usage, and whether it is valid to consider the region as one geopolitical area – and what bearing our forms of knowledge have on the current crisis in the region.

NO SEMINAR THIS WEEK

Please think about and write down some preparatory notes on the following questions, however.

- i. Is there a Middle East? What defines it?
- ii. Is the debate on 'Orientalism' over? Does it help, or hinder our understanding of the region's politics today?

Essential

Durac and Cavatorta Politics and Governance in the Middle East 2015 Chapter 1 'The Arab Awakening' pp.11-32

Fred Halliday, 'Orientalism and its Critics', British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, 1993; also in Islam: The Myth of Confrontation, Chapter Seven

Recommended Reading

Achcar, Gilbert Morbid Symptoms: Relapse in the Arab Uprising, Saqi, 2016, Introduction 'Of Revolutionary Cycles and Seasons' pp.1-15

Anderson, Scott 'Fractured Lands: How the Arab World Came Apart', New York Times Magazine, September 2016

Černý K. Great Middle Eastern instability: Structural roots and uneven modernization 1960-2012. *J Hist Sociol.* 2018;31:53–71. <https://doi.org/10.1111/johs.12191>

Akcali, Emeli et al 2016 Neoliberal Governmentality and the Future of the State in the Middle East and North (Palgrave)

Alanak, Sonia, 2016, The Transition towards Revolution and Reform: The Arab Spring Realised? (Edinburgh University Press)

Brownlee, Bille Jean and Maziyar, Ghiabi, 2016, 'Passive, Silent and Revolutionary: The 'Arab Spring' Revisited' *Middle East Critique* 25:3

El-Badawi, Ibrahim and Makdisi, Samir 2016, Democratic Transitions in the Arab World (Cambridge University Press)

Ritter, Daniel (2015) The Iron Cage of Liberalism: International Politics and Unarmed Revolutions in the Middle East and North Africa

Falk, Stephen (2016) 'Rethinking the Arab Spring: uprisings, counterrevolutions, chaos and global reverberations' Third World Quarterly 23rd of August 2016
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2016.1218757>

Brownlee, Masoud and Reynolds 2015, The Arab Spring: Pathways of Repression and Reform (OUP) Ch.1 'Theorising the Arab Spring'

Georges, Fawaz, 2015 'Contextualizing The Arab Uprisings: Different Regimes, Different Revolutions And Different Trajectories' in Gerges, (ed) Contentious Politics in the Middle East: Popular Resistance and Marginalized Activism beyond the Arab Uprisings 2015

Filiu, Jean-Pierre and Lacroix, Stephane 2017 Revisiting the Arab Uprisings: The Politics of a Revolutionary Moment (Hurst)

Lynch, Marc, 2016 The New Arab Wars Ch.1. 'The New Arab Wars'

Kamrava, Mehran 2014 Beyond the Arab Spring: The Evolving Ruling Bargain in the Middle East

Keddie, Nikki (1973) 'Is there a Middle East?' *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 4

Timothy Mitchell, 2004, 'The Middle East in the Past and Future of Social Science' in Szanton, David (ed.) The Politics of Knowledge: Area Studies and the Disciplines

Schlumberger, Oliver (2009) 'Arab Authoritarianism: Debating the Dynamics and Durability of Nondemocratic Regimes' in Oliver Schlumberger (ed..) Arab Authoritarianism: Debating the Dynamics and Durability of Nondemocratic Regimes

Said, Edward Orientalism Ch.1 'Knowing the Oriental'

Lockman, Zachary (2009) Contending visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism ch. 7 'After Orientalism'

Lewis, Bernard (1982) 'The Question of Orientalism' New York Review of Books June, 1982

Mitchell, Timothy (1991) Colonizing Egypt Chapter 1 'Egypt at the Exhibition'.

S. Heydemann, 'Defending the Discipline,' Journal of Democracy, 13. 3 (July 2002)

Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS)

- 20 *From Mobilization to Counterrevolution* (2016)
- 18 *Reflections: Five Years after the Uprisings* (2016)
- 16 *International Relations Theory and a Changing Middle East* (2015)

Aydin, Cemil (2017)The Idea of the Muslim World

Schayegh, Cyrus (2017) The Middle East in the Making of the Modern World

Further Reading

Rudolph, Suzanne Hoerber (2005) 'The Imperialism of Categories: Situating Knowledge in a Globalizing World' *Perspectives on Politics* 3:1

Wallerstein, Emmanuel (1997) 'Eurocentrism and its avatars: the Dilemmas of Social Science' *New Left Review* 1:226

Robert Young (2001) *Postcolonialism: an Historical Introduction*

De Bellaigue, Christophe (2017) [The Islamic Enlightenment: The Modern Struggle Between Faith and Reason](#)

Massad, Joseph (2015) [Islam in Liberalism](#)

Other Resources

BBC World Service podcast *The Compass: Islam, People and Power*
We will be referring to episodes of this podcast in later topics but it is worth listening to the whole series beforehand. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p04fsh71>

The podcast *Status Hour* <http://www.statushour.com/en/home> and the online magazine *Jadaliyya* <http://www.jadaliyya.com/> provide a lot of up-to-date resources, commentary and analysis on the topics covered in the course, as well as this introductory week.

Week 2 Theoretical Frameworks and Historical Context Essential Reading

This lecture will introduce the historical context of states in the region and the theoretical approaches used to understand them. Particular attention will be paid to political economy and state formation approaches.

Seminar questions

- i) What are the legacies and consequences of external influence on the states of the Middle East?
- ii) Which theoretical frameworks best help us understand the politics of the region?

Essential reading

Roger Owen, *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*. Chapter 1: The End of Empires: The emergence of the modern Middle Eastern state.

Timothy Mitchell, "The Limits of the State: Beyond statist approaches and their critics" *American Political Science Review*, 85:1 (1991)

Pursley, Sara. "Lines Drawn on an Empty Map': Iraq's borders and the legend of the artificial state (Part 1)." *Jadaliyya*, June 2, 2015a. <http://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/32140/%60Lines-Drawn-on-an-Empty-Map%60-Iraq's-Borders-and-the-Legend-of-the-Artificial-State-Part-1>.

_____. "Lines Drawn on an Empty Map': Iraq's borders and the legend of the artificial state (Part 2)." *Jadaliyya*, June 3 2015b. <http://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/32153>.

Recommended Reading

Joel S. Migdal and Klaus Schlichte. "Rethinking the State," in *The Dynamics of States: The formation of crises of state domination*, ed. Klaus Schlichte (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005)

Theda Skocpol, "Bringing the State Back In: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research," in *Bringing the State Back In*, ed. Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 3–38.

Philip Abrams, "Notes on the Difficulty of Studying the State (1977)," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 1, no. 1 (March 1988)

Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European States: AD 990–1992* (Cambridge: Wiley-Blackwell, 1992).

Patrick Carroll, "Articulating Theories of States and State Formation," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 22 (December 2009): 553–603.

Nida Alahmad. Illuminating a State: Statebuilding and Electricity in Occupied Iraq. *Humanity Journal* 8 (2) (2017)

Rashid Khalidi, Lisa Anderson, Muhammad Muslih, and Reeva S. Simon [ed.]. *The Origins of Arab Nationalism*. Columbia University Press

Bromley, Simon (1993) Rethinking Middle East Politics: State Formation and Development Chapter 2, 'From Tributary Empires to States System'

Allinson, Jamie (2016) The Struggle for the State in Jordan: The Social Origins of Alliances in the Middle East Chapter 1 'Fragile Enmities: The International Relations of the Middle Eastern State reconsidered' pp.1-19

Durac and Cavatorta 2015, Politics and Governance in the Middle East , Chapter 2 'The Historical and Political Context' pp. 33-65

Ayubi, Nazih Overstating the Arab State (1995) Chapter 3

Hark, Iliya 'The Origins of the Arab State System' in Luciani, Giacomo The Foundations of the Arab State (London, Croon Helm, 1990)

Mitchell, Timothy (1991) 'The Limits of the state: Beyond Statist Approaches and their Critics'
American Political Science Review, 85:1

Migdal, Joel (1988) Strong States and Weak Societies: State Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World Chapter 1, A model of State-Society Relations

Saouli, Adham. 2012. The Arab State: Dilemmas of Late formation. London: Routledge , Chapter 1

Hinnebusch, R 2010 'Toward a Historical Sociology of State Formation in the Middle East' Middle East Critique 19:3 pp.201-216

Salame, Ghassan (1988) "Strong" and "Weak" States: A Qualified Return to the Muqaddimah' in Luciani (ed.) The Arab State (London, Routledge)

Fawaz A. Gerges, The Study of the Middle East International Relations: A Critique, British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 18. No. 2 (1991), pp. 208-220

Nikki R. Keddie, Is there a Middle East?, International Journal of Middle East Studies, 4 (1973)

Raymond Hinnebusch, International Politics of the Middle East, pp. 1-14

Hourani, Albert History of the Arab Peoples chapter 20

Zubaida, S. 2009. Islam, the People and the State. London, NY: I.B. Tauris Chapter 6.

Neep, Daniel (2014) Occupying Syria Under the French Mandate: Insurgency, Space and State Formation (Cambridge University Press) Chapter 2 'The Architecture of the Colonial State'

Richards and Waterbury A Political Economy of the Middle East
-Ch. 2 'The Framework of the Study'

Hanieh, Adam (2013) Lineages of Revolt: Issues of Contemporary Capitalism in the Middle East Chapter 1 'Theories and Perspectives'

Further Reading

Dodge, Toby (2011) 'Fred Halliday: high modernism and a social science of the Middle East,' International Affairs, 87 (5). pp. 1141-1158

Teti, Andrea (2007) 'Bridging the Gap: International Relations, Middle East Studies and the disciplinary politics of the Area Studies Controversy', European Journal of International Relations, 13(1).

Chalcraft, John (2016) Popular Politics in the Middle East Chapter 2, 'Patriotism, liberalism and armed struggle 1914-1952'

Week 3 The World of the 'Jumlukes': Populist, Post-populist and Resilient Authoritarianism

The Middle East seems – or at least seemed until relatively recently – to be a region almost uniquely characterised by authoritarian governance. This lecture will cover the history and structures of such regimes, with particular reference to Egypt and Syria.

Seminar questions

- i. Why has authoritarianism proved so long-lasting in the Middle East?
- iii. Have Egypt and Syria taken different paths? If so, why?

Essential Reading

Stacher, Joshua (2012) Adaptable Autocrats: Regime Power in Egypt and Syria chapter 1 'Debating Authoritarianism'

Aboud, Samer (2018) Chapter 1 'The Rise and Fall of the Ba'ath Party' Syria pp.12-48

Springborg, Robert (2017) Chapter 2 'The Deep State Presides: Military, Presidency and Intelligence Services' Egypt pp.32-73

Recommended Reading

Abul-Magd, Zeinab (2018) Militarizing the Nation: the Army, Business and Revolution in Egypt

Armbrurst, Walter (2017) 'Trickster Defeats the Revolution: Egypt as the Vanguard of the New Authoritarianism' *Middle East Critique* 26:3, pp.221-239

Schlumberger, Oliver (2009) 'Arab Authoritarianism: Debating the Dynamics and Durability of Nondemocratic Regimes' in Oliver Schlumberger (ed..) *Arab Authoritarianism: Debating the Dynamics and Durability of Nondemocratic Regimes*

Nazih Ayubi, *Over-stating the Arab State*, Chapters 4, 6

Heydemann, Steven and Lenders, Reinoud (2012) 'Authoritarian Governance in Syria and Iran: Challenged, Reconfiguring and Resilient' in *Middle East Authoritarianisms: Governance, Contestation and Regime Resilience in Syria and Iran* Lenders and Headman (ed) (2012)

Achcar, Gilbert (2013) *The People Want: A Radical Exploration of the Arab Uprisings* Ch 3 'The Peculiar Modalities of Capitalism in the Arab Region'

Bellin, Eva R.. ""The Robustness of Authoritarianism Reconsidered: Lessons of the Arab Spring"." *Comparative Politics* 44. 2 (2012): 127-149.

Amar, Paul (2013) *The Security Archipelago: Human Security States, Sexuality Politics and the End of Neoliberalism* chapter 1 'The Archipelago of new Security State Uprisings'

Kandil, Hazem (2012) *Soldiers, Spies and Statesmen: Egypt's Road to Revolt* Chapter 5 'The Long Lull before the Perfect Storm: Revolt in January 2011'
- (2016) 'Sisi's Egypt' *New Left Review* 102

Diamond, Larry (2002) 'Thinking about Hybrid Regimes' *Democratization* 13(2): 21-35

Tripp, Charles (2014) *The Power and the People: Paths of Resistance in the Middle East* chapter 1; 'State Capture and Armed Resistance'

Chalcraft, John (2016) *Popular Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East* Chapter 3 'National Independence, Guerrilla War and Revolution'

Bassiouny, Mustafa and Alexander, Anne 2014 *Bread, Freedom, Social Justice* Chapter 1 'From Nasserism to Neoliberalism: A new amalgam of state and private capital'

Hussein, Mahmoud (1973) *Class Conflict in Egypt 1945-1970*

Marfleet, Phil (2017) *Egypt: Contested Revolution*

Roccu, Roberto (2013) *The Political Economy of the Egyptian Revolution: Mubarak, Economic Reforms and Failed Hegemony*

Haddad, Bassem (2011) *Business Networks in Syria: the Political Economy of Authoritarian Resilience* chapter 2 'The Legacy of State-Business Antagonism'

Fouad Ajami, 'The End of Pan-Arabism', *Foreign Affairs*, 57:2 (1978-9).

Achcar, Gilbert (2013) *The People Want: A Radical Exploration of the Arab Uprisings* Ch. 4 'Regional Political Factors'

Mufti, Malak (1996) Sovereign Creations: Pan-Arabism and Political Order in Syria and Iraq chapter 13 'Asad's State'

Raymond Hinnebusch, Egyptian Politics Under Sadat: The Post-populist development of an authoritarian-modernizing State (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1985)

- 2001 Syria: Revolution from Above

The Arab Thermidor: The resurgence of the security state POMEPS Report Number 11 February 2015 pp.5-24 and 63-66

Anderson, Betty (2016) A History of the Modern Middle East: Rulers, rebels and rogues Chapter 9 'Rulers for Life: State Construction, Consolidation and Collapse'

Owen, Roger (2013) The Rise and Fall of Arab Presidents for Life, Chapter 4 'Centralised State Systems in Egypt, Tunisia, Syria and Algeria'

Wedeen, Lisa (2015 edition) Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric and Symbols in Contemporary Syria , 'Preface, 2015' and chapter 1 'Believing in Spectacles'

Pearlman, Wendy (2017) We Crossed A Bridge and It Trembled: Voices from Syria

Tripp, Charles (2014) The Power and the People: Paths of Resistance in the Middle East chapter 1; 'State Capture and Armed Resistance'

Yazbak, Samar

- (2012) Woman in the Crossfire; Diaries of the Syrian Revolution
- (2015) The Crossing: My Journey to the Shattered Heart of Syria

Saleh, Yassin Al- Haj (2017) The Impossible Revolution: Making Sense of the Syrian Tragedy

Sasson, Joseph (2016) Anatomy of Authoritarianism in the Arab Republics 'Conclusion'

Ismail, Salwa (2006) Political Life in Cairo's New Quarters: Encountering the Everyday State 'Introduction' 'Space, Politics and the Everyday State in Cairo'.

- (2018) The Rule of Violence: Subjectivity, Memory and Government in Syria

Van Dam, Nikolaus (2011 revised edition) The Struggle for Power in Syria: Politics and Society under Asad and the Ba'th Party

Yom, Sean (2016) From Resilience to Revolution: How Foreign Interventions Destabilise the Middle East chapter 1, 'The Argument and the Cases'

Ottaway, David B (2017) The Arab World Upended: Revolution and Its Aftermath in Tunisia and Egypt

Further Reading

Beattie, Kirk J. 1994. Egypt during the Nasser years: ideology, politics, and civil society.

Gordon, J, Nasser's Blessed Movement.

Waterbury, J, The Egypt of Nasser and Sadat: the Political Economy of two Regimes
Vatikitotis, PJ, Nasser & His Generation.

----- "State and Class in Egypt: A Review Essay" in Bosworth, CE et al eds The Islamic World: From Classical to Modern Times.

Nazih Ayubi, The State and Public Policies in Egypt since Sadat (Ithaca, 1991)

Eberherd Kienle, A Grand Delusion: Democracy and Economic Reform in Egypt

Raymond A. Hinnebusch Peasant and bureaucracy in Baathist Syria : the political economy of rural development

Batatu, Hana (1999) Syria's Peasantry, the Descendants of its Lesser Notables, and their Politics

Mitchell, Timothy (2002) The Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-politics, Modernity Chapter 9 'Dreamland'

De Smet, Brecht (2015) Gramsci on Tahir: Revolution and Counterrevolution in Egypt

Other Resources

Riad Al-Sattouf's graphic novel The Arab of the Future provides a funny and moving memoir of early life under two regimes, Gaddafi's Libya and the Syria of Hafez al-Assad. Hisham Matar's personal story of his father's likely murder by the former regime is told in another memoir The Return: Fathers, Sons and the Land In Between. The novel No Knives in the Kitchens of this City, by Syrian novelist Khaled Khalifa, traces the life-story of the Syrian state through one family in Aleppo.

Week 4 Democracy and Semi-democracy

The question of 'democratic transition', and the difficulties of making it, is often considered the other side of the 'authoritarian resilience' discussed in the previous week. In this lecture we look at examples of one state possibly moving towards as democratic constitution – Tunisia- and one state that is arguably moving away from one – Turkey.

Seminar tasks

- i. Is democratization theory 'searching where the light shines' in the Middle East?
- ii. Why does Turkey seem to be moving away from democratic politics, and Tunisia towards it?

Essential Reading

Bank, Andre & Valbjorn, Morten 'Examining the 'Post' in "post-democratization' : the future of Middle Eastern Political Rule through the lenses of the Past' pp.183-200 in special issue of Middle East Critique on 'The Future of Middle Eastern Political Rule through Lenses of the Past: Revisiting the (first) Era of Post-Democratization' 2010 Vol.19:3

Sezgin, Yuksel (2015) 'Why is Tunisian democracy succeeding while the Turkish model is failing?' in POMEPS Briefing 27 Tunisia's Volatile Transition to Democracy pp.36-38

Brownlee, Jason (2016) 'Why Turkey's authoritarian descent shakes up democratic theory' in POMEPS Briefing 30 Turkey's Coup Attempt

Lefevre, Raphael (2015) 'Tunisia: A fragile political transition' Journal of North African Studies, 20:2, pp.307-311

Recommended Reading

R. Quinn Meham From the Ashes of Virtue, a Promise of Light: The Transformation of Political Islam in Turkey, Third World Quarterly, Vol. 25, No. 2 (2004), pp. 339-358

Yahya Sadowski (1993), 'The New Orientalism and the Democracy Debate', Middle East Report, 183, 14–2 in Khalili, Laleh Politics of the Modern Arab World , 2009

Anderson, Lisa (2006) SEARCHING WHERE THE LIGHT SHINES: Studying Democratization in the Middle East Annual Review of Political Science Vol. 9: 189-214

Michael C. Hudson, "The Political Culture Approach to Arab Democratization: The Case for Bringing It Back In, Carefully" in Brynen/Korany et al Political Liberalization and Democratization in the Arab World (Vol. 1)

Lisa Anderson, "Democracy in the Arab World: A Critique of the Political Culture Approach" in Brynen/Korany et al Political Liberalization and Democratization in the Arab World (Vol. 1)

Salame , Ghassan (ed.) 1994 Introduction. 'Where are the Democrats?' in Salame, Hassan (ed.) Democracy without Democrats?: Renewal of Politics in the Muslim World

Oliver Schlumberger (ed.) (2009) Arab Authoritarianism: Debating the Dynamics and Durability of Nondemocratic Regimes

James, Bill and Robert Springborg, (1999) Politics in the Middle East, pp. 181-193

M. Hakan Yavuz (2009) Secularism and Muslim Democracy in Turkey

Ümit Cizre (2007) Secular and Islamic Politics in Turkey: The Making of the Justice and Development Party

Barry Rubin and Ali Çarkoglu (2013) Religion and Politics in Turkey

Jung D, Dietrich Jung, and Catharina Raudvere (2008), [Religion, Politics, and Turkey's EU Accession \(Governance, Security and Development\)](#)

William Hale and Ergun Ozbudun (2009) [Islamism, Democracy and Liberalism in Turkey \(Routledge Studies in Middle Eastern Politics\)](#)

Feroz Ahmad (2003) Turkey: The Quest for Identity

Nicole Pope and Hugh Pope (2004) Turkey Unveiled: A history of Modern Turkey,

Roger Owen, State, Power, and Politics in the Middle East, pp. 125-130, 246-50

Sina Aksin,(2007) Turkey from empire to revolutionary republic

Gunes Murat Tezcur, (2011) 'The AKP Years in Turkey: the third stage',
<http://www.opendemocracy.net/gunes-murat-tezcur/akp-years-in-turkey-third-stage>

Tugal, Cihan (2016) The Fall of the Turkish Model: How the Arab Uprisings Brought Down Islamic Liberalism

---(2009) Passive Revolution: Absorbing the Islamic Challenge to Capitalism

--(2012) "[Democratic Janissaries? Turkey's Role in the Arab Spring](#)," New Left Review 76: 5-24

--(2007) "[NATO's Islamists: Hegemony and Americanization in Turkey](#)", New Left Review 44: 5-34.

Oktem, Kerem (2011) Turkey Since 1989: Angry Nation

Bali, Asli (2015) 'Turkey's Cyclical Coups' Jadaliyya 25th of August 2016
<http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/25004/turkey%E2%80%99s-cyclical-coups>

Cevik, Salim and Hakki Tas (2013) 'In between democracy and secularism: the case of Turkish Civil Society' Middle East Critique 22:2 pp.129-47

Park, Bill (2012) Modern Turkey: People, State and Foreign Policy in a Globalized World

Bilgic, Ali (2015) Turkey, Power and the West: Gendered International Relations and Foreign Policy

Alexander, Christopher (2016) Tunisia: From Stability to Revolution in the Maghreb esp. Chapter 4 'The Road to the Second Republic'

Ayeb, Habib (2011) 'Social and political geography of the Tunisian revolution: the alfa grass revolution' Review of African Political Economy 38:129 pp. 467-479

Boukhars, Anouar (2017) 'The fragility of elite settlements in Tunisia' African Security Review 26:3 pp.257-270

Cavatorta, Francesco and Haugbolle, Rikke Hostrup 'The End of Authoritarian Rule and the Mythology of Tunisia under Ben Ali' (2012) Mediterranean Politics 17:2, pp.179-195

Fabiani, Riccardo (2018) 'Tunisia and the International Community since 2011: Rentierism, Patronage and Moral Hazard' Jadailyya

Hibou, Beatrice (2011) The Force of Obedience: The Political Economy of Repression in Tunisia

Marzouki, Nadia and Meddeb Hamza (2016) 'The Struggle for Meanings and Power in Tunisia after the Revolution' Middle East Law and Governance 8, pp.119-130

- (2016) Tunisia: A Conservative Revolution? European University Institute Middle East Directions Series

Merone, Fabio (2015) 'Enduring Class Struggle in Tunisia: The Fight for Identity beyond Political Islam' British Journal of Middle East Studies 42:1, pp.74-87

Robbins, Michael (2016) Tunisia Five Years after the Revolution Arab Barometer Reports

Yahya, Maha (2016) Great Expectations in Tunisia Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Yardımcı-Geyikçi, Şebnem and Tür, Özlem (2018) 'Rethinking the Tunisian miracle: a party politics view' *Democratization* 25:5 pp.787-803

Khalili, Andrea (2014) (ed.) Crowds and Politics in North Africa: Tunisia, Algeria and Libya

Fraihat, Ibrahim (2016) Unfinished Revolutions: Yemen, Libya and Tunisia after the Arab Spring

Stepan, Alfred (2012) 'Tunisia's transition and the Twin Tolerations' Journal of Democracy 23:2 pp.89-103

Zakaria, Fareed (2004) 'Islam, democracy and constitutional liberalism' Political Science Quarterly, 119:1 pp.1-20

Zoubir, Yahia and Drin Ait-Hamadouche (2013) The Maghreb: Algeria, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia

Perkins, Kenneth (2014) A History of Modern Tunisia

Gana, Nouri (2013) 'Preserving the Exemplar' in Gana, Nouri 'The making of the Tunisian revolution : contexts, architects, prospects'

Yousfi, Hela (2017) Trade Unions and Arab Revolutions: The Tunisian Case of UGTT

Durac, Vincent and Cavatorta, Francesco (2009) 'Strengthening Authoritarian Rule through democracy promotion? Examining the paradox of the US and EU security strategies: the case of Tunisia' British Journal of Middle East Studies 36:1 pp.3-19

Cavatorta, Francesco and Merone, Fabio (2013) 'Moderation through exclusion? The journey of the Tunisian Ennahda from fundamentalist to conservative party' Democratization 20:5 pp.857-75

Ottaway, David B (2017) The Arab World Upended: Revolution and Its Aftermath in Tunisia and Egypt

Week 5 Oil and the Rentier State

This lecture will concentrate on the framework of political economy as underlying the politics of the Gulf states and the wider region. The topic will cover oil and the rentier state but also go beyond these concepts to place the region in the context of the global economy and its effects on politics.

Seminar questions

Debate. The class will be divided into two equal groups, one arguing in favour and one arguing against the following proposition:

"The problem in the Middle East is not oil authoritarianism but carbon democracy"

Essential reading

Ross, Michael L. 2001. Does Oil Hinder Democracy? *World Politics*, 53(3), pp. 325–61.

Timothy Mitchell 2009. 'Carbon Democracy.' *Economy and Society* 23:3
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03085140903020598>

Beblawi, Hazem (1987) The Rentier State in the Arab World *Arab Studies Quarterly* 9:4 pp.383-398

Recommended reading

Daniel Yergin. *The Prize: The epic quest for oil, money and power*. New York: Free Press (2008)

Nida Alahmad. The Politics of Oil and State Survival in Iraq (1991-2003). *Constellations: An International Journal of Critical and Democratic Theory* 14:4 (2007).

Mahdavy, H. 1970. The Patterns and Problems of Economic Development in Rentier States: The case of Iran. In M.A. Cook ed., *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East: From the rise of Islam to the present day*. London: Oxford University Press, 428-67.

Ervand Abrahamian. 2001. "The 1953 Coup in Iran" *Science and Society* 65(2), pp. 182-215

Hanieh, Adam (2010) 'Khaleeji Capital: Class Formation and Regional Integration in the Middle-East Gulf' Historical Materialism 18:2 35-76

Gengler, Justin (2015) Group Conflict and Political Mobilization in Bahrain and the Arab Gulf : Rethinking the Rentier State chapter 5' Rentier Theory and Rentier Reality'

Saouli, Adham, The Arab State: Dilemmas of late formation, Chapter 4

Shambayati, Hootan. 1994. The Rentier State, Interest Groups, and the Paradox of Autonomy: State and Business in Turkey and Iran. Comparative Politics 26, 3: 307–31

Al-Rasheed, Madawi (2010) A History of Saudi Arabia

Paul Aarts and Gerd Nonneman. Saudi Arabia in the balance : political economy, society, foreign affairs. London: Hurst & Company, 2005.

Steinberg, Guido Steinberg , "The Wahhabi Ulama and the Saudi State:1745 to the Present", in Saudi Arabia in the Balance: Political Economy, Society, Foreign Affairs

Niblock, Timothy Saudi Arabia : power, legitimacy and survival, The contemporary Middle East. London: Routledge. 2006.

Joseph Kostiner. The making of Saudi Arabia, 1916-1936 : from chieftaincy to monarchical state. New York ; Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1993

Brian Lees, 2006. The Al Saud Family and the Future of Saudi Arabia. Asian Affairs XXXVII (1):40-51

Glosemeyer, Iris. 2004. Saudi Arabia: Dynamism Uncovered. In Arab Elites: Negotiating the Politics of Change, edited by V. Perthes. Boulder: Co: Lynne Rienner.

F. Gregory Gause 'The Persistence of Monarchy in the Arabian Peninsula: A Comparative Analysis' In Middle East Monarchies: The Challenge of Modernity edited by J. Kostiner.

Herb, Michael (1999) All in the Family: Absolutism, Revolution and Democracy in the Middle Eastern Monarchies

Matthiesen, Toby (2013) Sectarian Gulf, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and the Arab Spring that Wasn't (Stanford University Press) Chapter 1, 'Oil, God and Pearls'

Matthiessen, Toby (2014) The Other Saudis: Shiism, Dissent, and Sectarianism chapter 2, 'Oil and Dissent'

Davidson, Christopher (ed.) (2012) Power and Politics in the Persian Gulf Monarchies , chapter 1 'Introduction', also useful for country case studies

Davidson, Christopher (2012) After the Sheikhs: the Coming Collapse of the Gulf Monarchies

Chapter 1 'Explaining survive; domestic matters' and chapter 2 'Explaining survival: external matters'.

Mike Davis (2006), 'Fear and Money in Dubai', New Left Review, 41, 47–68.

Kamrava, Tehran (2015) Qatar: Small State, Big Politics (Cornell University Press)

Madawi Al-Rasheed and Loulouwa Al-Rasheed (1996), 'The Politics of Encapsulation: Saudi Policy Towards Tribal and Religious Opposition', Middle Eastern Studies, 32, 1, 96–120.

Davis, Eric. "Theorizing Statecraft and Social Change in Arab oil-producing countries" In Statecraft in the Middle East, edited by E. D. a. N. Gavrielides. Miami: Florida International University Press. 1991. (This book contains several case studies from the oil-rich gulf)

Kiren Aziz Chaudhry. The price of wealth : economies and institutions in the Middle East. Ithaca, N.Y.; London: Cornell University, 1997.

Khalif, Abdulhadi (2003) 'What the Gulf ruling families do when they rule' ORIENT 44:4 537-554

Daryl Champion 2003. The paradoxical kingdom : Saudi Arabia and the momentum of reform. London: C. Hurst.

Yom, Sean and Gause, Gregory (2012) 'Resilient Royals: How Arab Monarchies Hang On' Journal of Democracy 23:4, pp.74-88

Bob Vitalis (2002), 'Black Gold, White Crude: An Essay on American Exceptionalism, Hierarchy, and Hegemony in the Gulf', Diplomatic History, 26, 2, 185–213.

Herb, Michael (2014) The Wages of Oil: Parliaments and Economic Development in Kuwait and the UAE (Cornell University Press)

Schwarz, Rolf (2012) *War and Statebuilding in the Middle East*

Vitalis, Robert (2016) America's Kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi Oil Frontier

Further reading

Halliday, Fred (2001 edition) Arabia Without Sultans

Vitals, Robert (2016) 'Oil: The stuff of Mass Delusion' Jadaliyya 9th of March 2016
http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/24001/oil_the-stuff-of-mass-delusion

Other Resources

Abdulrahman Munif's epic trilogy Cities of Salt is an indispensable fictional retelling of the discovery of vast hydrocarbon resources in the Arabian peninsula, and the society built on them.

Week 6 Contentious Politics, Popular Uprisings and Revolutions (with reference to Egypt and Iran)

Since 2011, the Middle East has seen an enormous rise of popular movements and 'politics from below', followed by a return of authoritarianism and civil war. This lecture will cover our understandings of these events of revolutions and 'contentious politics' with reference to Egypt and Iran.

Seminar Questions

Watch the documentary 'The Square', which is available on Netflix

<https://www.netflix.com/gb/title/70268449>

Try to watch the film after doing the essential reading and, after watching it, answer the questions:

1. Can we consider the events that took place in the Arab world in 2011-13 a revolution?
2. Why were the military able to come back into power in Egypt?
3. What is new and what is old about the Arab uprisings/revolutions?

Essential

Cavatorta and Durac (2015) Politics and Governance in the Middle East Chapter 11 'After the Awakening'

Bayat, Asef (2013) 'Revolution in Bad Times' *New Left Review* 80

Recommended Reading

- Bayat, Asef (2017) Revolution without Revolutionaries: Making Sense of the Arab Spring
- Chalcraft, John (2016) Popular Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East pp 1-46
- Beinin, Joel and Variel, Frederic (2013) Social Movements, Mobilisation and Contestation in the Middle East and North Africa chapter 1 'the Middle East and North Africa Beyond Classical Social Movement Theory'
- Beinin, Joel (2015) Workers and Thieves: Labour Movements and Popular Uprisings in Egypt and Tunisia Chapter 4 'Popular Uprisings in 2011 and Beyond'
- Anne Alexander and Mustafa Bassiouny (2014) Bread, Freedom, Social Justice: Workers and the Egyptian Revolution Chapter 1 'From Tahrir to the Republic of Fear'
- Anderson, Betty (2016) A History of the Modern Middle East chapter 10 'Upheaval'
- Abou-el-Fadl, Reem (2015) Revolutionary Egypt: Connecting Domestic and International Struggles Ch.1 'Introduction: Connecting Players and Process in Revolutionary Egypt' and Ch.8 'Between Cairo and Washington; Sectarianism and Counter-Revolution in Post-Mubarak Egypt'
- Abdelerahman, Maha (2015) Egypt's Long Revolution: Protest movements and Uprisings
- Marfleet, Phillip (2016) Egypt: Contested Revolution
- Khalil, Andrea (2014) Crowds and Politics in North Africa: Tunisia, Algeria and Libya chapter 2 'Tunisia: The Roots of Social Collectivity' and Chapter 4 'Libya: the Paradox of the Political Crowd and the "State of the Masses", the Libyan Jamahariyya'
- Achcar, Gilbert (2013) Chapter 4 'Actors and Parameters of the Revolution' in The People Want : A Radical Exploration of the Arab Uprisings (Verso, London)
- Akçali, Emeli (ed.) (2016) Neoliberal Governmentality and the Future of the State in the Middle East and North Africa
- Allinson, Jamie (2015) 'Class forces, Transition and the Arab Uprisings' Democratization 22:2
- Agha, Hussein, and Robert Malley. 2012. "This Is Not a Revolution." New York Review of Books. <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2012/nov/08/not-revolution/>.
- Cavatorta, Francesco, and Michelle Pace. 2012. "The Arab Uprisings in Theoretical Perspective - An Introduction." Mediterranean Politics 17 (2): 125–138.
- Day, Stephen (2012) Chapter 9 'Yemen's Political Meltdown' in Regionalism and Rebellion in Yemen (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge)
- Halliday, Fred (1999) Revolution and World Politics: The Rise and Fall of the Sixth World Power Macmillan, London
- Hanieh, Adam (2013) Chapter 7 'Crisis and Revolution' in Lineages of Revolt : Issues of Contemporary Capitalism in the Middle East (Haymarket, Chicago)

- Heydemann, Steven. 2013. "Syria and the Future of Authoritarianism." Journal of Democracy 24 (4): 59–73.
- Hilsum, Lindsay (2013) Chapter 1 'The People Demand the Fall of the Regime' in Sandstorm: Libya in the Time of Revolution (Faber and Faber, London)
- Kandil, Hazem (2012) Chapter 6 'On the Threshold of Power: the Military after the Revolt' in Soldiers, Spies and Statesmen: Egypt's Road to Revolt (Verso, London)
- Ketchley, Neil (2017) Egypt in a Time of Revolution: Contentious Politics and the Arab Spring
- McMahon, Sean (2017) Crisis and class war in Egypt : social reproduction, factional realignments and the global political economy
- Schielke, Samuli (2015) Egypt in the future tense: Hope, frustration, and ambivalence before and after 2011
- Gerges, Fawaz (2014) 'Introduction: A Rupture' in Gerges, The New Middle East:
- Goldstone, Jack (2001) 'Towards a Fourth Generation of Revolutionary Theory' American Political Science Review 4 139-187
- Foran, John (2005) Taking Power: On the Origins of Third World Revolutions (Cambridge University Press) Chapter 1 'Theorizing Revolutions'pp.5-24
- Keddie, Nikki (1983) 'Iranian Revolutions in Comparative Perspective' American Historical Review 88:3 579-598
- Lawson, George (2015) 'Revolution, Nonviolence, and the Arab Uprisings' *Mobilization* 20:4 pp. 453-470
- Lust-Okar, Ellen and Khatib, Lina (2014) Taking to the Streets: The Transformation of Arab Activism
- Matthiessen, Toby (2013) Sectarian Gulf Chapter 3 'Pearl Roundabout'
- Nordensen, Jon (2016) Online Activism in the Middle East: Political Power and Authoritarian Governments from Egypt to Kuwait
- Panah, Miriyam (2002) 'States and Social Revolutions: The Emergence of a Research Agenda in International Relations' Review of International Studies 28:2
- Skocpol, Theda (1994) Social Revolutions in the Modern World, Chapter 10, 'Rentier State and Shi'a Islam in the Iranian Revolution'
- Teti, Andrea et al (ed) (2014)Informal Power in the Greater Middle East: Hidden Geographies
 Ch.4 'When Informal Powers Surface: Civic Activism and the 2011 Egyptian Revolution'
 Ch. 6 Arshin Adib-Moghaddam ' Radicalism or Revolution: power and Resistance in Iran'
 Ch.14 Andrea Teti 'Informality, Knowledge and Power: The Disciplinary Politics of Civil Society and Democracy'
- Tilly, Charles (1993) European Revolutions, 1492-1992 Blackwell, Oxford.

Tripp, Charles (2013) The Power and the People: Paths of Resistance in the Middle East ch.1

Ervand Abrahamian, Khomeinism: Essays on the Islamic Republic, Chapter 1

Asef Bayat, 1998, Revolution without Movement, Movement without Revolution: Comparing Islamic Activism in Iran and Egypt, Comparative Studies in Society and History, 40(1): 136-169

- 2014 Life as Politics: How Ordinary People change the Middle East esp. Ch.1 'the Art of Practice' and ch.7 'Battlefield Tehran'.

Keddie, N. 1981. Roots of Revolution: An Interpretive History of Modern Iran. Yale University Press. Chapters 8 & 9

Abrahamian, E. 1982. Iran Between Two Revolutions: Iran and the Islamic Revolution. Princeton University Press

Adib-Moghaddam, Arshin

Green, JD "Countermobilization as a Revolutionary Form," Comparative Politics, 16:2 (January 1984).

Halliday, F "The Iranian Revolution" in Halliday, F & Alavi, F State and Ideology in the Middle East and Pakistan.

----- 1978. Iran: Dictatorship and Development. Penguin.

Mottahadeh, R. 1985. The Mantle of the Prophet: Religion and Politics in Iran. Simon and Shuster

Zubaida, S. 2009. Islam, the People and the State. I.B. Tauris. Chapters 2 & 3.

Misagh Parsa, "Theories of Collective Actions and the Iranian Revolution," Sociological Forum 3 (1988): 44-71

Misagh Parsa, States, Ideologies, and Social Revolution: A comparative analysis of Iran, Nicaragua, and the Philippine. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000

Arang Keshavarzian, Bazaar and State in Iran, The politics of the Tehran Marketplace, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007

Katouzian, Homa. 2012 (2003). Iranian history and politics: the dialectic of state and society. Routledge.

Foran, John (ed.) (1994) A Century of Social Movements in Iran ch.9 John Foran 'A century of Revolution: Historical and Theoretical Perspectives on Social movements in Iran'

Matin, Kamran (2008) The Islamic republic and the world: global dimensions of the Iranian revolution. Capital and Class, 32 (3). pp. 159-161

-(2014) Recasting Iranian Modernity ch.5 'The Marriage of the Cold War and Oil: the Birth of the Citizen Subject and the revolution 1962-1979'

Moadel, Mansor (1994) Class, Politics, and Ideology in the Iranian Revolution Introduction pp. 1-29

Kurzman, Charles (2004) The Unthinkable Revolution in Iran

Further Reading

Afary, Janet (2005) Foucault and the Iranian Revolution: Gender and the Seductions of Islamism

Shenker, Jack (2016) The Egyptians: A radical Story

Matthiessen, Toby (2013) Sectarian Gulf Chapter 3 'Pearl Roundabout'

Yassin-Kassab, Robin and Al-Shami, Leila (2015) Burning Country: Syrians in Revolution and War ch.3 'Revolution from Below, ch.4 'The Grassroots'

Halasu, Malu (2014) Syria Speaks: Art and Culture from the Frontline

Lacker, Helen (ed.) 2014 Why Yemen Matters: A Society in Transition ch.1 Carapico, Sheila 'Yemen between revolution and counter-terrorism', Ch.4 'The shabab, institutionalized politics and the Islamists in the Yemeni Revolution'

Reinoud Leenders 'Social Movement Theory and the Onset of the Popular Uprising in Syria' *Arab Studies Quarterly* 35:3, Summer 2013

Yousfi, Hela (2017) Trade Unions and Arab Revolutions: The Tunisian Case of UGTT

Other resources

2011 has produced a vast amount of cultural artifacts, which are worth searching for in their own right. Just in relation to Egypt, the uprising and the 2013 coup have produced a crop of dystopian speculative fiction that deals obliquely with these events and their aftermath: these include The Queue by Basma Abdel-Aziz – a Kafkaesque allegory- and Otared by Mohamed Rabie – set in a future Cairo engulfed by civil war. Omar Robert Hamilton's novel The City Always Wins covers similar themes in a more conventional setting.

For film, as well as the documentary above, the thriller 'The Clash' is worth tracking down, although more difficult to find.

Week 7 Politics and Gender in the Middle East

The politics of gender is often seen as uniquely bound up with the cultural and religious practices of the Middle East and their presumed political expression. This lecture will present a critical survey of understandings of the politics of gender and sexuality in the region.

Seminar Task

Fishbowl Discussion

Addressing the question: 'Do Middle Eastern Women need saving?'

The class forms a circle, with two students in the middle, and two empty chairs beside them. The two students in the middle discuss the question with each other while the other members of the class take notes. When you want to join the discussion raise your hand and come to one of the empty chairs. At an appropriate time one or both of the students in the middle will swap with the students in the outer two chairs until everyone has had a turn inside the 'fishbowl.'

Essential

Cavatorta and Durac (2015) Politics and Governance in the Middle East chapter 8 'Gender and Politics

Lila Abu-Lughod (2013), Do Muslim Women Need Saving?
Chapter 1 'Do Muslim Women Still Need Saving?'

Recommended Reading

Pomeps Studies 19 (2016) Women and Gender in Middle East Politics
<http://pomeps.org/2016/05/10/women-and-gender-in-middle-east-politics/>

Abouelnaga, Shereen (2016) Women in Revolutionary Egypt: Gender and the New Geographics of Identity

Ahmed, Leila (1992) Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate

Amar, Paul (2011) Middle East Masculinity Studies Discourses of "Men in Crisis," Industries of Gender in Revolution' Journal of Middle East Women's Studies 2011 Volume 7, Number 3:36-70

Al- Ali, Nadjie (2009) Secularism, Gender and the State in the Middle East: The Egyptian Women's Movement
- (Ed.) Women and War in the Middle East (2009)

Pratt, Nicola and Al-Ali Nadjie (2010) Women and the Occupation of Iraq: What Kind of Liberation?

Brand, Laurie (1998) Women, the State and Political Liberalisation: Middle Eastern and North African Experiences

Mernissi, Fatima (1991) The Veil and the Male Elite

Puar, Jasbir (2008) Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times

Amar, Paul (2013) The Security Archipelago: Human Security States, Sexuality Politics and the End of Neoliberalism Chapter 6 'Feminist Insurrections and the Egyptian Revolution'

Farris, Sara (2017) In the Name of Womens' Rights: The Rise of Femonationalism

Hammad, Hanan, (2016) Industrial Sexuality: Gender, Urbanization, and Social Transformation in Egypt

Chakravarti, Leila Zaki (2017) Made in Egypt: Gendered Identity and Aspiration on the Globalised Shop Floor by Leila Zaki Chakravarti

Khalili, Andrea (ed.) (2015) Gender, Women and The Arab Spring

Meari, Pratt & Said (ed.) (2015) Rethinking Gender in Revolutions and Resistance: Lessons from the Arab World (esp. 'Introduction')

Moghaddam, Valentine & Shelby, Marwa (ed) (2016) Empowering Women after the Arab Spring

Mary-Ann Tetreault (1999), 'Sex and Violence: Social Reactions to Economic Restructuring in Kuwait', International Feminist Journal of Politics, 1, 2, 237–55.

Ella Shohat (2002), 'Area Studies, Gender Studies, and the Cartographies of Knowledge', Social Text, 20, 3, 67–78.

Saba Mahmood (2001), 'Feminist Theory, Embodiment, and the Docile Agent: Some Reflections on the Egyptian Islamic Revival', Cultural Anthropology, 16, 2, 202–36.

Janine A. Clark and Jillian Schwedler (2003), 'Who Opened the Window? Women's Struggle for Voice within Islamist Political Parties', Comparative Politics, 35, 3, 293–312.

Nicola Pratt (2007), 'The Queen Boat Case in Egypt: Sexuality National Security and State Sovereignty', Review of International Studies, 33, 1, 129–44.

Al-Rasheed, Madawi (2013) A Most Masculine State: Gender, Politics and Religion in Saudi Arabia esp. Introduction The Woman Question in Saudi Arabia'

International Journal of Middle East Studies 45:2 (2013) Special issue on 'Queer Affects' esp.

- Jacob, Wilson Chacko 'The Middle East: Global, Postcolonial, and Queer'

Further Reading

Charrad, Mounir (2001) States and Womens' Rights: The Making of Postcolonial Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco

Massad, Joseph (2007) Desiring Arabs

Mahmoud, Saba (2011) The Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject

Delphy, Christine (2014) Separate and Dominate: Feminism and Racism after the War on Terror

El-Tahawy, Mona (2016) Headscarves and Hymens: Why the Middle East needs a Sexual Revolution

Ghousoub, Mai & Sinclair- Webb, Emma (ed.) (2000) Imagined Masculinities: Male Identity and Culture in the Modern Middle East

Other Resources

The Syrian feminist collective 'Estayqazat' produce short animated films, including 'Suleima' <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WRq3ncRQrio> and 'When I heard my voice for the first time' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IG_a13a8KtY about women's activism in the Syrian uprising.

Saleem Haddad's novel Guapa deals with themes of sexuality and gender through the story of one day in the life of a young gay man in an unnamed Arab city in the aftermath of an uprising.

Week 8 Sectarianism and its politics

Sectarian identity has risen to the top of the agenda in the politics of the region, with many arguments that it is now the driving force in conflicts and international alignments.

- i. How can we understand sectarianism as a historically contingent category, rather than a primordial quality?
- ii. Why is it important to historically contextualize politics of sectarianism?

Essential

Harling, Peter. "Beyond Political Ruptures: Towards a historiography of social continuity in Iraq." In *Writing the Modern History of Iraq: Historiographical and political challenges*, edited by Jordi Tejel, Peter Sluglett, Riccardo Bocco and Hamit Bozarslan, 61-86. Hackensack and London: World Scientific Publishing Co. Pte. Ltd., 2015 [2012]

Max Weiss. "The Matter of Sectarianism," in *Oxford Handbook of Contemporary Middle Eastern and North African History*, ed. Jens Hanssen and Amal Ghazal (Oxford: Oxford University Press), DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199672530.013.23

Recommended Reading

A. H. Hourani. *Minorities in the Arab World*. London, NY, Toronto: Oxford University Press (1947)

Benjamin Thomas White. *The Emergence of Minorities in the Middle East: The politics of community in French Mandate Syria*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press (2012)

Max Weiss. *In The Shadow of Sectarianism: Law, shi'ism, and the making of modern Lebanon*. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press (2010)

Frederick F. Anscombe. *State, Faith, and Nation in Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Lands*. New York: Cambridge University Press (2014)

Hashemi & Postel (2017) 'The Sectarianization Thesis' in Sectarianization: mapping the New Politics of the Middle East

Byman, Daniel (2014) 'Sectarianism Afflicts the New Middle East' Survival 56:1 pp.79-100

Makdisi, Usama (1996) 'Reconstructing the Nation-State: The Modernity of Sectarianism in Lebanon' Middle East Report, No. 200 pp. 23-30

POMEPS Studies 4 (2013) The Politics of Sectarianism
-Briefings 28 (2016) The Gulf's Escalating Sectarianism

Gasper, M. (2016) 'SECTARIANISM, MINORITIES, AND THE SECULAR STATE IN THE MIDDLE EAST', International Journal of Middle East Studies, 48(4), pp. 767–778.

Mahmoud, Saba (2015) Religious Difference in a Secular Age: A Minority Report , 'Introduction'

Hashimi, Nader & Postel, Danny (2017) Sectarianization: mapping the New Politics of the Middle East

Peteet, J. (2008) 'Question: How Useful Has the Concept of Sectarianism Been for Understanding the History, Society, and Politics of the Middle East?: Pensée 1: Imagining the "New Middle East"', International Journal of Middle East Studies, 40(4), pp. 550–552.:

Joseph, S. (2008) 'Pensée 2: Sectarianism as Imagined Sociological Concept and as Imagined Social Formation', International Journal of Middle East Studies, 40(4), pp. 553–554.

Davis, E. (2008) 'Pensée 3: A Sectarian Middle East?', International Journal of Middle East Studies, 40(4), pp. 555–558.

Makdisi, U. (2008) 'Pensée 4: Moving Beyond Orientalist Fantasy, Sectarian Polemic, and Nationalist Denial', International Journal of Middle East Studies, 40(4), pp. 559–560.

Haddad, Fanar (2011) Sectarianism in Iraq: Antagonistic Visions of Unity

- (2014) ' A sectarian awakening: Reinventing Sunni Identity in Iraq after 2003'

Whereby, Frederic (2016) Sectarian Politics in the Gulf , from the Iraq War to the Arab Spring esp. Part 3 'Bahrain'

Mabon, Simon (2016) Saudi Arabia and Iran: Power and Rivalry in the Gulf

Nasr, Vali (2016) The Shia Revival: How Conflicts within Islam will shape the Future

Al'a Shehabi and Marc Owen Jones (ed.) (2015) Bahrain's Uprising: Resistance and Repression in the Gulf

Gengler, Justin (2015) Group Conflict and Political Mobilization in Bahrain and the Arab Gulf esp. Chapter 2 'Al-Fatih wa-al-Muftah' : The Case of Sunni-Shi'i relations in Bahrain'

Matthiessen, Toby (2013) Sectarian Gulf: Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and the Arab Spring that Wasn't

- (2014) The Other Saudis: Shiism, Dissent and Sectarianism

Lower, Laurence (2012) Shiism and Politics in the Middle East

- (2012) Transnational Shia Politics: Religious and Political Networks in the Gulf

Potter, Lawrence (ed.) (2013) Sectarian Politics in the Persian Gulf

J.G. Jabbara and N.W. Jabbara. "Consociational Democracy in Lebanon: A Flawed System of Governance," Journal of Developing Societies, Vol.17, No. 2 (2001), pp.71-90

Adham Saouli 'Stability Under Late State Formation: The Case of Lebanon', Cambridge Review of International Affairs, Vol.19 No.4 (December, 2006) pp.701-717

F. El Khazen, The Breakdown of the State in Lebanon, 1967-1976, (London: 2000),

Fawwaz Trabulsi, "The Role of War in State and Society Transformation. The Lebanese Case," Paper Presented at the Workshop "War As a Source of State and Society Transformation in the Middle East," Social Science Research Council, Paris, 2-4 November 1994.
<http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic572311.files/Mon%20Jul%2020%20-1/Trabulsi.pdf>

- A history of Modern Lebanon (Pluto 2007)

R. Brynen, "PLO Policy in Lebanon: Legacies and Lessons," Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol. 18, No. (1989), pp. 48-70.

A. Yaniv and R. Lieber, "Personal Whim or Strategic Imperative? The Israeli Invasion of Lebanon," International Security, Vol. 8, No. 2 (1983), pp. 117-142.

Kamal S. Salibi, A house of many mansions : the history of Lebanon reconsidered

Makdisi, Usama The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History and Violence in Nineteenth Century Ottoman Lebanon (UC Press, 2000)

Picard, E Lebanon: A Shattered Country,

Wenger, M et al, "[Lebanon's Fifteen-Year War 1975-1990.](#)" Middle East Report, No 162 (January-February 1990).

Yapp, M E The Near East since WWI Chapters 3 & 10.

Barak, O ["Intra-Communal and Inter-Communal Dimensions of Conflict and Peace in Lebanon,"](#) International Journal of Middle East Studies, 34:4 (November 2002).

Hudson, M: ["Trying Again: Power-Sharing in Post-Civil War Lebanon,"](#) International Negotiation, 2:1, (1997): 103-22.

Kerr, Michael and Are Knudsen (2012) Lebanon After the Cedar Revolution

Sedra, Paul (2012) 'Reconstituting the Coptic Community Amidst Revolution' Middle East Report 225

Guirgis, Laure (2016) Copts and the Security State: Violence, Coercion, and Sectarianism in Contemporary Egypt

Salem, Paul ["The future of Lebanon,"](#) Foreign Affairs (Nov/Dec 2006)

Dodge T. 'Bourdieu goes to Baghdad': Explaining hybrid political identities in Iraq. J Hist Sociol. 2018;31:25–38. <https://doi.org/10.1111/johs.12189>

Further Reading

Saouli, Adham (2012), The Arab State: dilemmas of late formation, Chapter 5

Reilly, Benjamin (2006), Political Engineering and Party Politics in Conflict-Prone societies', Democratization, vol.13 (December 2006), 5, 811-827

Charles Tripp. 2007. A history of Iraq. 3rd ed. ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Dodge, T Inventing Iraq: The Failure of Nation-Building and a History Denied
- (2013) Iraq from War to a New Authoritarianism

Owen, R State, Power and Politics. Chapter 2.

Sluglett, MF & P, Iraq Since 1958: From Revolution to Dictatorship (3rd edition).

Kienle, E Ba'th versus Ba'th: The Conflict Between Syria and Iraq

Makiya, K Republic of Fear: the Politics of Modern Iraq (1998 edition).(e

Nakash, Y "The Shi'ites and the Future of Iraq," Foreign Affairs, 82:4 (July/August 2003).

ICG See International Crisis Web-site www.crisisgroup.org
_____ 'Unmaking Iraq: A Constitutional process gone Awry'

Abou-el-Fadl, Reem (2015) Revolutionary Egypt: Connecting Domestic and International Struggles Ch.8 'Between Cairo and Washington; Sectarianism and Counter-Revolution in Post-Mubarak Egypt'

Kerr, Michael and Larkin, Craig (2015) The Alawis of Syria: War, Faith and Politics in the Levant

Pierret, Thomas (2013) 'The Reluctant Sectarianism of Foreign States in the Syrian Conflict' US Institute of Peace Peacebrief 162

Other Resources

Taking a rather literal interpretation of the modernist argument about the construction of sectarian identity, Ahmed Saadawi's novel Frankenstein in Baghdad transposes the gothic classic to the war-torn Iraqi capital haunted by a bloodthirsty revenant born out of political corruption. The metaphor is not difficult to spot.

Episode 4 of the BBC World Service series 'The Compass: Islam, People and Power' concerns Shi'a politics in Iraq, but has some useful asides on sectarianism <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p04jnwrr>

Week 9 Islamist Politics and Political Islams

Islam, and Islamism, is often seen as being at the core of Middle East politics and its present crisis – with global ramifications. This lecture will present a background on Islamist politics, and a critical understanding of the debates on it, with reference to the evolution of 3 organisations: Hezbollah, Al-Qaeda/ISIS, and the Muslim Brotherhood.

Before the seminar listen to episodes 1,2 and 3 of the BBC World Service series 'The Compass: Islam, People and Power'

1. *The Sunni Traditionalists* <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p04fshpm>
2. *The Salafis* <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p04gn29n#play>
3. *The Islamists* <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p04hlc43>

Listen to these after reading the essential reading and take some notes from the programmes to try to answer the questions below.

- i. What is the relationship between Islamism and political and social change?
- ii. What would an Islamic state look like, and who actually wants one?
- iii. Have any Islamists actually achieved their aims?

Essential

Aydin, Cemil (2017) 'Introduction: What is the Muslim World?' The Idea of the Muslim World: A Global Intellectual History

Mandaville, Peter (2014) 'Introduction: Thinking about Islam and Politics in a global perspective' Islam and Politics

Li, Darryl (2015) 'A Jihadism Anti-Primer' Middle East Report online <http://www.merip.org/mer/mer276/jihadism-anti-primer>

Recommended Reading

Halliday, Fred (1995) Chapter 4 'Islam and the West: 'Threat of Islam' or 'Threat of the West'? in Islam and the Myth of Confrontation: Religion and Politics in the Middle East, New York, IB Tauris

Dalal, Ahmed (2017) The Political Theology of ISIS

Matin K. Lineages of the Islamic State: An International Historical Sociology of State (De-)Formation in Iraq. *J Hist Sociol.* 2018;31:6–24. <https://doi.org/10.1111/johs.12188>

Wickham Rosefsky, Carrie (2015) The Muslim Brotherhood: Evolution of an Islamist Movement Chapter 8 'Egypt's Islamist Movement in Comparative Perspective'

Richard Norton, Augustus (2014) Hezbollah: A Short History Chapter 2 'The Founding of Hezbollah'

Cavatorta and Durac (2015) Politics and Governance in the Middle East Chapter 6 'Religion and Politics'

Chamkhi, Tarek (2014) 'Neo-Islamism in the post Arab Spring' Middle East Critique 20:4

Asad, Talal (2003) Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity Ch.6 'Secularism, Nation-state and Religion'

Zubaida, Sami (1993) Islam, The People and the State pp121-182

Tripp, Charles (1996) 'Islam and the Secular Logic of the State' in Abdel Salam Sidahmed and Anoushiravan Ehteshami (ed.) Islamic Fundamentalism

Volpi, Frederic (2011) Political Islam, A critical reader

Rogers, Paul (2016) Irregular War: ISIS and the New Threat from the Margins

Massad, Joseph (2015) Islam in Liberalism

- Devji, Faisal (2005) Landscapes of the Jihad: Militancy, Morality and Modernity
- Al-Azmeh, Aziz (2009) Islams and Modernities
- Gerges, Fawaz (2009) Chapter 2 'Religious Nationalists and the Near Enemy' in The Far Enemy: Why Jihad went Global (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge)
- (2017) ISIS: A History
- Holbrook, Donald (2015) 'Al-Qaeda and the Rise of ISIS' Survival April-May 2015
- Cheterian, Viktor (2015) 'ISIS and the Killing Fields of the Middle East' Survival April-May 2015
- Lister, Charles (2015) The Syrian Jihad: Al-Qaeda, The Islamic State and the Evolution of an Insurgency
- Filiu, Jean Pierre (2015) From Deep State to Islamic State: The Arab Counter-revolution and its Jihadi Legacy
- El Sherif, Ashraf. 'Islamism After the Arab Spring'. Current History 110, no. 740 (December 2011): 358.
- Schwedler, Jillian. 'Can Islamists Become Moderates? Rethinking the Inclusion-Moderation Hypothesis'. World Politics 63, no. 02 (2011): 347–376.
- Denoeux, Guilain. 'The Forgotten Swamp: Navigating Political Islam'. Middle East Policy 9, no. 2 (June 1, 2002): 56–81.
- Roy, Olivier (2004) Globalized Islam: The Search for a New Ummah, (Columbia University Press, New York)
- Wilson, Lydia (2015) 'ISIS and the Assad Dynasty' Times Literary Supplement 23rd September 2015
- 'What I discovered from interviewing imprisoned ISIS fighters' The Nation 21st of October 2015 <http://www.thenation.com/article/what-i-discovered-from-interviewing-isis-prisoners/>
- Owen, Roger (2004) State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East pp.154-176
- Milton-Edwards, Beverley (2015) The Muslim Brotherhood
- (2013) Islamic Fundamentalism
- Mahmoud, Saba (2011) The Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject
- Ismail, Salwa (2006) Rethinking Islamist Politics: Culture, the State and Islamism
- Frederic Volpi, E. Stein '[Islamism and the state after the Arab uprisings: Between people power and state power](#)' Democratization 22 (2), 276-293
- Glain, Stephen. 'Fault Lines in the Muslim Brotherhood'. The Nation 293, no. 11 (2011): 22–25.

Lacroix, Stéphane 'Sheikhs and Politicians: Inside the New Egyptian Salafism'. The Brookings Institution, June 11, 2012 (<http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2012/06/07-egyptian-salafism-lacroix>.)

Nathan J. Brown and Amr Hamzawy, Between Religion and Politics (Carnegie Endowment, 2010).

Mona El-Ghobashy, "The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37, no. 3 (2005): 373-395.

Kepel, Gilles (2009) Jihad: the Trail of Political Islam

Maher, Shiraz (2016) Salafi-Jihadism: The History of an Idea

Mabon, Simon and Royle, Stephen (2016) The Origins of ISIS: The Collapse of Nations and Revolution in the Middle East

Mello, Brian (2018) 'The Islamic State: Violence and Ideology in a Post-colonial Revolutionary Regime' *International Political Sociology* 12:2 pp.139-155

Walt, Stephen (2015) 'ISIS as Revolutionary State' *Foreign Policy* November/December 2015

Hanieh, Adam (2015) 'A Brief History of ISIS' <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2015/12/isis-syria-iraq-war-al-qaeda-arab-spring/>

Hassan, Hassan and Weiss, Michael (2015) ISIS: Inside the Army of Terror

Daher, Joseph (2016) Hezbollah: The Political Economy of Lebanon's Party of God

Noe, Nicholas and Blindfold, Nicholas (2007) Voice of Hezbollah: The Statements of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah

Dionigi, Phillip (2014) Hezbollah, Islamist Politics and International Society

Avon, Dominique and Khatchadourian, Anais-Trisha (2012) Hezbollah: A history of the party of God

Pargeter, Alison (2013) The Muslim Brotherhood: From Opposition to Power

Yenigun, Halili Ibrahim (2016) 'The Political and Theological Boundaries of Islamist Moderation after the Arab Spring' *Third World Quarterly* 19th of August 2016
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2016.1227683>

Further Reading

Allinson, Jamie (2017) 'Disaster Islamism' *Salvage* 4, pp.127-155

Gray, John (2007) Al-Qaeda and What it Means to be Modern

Haugbølle, Rikke Hostrup, and Francesco Cavatorta. 'Beyond Ghannouchi: Islamism and Social Change in Tunisia'. *Middle East Report*, no. 262 (Spring 2012): 20.

Cockburn, Patrick (2014) The Rise of Islamic State: ISIS and the New Sunni Revolution

Other Resources

The recent Channel 4 drama 'The State' presents a fictionalised account of Western fighters travelling to join ISIS <http://www.channel4.com/programmes/the-state>.

Week 10 Conflicts Old and New – with reference to Libya and the Arab Israeli-Conflict

Since the uprisings of 2011, the politics of the region have become dominated by multiple crises, conflicts and civil wars threatening stability at a both regional and global level. Yet, the region is also home to one of the longest running conflicts in the world, in Palestine/Israel. This lecture will look at the politics of conflict in the region through this specific example.

Roleplay

Group brainstorming task

The class will be divided into 3 or more groups depending on the size. Each group will then discuss the parameters of Israel and the Palestinians in any future negotiations. Each group should answer, for both the Israeli and Palestinian side:

1. What are their top 3 objectives?
2. What are their 'red lines' – their impermissible outcomes?
3. What are they prepared to give up?
4. What power do they have to get (1) and prevent (2)?

Having done this, each group will then decide whether there is any negotiated agreement that can meet both Israeli and Palestinian answers to the above question. If so, what does that agreement look like? Be sure to address the below issues:

1. Will there be a sovereign Palestinian state?
2. Will Palestinian refugees be allowed to return?
3. Will Israeli settlements remain in the West Bank?
4. Whose capital will Jerusalem be?

We will then compare the outcomes of each group discussion to see if there is any common ground between them.

Essential

Joel Beinin and Layla Hajjar, "Palestine, Israel and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Primer", Middle East Report. Available at: http://www.merip.org/palestine-israel_primer/intro-pal-isr-primer.html

Khalidi, Rashid 2010 'Chapter 2 Competing Narratives of Palestinian National Identity' Palestinian Identity: the Construction of Modern National Consciousness

Recommended Reading

Shlaim, Avi (2014)

Chapter 13 'The Rise and Fall of the Oslo Peace Process' in Fawcett, L International Relations of the Middle East

Lynch, Marc (2016) The New Arab Wars Ch.1 'The New Arab Wars'

Cole, Peter and McQuinn, Brian (ed.) (2015) The Libyan Revolution and Its Aftermath
pp.1-31

Anderson, Lisa (2006) The State and Social Transformation in Tunisia and Libya 1820-1980

Ashram, Ariel I. & Lust, Ellen (2016) 'The Decline and Fall of the Arab State' Survival
58:2
pp.7-34

Fraihat, Ibrahim (2016) Unfinished Revolutions: Yemen, Libya and Tunisia after the Arab Spring

Kalyvas, Stathis (2006) The Logic of Violence in Civil War

Keen, David (2014) Useful Enemies: When Waging Wars is more Useful than Winning Them

Cramer, Christopher (2006) Civil War is not a Stupid Thing: Accounting for Violence in Developing Countries

Kaldor, Mary (2012) (3rd ed.) New and Old Wars: Organised Violence in a Global Era

Zartmann & Keller (ed.) (2015) Arab Spring: Negotiating in the Shadow of the Intifadat
pp.116-145 and pp.249-291

Nuffield, Mark (2014) (2nd ed.) Global Governance and the New Wars: the merging of development and security

Zoubir, Yahia H. & Rosa, Ersebet N. (2012) 'The End of the Libyan Dictatorship: the Uncertain Transition' Third World Quarterly 33:7 1267-1283

Kuperman, Alan (2013) 'A Model Humanitarian Intervention? NATO's Libya Campaign' International Security 38:1 pp.105-36

Pack, Jason and Anderson, Lisa (2013) (ed.) The 2011 Libyan Uprisings and the Struggle for the Post-Qadhafi Future

Hilsum, Lindsay (2013) Sandstorm: Libya from Gaddafi to Revolution

Pargeter, Alison (2012) Libya- the rise and fall of Qaddafi

Prashad, Vijay (2012) Arab Spring, Libyan Winter

Khalili, Andrea (2014) (ed.) Crowds and Politics in North Africa: Tunisia, Algeria and Libya

Hehir, Aidan and Murray, Robert (2013) (eds.) Libya, the Responsibility to Protect and the Future of Humanitarian Intervention

A. Shlaim, "The Debate about 1948," International Journal of Middle East Studies, Vol.27, No.3 (1995), pp.287-304.

- E. Karsh, "Were the Palestinians Expelled?," Commentary, Vol.110(1), 2000, pp. 29-34
- Hirst, David (2003) The Gun and the Olive Branch: The Roots of Violence in the Middle East (Faber and Faber, London)
- Hroub, Khaled (2014) Hamas: A Beginner's Guide (Pluto, London)
- Mearsheimer, John and Walt, Stephen (2008) The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy (Penguin, London)
- Morris, Benny (2003) The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge)
- Righteous victims: a history of the Zionist-Arab conflict, 1881-1998. Vintage, 2011. Chapter 1 & Conclusion
- Sayigh, Yezid, (1999) Armed Struggle and the Search for State: The Palestinian National Movement 1949-93 (Oxford University Press, Oxford)
- Shlaim, Avi (2014) The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World 2nd Edition (W.Norton & Co., New York)
- Smith, Charles (2013) Palestine and the Arab Israeli Conflict: A History with Documents (St. Martin's Press, New York)
- Herzl, Theodor. The Jews' State: A Critical English Translation. Jason Aronson, Incorporated, 1997.
- Ovendale, Ritchie. The origins of the Arab-Israeli wars. Editorial Dunken, 2004.
- Segev, Tom. One Palestine, complete: Jews and Arabs under the British mandate. Macmillan, 2000.
- Laqueur, Walter. The history of Zionism. Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2003.
- Nimni, Ephraim, ed. The Challenge of Post-Zionism: Alternatives to Fundamentalist Politics in Israel. Zed Books, 2003.
- Yiftachel, Oren. "Israeli society and Jewish-Palestinian reconciliation: 'Ethnocracy' and its territorial contradictions." The Middle East Journal (1997): 505-519.
- Yiftachel, Oren. "'Ethnocracy': The Politics of Judaizing Israel/Palestine." Constellations 6.3 (1999): 364-390.
- Tessler, Mark A. A history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Indiana University Press, 1994.
- Cohen, MJ, "The Zionist Perspective" in Louis, William Roger, and Robert W. Stookey, eds. The End of the Palestine Mandate. No. 12. University of Texas Press, 1986.
- Flapan, Simha. "The Birth of Israel: Myths and Realities (Hardcover)." Pantheon (1987).
- Pappe, Ilan. "Post-Zionist critique on Israel and the Palestinians: part I: the academic debate." Journal of Palestine Studies (1997): 29-41.
- Pappe, Ilan. The ethnic cleansing of Palestine. Oneworld Publications, 2007.

R. Khalidi, "The Palestinians and 1948: The Underlying Cause of Failure," in E. Rogan and A. Shlaim (eds), The War of Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948 (Cambridge: 2007), pp.12-36

Schulze, Kirsten E. The Arab-Israeli Conflict. Pearson Education, 2008.

Bregman, Ahron, and Jihan El-Tahri. The fifty years war: Israel and the Arabs. Penguin UK, 1998.

Abu-Amr, Ziad. " Hamas: a historical and political background." Journal of Palestine Studies (1993): 5-19.

Veracini, Lorenzo Israel and Settler Society (Pluto 2006)

Further Reading

Mundy, Jacob (2015) Imaginative Geographies of Algerian Violence: Conflict Science, Conflict Management, Antipolitics Chapter 1 'Conflict science, Conflict Management, Antipolitics'

Halliday, Fred (2001) Arabia without Sultans

Matar, Hisham (2016) The Return: Fathers, Sons and the Land in Between

Dershowitz, Alan (2003) The Case for Israel

Said, Edward (1992) The Palestine Question

Alternative case - Iraq

Saouli, Adham (2012), The Arab State: dilemmas of late formation, Chapter 5

Reilly, Benjamin (2006), Political Engineering and Party Politics in Conflict-Prone societies', Democratization, vol.13 (December 2006), 5, 811-827

Charles Tripp. 2007. A history of Iraq. 3rd ed. ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Dodge, T (2004) Inventing Iraq: The Failure of Nation-Building and a History Denied

- (2009) 'Coming face to face with bloody reality: Liberal common sense and 'The ideological failure of the Bush doctrine in Iraq', International Politics, 46, 2/3, pp. 253-275.

(2013) Iraq from War to a New Authoritarianism

- Toby Dodge and Emile Hokayem (Eds.) 2014 Middle Eastern Security, The US Pivot and the Rise of ISIS

Rogers, Paul (2016) Irregular War: ISIS and the New Threat from the Margins

Alternative case - Syria

Lawson, Fred (2014) 'Syria's Mutating Civil War and its Impact on Turkey, Iraq and Iran' International Affairs 90:6

Yassin-Kassab, Robin and Al-Shami, Leila (2015) Burning Country: Syrians in Revolution and War

Lister, Charles (2015) The Syrian Jihad: Al-Qaeda, The Islamic State and the Evolution of an Insurgency

Glass, Charles, (2016) Syria Burning: A Short History of a Catastrophe

Cockburn, Patrick, (2015) The Rise of Islamic State; ISIS and the New Sunni Revolution

Di Giovannii, Janine (2016) The Morning they came for us

Little, Jonathan (2015) Syrian Notebooks: Inside the Homs Uprising

Hokayem, Emile (2013) Syria's Uprising and the Fracturing of the Levant

Yazbek, Samar (2016) The Crossing: My Journey to the Shattered Heart of Syria

Aboud, Samer (2015) Syria

Saleh, Yassin al-Haj (2017) The Impossible Revolution: Understanding the Syrian Tragedy

POMEPS Studies No.5 (2013) The Political Science of Syria's War

Hoffmann C. Environmental determinism as Orientalism: The geo-political ecology of crisis in the Middle East. *J Hist Sociol.* 2018;31:94–104. <https://doi.org/10.1111/johs.12194>

Interview with Aron Lund 'Syria's Rebels before and After Aleppo' (2017) *Status Hour* podcast <http://www.statishour.com/en/Programs/Episode/1078>

Interview with Yasser Munif, 'Syria Now: On the state of the Syrian Uprising' (2016) *Status Hour* podcast <http://www.statishour.com/en/Programs/Episode/57>

Alternative Case - Yemen

Brehony, Noel (2013) Yemen Divided: The Story of a Failed State in South Arabia

Day, Stephen (2012) Regionalism and Rebellion in Yemen: A troubled national union

Phillips, Sarah (2011) Yemen and the Politics of a Permanent Crisis

Carapaco, Sheila (ed) (2016) Arabia Incognito: Dispatches from Yemen and the Gulf

Corstange, D. (2016) 'Communal Politics in Yemen', in The Price of a Vote in the Middle East: Clientelism and Communal Politics in Lebanon and Yemen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 90–118

Aryani, Lara 2015 'Saudi Arabia and the War of Legitimacy in Yemen' *Jadaliyya* 2nd of May 2015 <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/21538/saudi-arabia-and-the-war-of-legitimacy-in-yemen>

Interview with Sheila Carapico (2016) 'The Unending War on Yemen' *Status Hour* podcast <http://www.statishour.com/en/Interview/167>

Other resources

This is of course a very wide topic, and many films, documentaries and works of fiction have been produced on each of these conflicts. Sebastian Junger's 'Hell on Earth: The Fall of Syria and the Rise of ISIS' is an extensive recent documentary, while Phillipe Van Leuw's film 'In Syria' covers similar ground from a fictional perspective – 'Syria: Silvered Water' is an account of the revolution and civil war using the mobile phone footage of the participants. 'War Cannister' is a short allegorical film from Iraq, while 'Waltzing with Bashir' and 'The Gatekeepers' present animated and documentary approaches to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Week 11 Essay Clinic

This is your chance to ask questions about the essay and hear guidance on how to do it. General guidance will be given in the lecture and specific issues may be discussed in the seminar.

Appendix 1 – General Information

Students with Disabilities

The School welcomes disabled students with disabilities (including those with specific learning difficulties such as dyslexia) and is working to make all its courses as accessible as possible. If you have a disability special needs which means that you may require adjustments to be made to ensure access to lectures, tutorials or exams, or any other aspect of your studies, you can discuss these with your Student Support Officer or Personal Tutor who will advise on the appropriate procedures.

You can also contact the Student Disability Service, based on the University of Edinburgh, Third Floor, Main Library, You can find their details as well as information on all of the support they can offer at: <http://www.ed.ac.uk/student-disability-service>

Learning Resources for Undergraduates

The Study Development Team at the Institute for Academic Development (IAD) provides resources and workshops aimed at helping all students to enhance their learning skills and develop effective study techniques. Resources and workshops cover a range of topics, such as managing your own learning, reading, note-making, essay and report writing, exam preparation and exam techniques.

The study development resources are housed on 'LearnBetter' (undergraduate), part of Learn, the University's virtual learning environment. Follow the link from the IAD Study Development web page to enrol: <https://www.ed.ac.uk/institute-academic-development/undergraduate/services/quick-consultations>

Workshops are interactive: they will give you the chance to take part in activities, have discussions, exchange strategies, share ideas and ask questions. They are 90 minutes long and held on Wednesday afternoons at 1.30pm or 3.30pm. The schedule is available from the IAD Undergraduate web page (see above).

Workshops are open to all undergraduates but you need to book in advance, using the MyEd booking system. Each workshop opens for booking two weeks before the date of the workshop itself. If you book and then cannot attend, please cancel in advance through MyEd so that another student can have your place. (To be fair to all students, anyone who persistently books on workshops and fails to attend may be barred from signing up for future events).

Study Development Advisors are also available for an individual consultation if you have specific questions about your own approach to studying, working more effectively, strategies for improving your learning and your academic work. Please note, however, that Study Development Advisors are not subject specialists so they cannot comment on the content of your work. They also do not check or proof read students' work.

Students can book a study skills consultation <https://www.ed.ac.uk/institute-academic-development/undergraduate/services/quick-consultations>

Academic English support can also be accessed at <https://www.ed.ac.uk/english-language-teaching>

Discussing Sensitive Topics

The discipline of Politics addresses a number of topics that some might find sensitive or, in some cases, distressing. You should read this Course Guide carefully and if there are any topics that you may feel distressed by you should seek advice from the course convenor and/or your Personal Tutor.

For more general issues you may consider seeking the advice of the Student Counselling Service, <http://www.ed.ac.uk/schools-departments/student-counselling>

Honours Tutorial Sign- up

If you are taking an Honours level course with SPS that has tutorials, you will be able to self-enrol yourselves onto a group via the course learn page. Guidance on how to do this is below. Tutorials have restricted numbers and it is important to sign up as soon as possible.

Self Sign-up will open at 9am on Monday of week 1 and close at 12 noon on the Friday of week 1. After this point, any students who have not self-enrolled will be automatically assigned to a tutorial group.

For full information and guidance on how to sign up via learn, please see our webpages at http://www.sps.ed.ac.uk/undergrad/current_students/teaching_and_learning/assessment_and_regulations/tutorial_requirements/tutorial_requirements_honours

Attendance Monitoring

In accordance with the University general degree regulations you are expected to attend all teaching and assessment events associated with all courses that you are enrolled on. The College of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences undertakes routine monitoring of attendance at tutorials and seminars for all students enrolled on courses delivered by Schools within our College. We undertake monitoring of attendance and engagement to enable us to identify where individual students may be experiencing difficulties and to ensure that timely and appropriate intervention can be delivered to provide support and guidance. We also undertake monitoring for sponsored students specifically to meet our obligations to the UKVI. If you miss one or more of your tutorials and/or seminars you may be contacted by your local Student Support Team and be asked to provide an explanation for your absence.

All data is gathered and stored in line with the University policies and guidance on data handling and you can view the privacy statement at: <https://www.ed.ac.uk/student-systems/use-of-data/policies-and-regulations/privacy-statement>

External Examiner

The External Examiner for the Politics Honours programme is Professor David Owen, University of Southampton.

Appendix 2 - Course Work Submission and Penalties

Penalties that can be applied to your work and how to avoid them.

Below is a list of penalties that can be applied to your course work and these are listed below. Students **must** read the full description on each of these at: http://www.sps.ed.ac.uk/undergrad/current_students/teaching_and_learning/assessment_and_regulations/coursework_penalties

Make sure you are aware of each of these penalties and know how to avoid them. Students are responsible for taking the time to read guidance and for ensuring their coursework submissions comply with guidance.

- **Lateness Penalty**

If you miss the submission deadline for any piece of assessed work **5 marks will be deducted for each calendar day that work is late, up to a maximum of seven calendar days (35 marks)**. Thereafter, a mark of zero will be recorded. There is no grace period for lateness and penalties begin to apply immediately following the deadline.

- **Word Count Penalty**

Your course handbook will specify the word length of your assessments. All coursework submitted by students must state the word count on the front page. All courses in the School have a standard penalty for going over the word length; if you are taking courses from other Schools, check with them what their penalties are.

The penalty for excessive word length in coursework is a 5-mark penalty. These 5 marks will be deducted regardless of how many words over the limit the work is (whether it is by 1 word or by 500!). In exceptional circumstances, a marker may also decide that any text beyond the word limit will be excluded from the assignment and it will be marked only on the text up to the word limit. In most cases, appendices and bibliography are not included in the word count whilst in-text references, tables, charts, graphs and footnotes are counted.

In most cases, appendices and bibliography are not included in the word count whilst in-text references, tables, charts, graphs and footnotes are counted. Make sure you know what is and what is not included in the word count. Again, check the course handbook for this information and if you are unsure, contact the Course Organiser to check.

You will not be penalised for submitting work below the word limit. However, you should note that shorter essays are unlikely to achieve the required depth and that this will be reflected in your mark.

ELMA: Submission and Return of Coursework

Coursework is submitted online using our electronic submission system, ELMA. You will not be required to submit a paper copy of your work.

Marked coursework, grades and feedback will be returned to you via ELMA. You will not receive a paper copy of your marked course work or feedback.

For details of how to submit your course work to ELMA, please see our webpages [here](#).

Please note that all submissions to ELMA should be formatted as a Word document (doc or.docx.). If you are permitted or required to submit in a different format, this will be detailed in your course handbook.

Any submission that is not in word format will be converted by the Undergraduate Teaching Office into word where possible. By submitting in any format other than word, you are accepting this process and the possibility that errors may occur during conversion. The UTO will do everything possible to ensure the integrity of any document converted but to avoid issue, please submit in Word format as requested.

Extensions

If you have good reason for not meeting a coursework deadline, you may request an extension. Before you request an extension, make sure you have read all the guidance on our webpages and take note of the key points below. You will also be able to access the online extension request form through our webpages.

- Extensions are granted for 7 calendar days.
- If you miss the deadline for requesting an extension for a valid reason, you should submit your coursework as soon as you are able, and apply for Special Circumstances to disregard penalties for late submission. You should also contact your Student Support Officer or Personal Tutor and make them aware of your situation.
- If you have a valid reason and require an extension of more than 7 calendar days, you should submit your coursework as soon as you are able, and apply for Special Circumstances to disregard penalties for late submission. You should also contact your Student Support Officer or Personal Tutor and make them aware of your situation.
- If you have a Learning Profile from the Disability Service allowing you potential for flexibility over deadlines, you must still make an extension request for this to be taken into account.

Exam Feedback and Viewing Exam Scripts:

General exam feedback will be provided for all courses with an examination. General feedback will be uploaded to the relevant course learn page within 24 hours of the overall marks for the course being returned to Students.

Students who sit the exam will also receive individual feedback. The relevant Course Secretary will contact students to let them know when this is available and how to access it.

If students wish to view their scripts for any reason, they must contact the relevant Course Secretary via email to arrange this.

Plagiarism Guidance for Students: Avoiding Plagiarism

Material you submit for assessment, such as your essays, must be your own work. You can, and should, draw upon published work, ideas from lectures and class discussions, and (if appropriate) even upon discussions with other students, but you must always make clear that you are doing so. **Passing off anyone else's work** (including another student's work or material from the Web or a published author) **as your own is plagiarism** and can be punished severely.

Copying part of one of your own assignments previously submitted for credit for the same or another course is **self-plagiarism**, which is also not allowed. This is an important consideration if you are retaking a course; an assignment submitted the previous year cannot be resubmitted the next, even for the same course.

When you upload your work to ELMA you will be asked to check a box to confirm the work is your own. All submissions will be run through 'Turnitin', our plagiarism detection software. Turnitin compares every essay against a constantly-updated database, which highlights all plagiarised work. Students who are found to have included plagiarised (including self-plagiarised) material in their work will be reported to an Academic Misconduct Officer for further investigation, and grade penalties can be applied. In extreme cases, assignment grades can be reduced to zero.

For further details on plagiarism see our college website:

<http://www.ed.ac.uk/arts-humanities-soc-sci/taught-students/student-conduct/academic-misconduct>

Data Protection Guidance for Students

In most circumstances, students are responsible for ensuring that their work with information about living, identifiable individuals complies with the requirements of the Data Protection Act. The document, Personal Data Processed by Students, provides an explanation of why this is the case. It can be found, with advice on data protection compliance and ethical best practice in the handling of information about living, identifiable individuals, on the Records Management section of the University website at: <https://www.ed.ac.uk/records-management/guidance/data-protection/dpforstudents>