

**SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES**  
**Department of Politics and International Studies**

**BA Module 15 340 0060**  
**GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS OF THE MIDDLE EAST**  
**2023-2024**

**Reading List**  
**Term 2**



**Convenors**

**Dr Reem Abou-El-Fadl, Term 1**  
**Dr Karabekir Akkoyunlu, Term 2**

**GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS OF THE MIDDLE EAST**  
**BA Module15 340 0060**  
**2023-24**

**Description**

This course provides an overview of the dynamics that shape state-society relations in the modern Middle East and North Africa. We will examine such political dynamics by comparing varying ruling regimes, economic programmes, ideological struggles, salient group identity categories, and modes of collective organisation and political expression in relation to key historical developments in the region from the late Ottoman period up to the contemporary moment. The module is organized thematically whilst maintaining a chronological integrity that follows the sequence of historical developments in the region.

To focus the module and provide students with some depth, the course will discuss and analyse specific case studies from the region that allow us to broach a variety of central themes. The cases we will cover include Algeria, Egypt, Iran, Palestine/Israel, Syria, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey. Students will be encouraged to research other cases in the region throughout the year, especially through the written essays, to widen the breadth of their exposure to countries across the Middle East.

The **broader objectives** of the module are to encourage students to develop analytical skills that prepare them to conduct comparative analysis of government and political systems and critically engage with theoretical debates in political science more broadly. Moreover, the course is designed to help students develop a nuanced imagination for the peoples, places, problems and relationships that shape the contemporary Middle East.

Finally, the course is designed to guide students in articulating oral and written arguments they formulate about politics of the Middle East. In particular, students will be trained in writing argumentative essays that develop and relay clear evidence-based arguments as opposed to narrative.

**Learning Outcomes**

- On completion of the course, students will be able to:
- Engage with the debate on Orientalism and approaches to the study of the Middle East
- Recall key developments that have shaped politics in the Middle East from the late Ottoman period to the present day
- Compose reasoned arguments marshalling conceptual literature and empirical evidence
- Communicate those arguments cogently both orally and in writing

## Format

**Lecture:** There is one lecture a week for the whole class. In Term 1 this will take place online on Wednesdays at 11am-12pm. The lecture will be conducted live and recorded. **In Term 2 the lecture will take place in person on Fridays 10-11am (Khalili Lecture Theatre, KLT).** The lectures will address the themes outlined below and will be complemented by tutorials. The lectures will be delivered by Reem Abou-El-Fadl in Term 1 and Karabekir ('Kara') Akkoyunlu in Term 2.

**Tutorials:** Tutorials take place in smaller groups and in person on campus. They will be led by Marc Sinan Winrow and Molly Oringer (T1)/Jan Tomek (T2). In tutorials students are expected to discuss the assigned readings and materials presented during the lecture. For further information on preparing for tutorials please consult the Political Studies UG handbook.

**\*\*Both lectures and tutorials are integral to this course. It is a requirement of the course that students attend both. Tutorial attendance is taken.\*\***

## Assessment

Students are required to submit three essays during the year on topics assigned by the course convenor. The essays should be typed and range from 2200-2500 words. Essay topics will be given out before Reading Week in each term. The third essay is a film analysis essay, in which students will present an argumentative analysis of one of the three films that will be screened during the course of the year outside normal class hours. The argumentative essay will mobilise political science theory to analyse one of the screened films. The marks for the first essay constitute 25%, the second essay 35% of the final mark, and the third essay 40% of the final mark. Students will receive written feedback on the essay on the BLE system.

**The dates for the submission of the essays are as follows:**

**Essay 1: 8 December 2023**

**Essay 2: 15 March 2024**

**Essay 3: 19 April 2024**

You will be expected to submit your essay on Turnitin via BLE and you have until 23:59 of the deadline date to upload your coursework. For instructions on how to upload your coursework, please go to: <http://www.soas.ac.uk/add/blesupport/students/>

When submitting coursework, the first page of your coursework must clearly state:

- title of your essay
- title of course: Government and Politics of the Middle East
- course code: 15 340 0060
- your six-digit student number (but not your name)
- assignment number: AS1, AS2, or AS3
- word count (including footnotes, excluding bibliography)

## Important Guidelines

**Late Submission:** Coursework submitted after the deadline incurs a deduction of 2 percentage points per working day. No marks will be awarded to coursework submitted more than 7 days after the deadline without a mitigating circumstance. If you have mitigating circumstances that prevented you submitting your coursework on time, you should complete the 'Late Submission Form', attaching any evidence you may have about the mitigating circumstances. **You should also inform us by email** so that we can ensure that your case is properly considered in June when the final coursework marks are decided.

**Office Hours:** Our weekly office hours are set aside specifically for meetings with you. We strongly encourage you to use them. You can sign up for time slots online using the urls on the Moodle page. We are available to discuss any issues or questions related to course lectures, readings, or written work, so please make the most of this time set aside for you and come prepared with whatever you would like to discuss. and use that time to your benefit. If you are unable to see us during regularly scheduled office hours, please email us to schedule an appointment.

**Email:** We cannot guarantee instantaneous responses to email queries, so please do not wait until the last minute to email us about potential issues/problems. We will do our best to respond within 48 hours but will not respond to email after 7pm or on weekends. Also, please be mindful to use professional language in your email.

**The News:** In this class you are expected to stay informed on current events in the region. We will point you to resources for learning about developments in the region. Current events will be referred to during lectures and tutorials, so please come prepared.

**Academic Honesty and Plagiarism:** Students are reminded that all work submitted as part of the requirement for any assessment must be expressed in their own words and incorporate their own ideas and judgements. Plagiarism - that is, the presentation of another person's thoughts or words as though they were the student's own – must be avoided. Direct quotations from the published or unpublished work of others must always be clearly identified as such by being placed inside quotation marks, and a full reference to their source must be provided in proper form. A series of short quotations from several different sources, if not clearly identified as such, constitutes plagiarism just as much as does a single unacknowledged long quotation from a single source. If students summarise another person's ideas and judgements, they must refer to that person in their text as the source of the ideas and judgements, and include the work referred to in their bibliography. Where students draw on their own previous written work, whether submitted as coursework for their current degree, or for a previous degree or qualification, this must be clearly stated. For further information on writing essays and preparing for the exams, please consult the Politics UG Handbook. Students should consult us if they are in any doubt about what is permissible.

## READINGS

The readings given below are not comprehensive: they are merely a starting point and a general indication of available work. Students are encouraged to read widely and to use their own initiative to find other relevant materials. Some texts can act as substitutes on one topic, while others complement each other, providing different information on the same subject, and competing interpretations of the same events. Your reading should focus on the questions at hand, using tables of contents and indexes to find your way around a book. You are encouraged to use your own judgment about the relevance of the material you find.

Required readings are either available online or have been scanned and uploaded for you on the BLE system, within the limits of copyright regulations. However, essays and exam preparation must be based on extensive reading of texts held in the library.

Useful journals for up-to-date articles include (all available on JSTOR and in the Library):

*British Journal of Middle East Studies*  
*International Journal of Middle East Studies*  
*Middle East Report*  
*Middle Eastern Studies*  
*Middle East Journal*

*Review of Middle East Studies*  
*Journal of Palestine Studies*  
*Arab Studies Journal*  
*Arab Studies Quarterly*

The internet contains a range of resources which may be useful in the preparation of essays and presentations. An excellent place to start is the SOAS Library homepage which contains a list of links to relevant information on the web. Most of the above journals for instance are available in electronic format through JSTOR in SOAS Library

For Middle East politics, the following scholarly and news sites are useful:

<http://mesana.org/> [Middle East Studies Association]  
<http://www.albawaba.com/> [Albawaba Middle East gateway]  
<http://brismes.ac.uk/> [British Society for Middle Eastern Studies]  
<http://www.jadaliyya.com/> [Jadaliyya e-zine]  
<http://www.madamasr.com/> [Mada Masr Egyptian newspaper]  
<http://www.mideasti.org/> [Middle East Institute]  
<http://www.merip.org/> [MERIP]  
<http://www.ahram.org.eg/weekly/> [Al-Ahram Weekly]

## GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS OF THE MIDDLE EAST

### Term 1

1. Introduction to the Module
2. The 'Middle East' and the Politics of Knowledge
3. Ottoman Rule and European Colonialism
4. Resistance to Colonialism
5. State Formation and Independence
6. *Reading Week*
7. Nationalisms in the Arab World
8. Religion in Politics
9. Palestine: Nationalism and Liberation
10. Israel and the Zionist Project
11. Gender and Politics

### Term 2

1. Nationalism and Religion in Turkey
2. Iran's Modern Revolution
3. Citizenship, Identity and Statelessness: Kurds and Palestinians
4. Political Liberalisation and its Limits
5. Economic Liberalisation and its Limits
6. *Reading Week*
7. Oil Politics
8. Foreign Intervention: Past, Present, Future
9. Environment, Politics and Resistance
10. The Middle East after the Arab Uprisings
11. Revision and Reflection

## TERM 2

### Week 1. Nationalism and Religion in Turkey

What are the legacies of the First World War and the Cold War on the formation of Turkey's national identities and state-society relations? How has the relationship between state and religion evolved from the Ottoman Empire to the present? What is the 'Turkish-Islamic synthesis' and what are its cultural, ideological and geopolitical origins and implications?

#### Required Readings

Akkoyunlu, Karabekir. "One Hundred Years of Kemalism" in A. Özerdem. and A. E. Öztürk. *A Companion to Modern Turkey's Centennial: Political, Socioeconomic and Institutional Transformations since 1923*. Edinburgh University Press (2023).

Onar, Nora Fisher. "Turkish-Islamist Synthesis 2.0: Continuity and Change in Turkey's National Project and Foreign Policy" *Journal of Middle East Politics and Policy*. Fall 2021: 53 – 61.

Yeğen, Mesut, "Turkish nationalism and the Kurdish question" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30(1), 2007, pp. 119-151.

#### Suggested Readings

Ahmad, Feroz (2014) *Turkey: The Quest for Identity*, London: Oneworld.

Akkoyunlu, Karabekir and Kerem Öktem (2016) "Existential insecurity and the making of a weak authoritarian regime in Turkey", *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 16:4, pp. 504-527.

Akin, Erkan and Ömer Karasapan "The "Turkish-Islamic Synthesis"," *Middle East Report* 153 (July/August 1988).

Aytürk, İlker (2004) "Turkish Linguists against the West: The Origins of Linguistic Nationalism in Atatürk's Turkey", *Middle Eastern Studies*, 40 (6), November, pp. 1–25.

Cizre Sakallioğlu, Ümit (1997) "The Anatomy of the Turkish Military's Political Autonomy", *Comparative Politics*, 29: 2, pp. 151-166.

Hans-Lukas Kieser, Kerem Öktem and Maurus Reinkowski (eds) (2015) *World War I and the End of the Ottoman World: From the Balkan Wars to the Armenian Genocide*, London: I.B. Tauris.

Lord, Ceren (2018) *Religious Politics in Turkey: From the Birth of the Republic to the AKP*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Öktem, Kerem (2020) "Ruling ideologies in Modern Turkey" in Güneş Murat Tezcür (ed) *The Oxford Handbook of Turkish Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Öztürk, Ahmet Erdi (2016) "Turkey's Diyanet under AKP rule: from protector to imposer of state ideology?", *Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 16 (4), pp. 619-635.

Tuğal, Cihan (2009) *Passive Revolution: Absorbing the Islamic Challenge to Capitalism*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Tuğal, Cihan (2016) *The Fall of the Turkish Model: How the Arab Uprisings Brought Down Islamic Liberalism*, London: Verso.

Zürcher, Erik Jan (2019) "The Young Turk revolution: comparisons and connections", *Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 55 (4), pp. 481-498.

## **Week 2. Iran's Modern Revolution**

How was the Iranian Revolution related to how state-formation and "modernisation" unfolded in Iran? Is there something special about the Iranian Revolution vis à vis "social revolutions" elsewhere or the non-revolts around the rest of the Middle East? Is there a case to be made for a particular relationship between Shi'ism as an identity and revolt? What lessons do we learn from the Iranian Revolution about collective action and mass revolt?

### **Required Readings:**

Mehdi Kamrava. *The Modern Middle East: A Political History Since the First World War*, University of California Press, 2011: Chapter 5: The Iranian Revolution.

Theda Skocpol, "Rentier State and Shi'a Islam in the Iranian Revolution," *Theory and Society*, v.11(3), (May 1982), pp. 265-283.

Nikki Keddie, "Comments on Skocpol," *Theory and Society*, v.11(3), (May 1982) pp. 285-292.

### **Suggested Readings:**

Ahmad Ashraf and Ali Banuazizi, "The State, Classes and Modes of Mobilization in the Iranian Revolution," *State, Culture & Society*, v.1, (Spring 1985), pp. 3-40.

Arang Keshavarzian, *Bazaar and State in Iran: The Politics of the Tebran Marketplace*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Ervand Abrahamian, "Khomeini: Fundamentalist or Populist?" in *New Left Review* I-186 (March-April 1991): pp. 102-119

Ervand Abrahamian "Ali Shariati: Ideologue of the Iranian Revolution," *Middle East Report* 102 (January/February 1982).

Cyrus Schayegh, "The Social Relevance of Knowledge: Science and the Formation of Modern Iran, 1910s-1940s," *Middle Eastern Studies*, v.43(6), (2007), pp. 941-960.

Fred Halliday, "The Iranian Revolution in Comparative Perspective," in *Islam and the Myth of Confrontation*, (London: IB Tauris, 2003).

Nikki Keddie, *Modern Iran: Roots of Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

Kevan Harris, *A Social Revolution: Politics and the Welfare State in Iran*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017).



### **Week 3. Citizenship, Identity and Statelessness: Kurds and Palestinians**

What does statelessness mean in a world of nation-states? How has statelessness shaped modern Kurdish and Palestinian identities? Is there a solution to collective statelessness other than creating one's own nation-state? Can that process avoid the familiar consequences of nation-state building – exclusion, assimilation, suppression – or is it doomed to replicate those experiences?

#### **Required Readings:**

Eliassi, Barzoo, “Statelessness in a world of nation-states: the cases of Kurdish diasporas in Sweden and the UK”, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42 (9), 2016, pp. 1403-1419.

Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Elena, “On the threshold of statelessness: Palestinian narratives of loss and erasure”, *Journal of Ethnic and Racial Studies* 39 (2), 2016, pp. 301-321.

LeBlanc John Randolph and Carolyn M.J Medine, “The Politics of Statelessness: Edward Said and the Ambiguities of Liberal Nationalism” in *Ancient and Modern Religion and Politics*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

#### **Suggested Readings:**

Arendt, Hannah, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. Penguin Classics, 2017 [1951].

Baser, Bahar, “Homeland Calling: Kurdish Diaspora and State-building in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq in the Post-Saddam Era”, *Middle East Critique* 27 (1), 2017, pp. 77 – 94.

Dinc, Pinar, “The Kurdish Movement and the Democratic Federation of Northern Syria: An Alternative to the (Nation-)State Model?”, *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 22 (1), 2020, pp. 47 – 67.

Eliassi, Barzoo, *Narratives of Statelessness and Political Otherness: Kurdish and Palestinian Experiences*, Palgrave, 2021.

Genç, Elif, “The Kurdish Movement’s Relationship with the Palestinian Struggle”, *Middle East Report Online*, no. 295, Summer 2005.

Haddad, Toufic, *Palestine Ltd.: Neoliberalism and Nationalism in the Occupied Territory*, IB Tauris, 2016.

Hobsbawm, Eric, *The Age Of Extremes: 1914-1991*, Abacus, 1994.

Karasapan, Omer. “The state of statelessness in the Middle East”, *Brookings Institute*, 15 May 2015.

Molavi, Shourideh C., *Stateless Citizenship: The Palestinian-Arab Citizens of Israel*, Brill, 2013.

Nassar, Maha, Ilana Feldman, Zachary Lockman, Noura Erakat, Joel Beinin “50 Years of Occupation: A Forum”, Part 1, *Middle East Report Online*, 6 May 2017.

Shlaim, Avi, “Chapter 13: The Rise and Fall of the Oslo Peace Process”, in Louis Fawcett (ed) *International Relations of the Middle East*, Oxford University Press, 2016.

Smith, Anthony D., “Zionism and diaspora nationalism”, *Israel Affairs* 2 (2), 1995, pp. 1 – 19.

#### **Week 4. Political Liberalisation and its Limits**

What role, if any, do colonial legacies, military elites, natural resources, foreign intervention, and religious traditions play in sustaining authoritarianism in the Middle East? What are the common explanations for authoritarian resilience in the region? What are their shortcomings? Is the Middle East a 'global exception' when it comes to democratisation?

#### **Required Readings:**

Bellin, Eva, "The robustness of authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in comparative perspective", *Comparative politics* 36 (2), 2004, pp. 139-157.

Hinnebusch, Raymond, "Authoritarian persistence, democratization theory and the Middle East: An overview and critique", *Democratization* 13 (3), 2006, pp. 373 – 395.

#### **Suggested Readings:**

Ayubi, Nazih, *Over-Stating the Arab State: Politics and Society in the Arab World*, I.B. Tauris, 1995, pp 1-37.

Albrecht, Holger, and Oliver Schlumberger, "‘Waiting for Godot’: Regime change without democratization in the Middle East", *International political science review* 25 (4), 2004, pp. 371-392.

Azimi, Fakhreddin, *The Quest for Democracy in Iran: A Century of Struggle against Authoritarian Rule*, Harvard University Press, 2008.

Diamond, Larry, "Why are there no Arab democracies?", *Journal of Democracy* 21 (1), 2010, pp. 93-112.

Deliveli, Halil, *Why Turkey is Authoritarian: From Atatürk to Erdogan*, Pluto Books, 2018.

Heydemann, Steven, *Upgrading authoritarianism in the Arab world*. Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution, 2007.

Lucas, Russell E., "Monarchical authoritarianism: survival and political liberalization in a middle eastern regime type." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36 (1), 2004, pp. 103-119.

Posusney, Marsha Pripstein. "Enduring authoritarianism: Middle East lessons for comparative theory." *Comparative Politics* (2004): 127-138.

Tessler, Mark. "Islam and democracy in the Middle East: The impact of religious orientations on attitudes toward democracy in four Arab countries." *Comparative Politics*, 2002, pp. 337-354.

Sassoon, Joseph, *Anatomy of authoritarianism in the Arab republics*, Cambridge University Press, 2016. pp. 185-220.

Waterbury, John, "Democracy without democrats? The potential for political liberalization in the Middle East", in Ghassan Salame (ed) *Democracy without Democrats? The Renewal of Politics in the Muslim World*, I.B. Tauris, 1994, pp. 23-47.

## **Week 5. Economic Liberalisation and its Limits**

What was behind the push for market liberalisation reforms in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century? What is the relationship between neoliberalism, globalisation and democracy? What did neoliberalism promise and deliver in the Middle East? In what ways have neoliberal policies (re)shaped state-society relations in the region?

### **Required Readings:**

Cammett, Melani, Ishac Diwan, Alan Richards and John Waterbury, “Structural Adjustments and the rise of Crony Capitalism” in *A Political Economy of the Middle East*, Westview Press, 2013, pp. 273-318.

Dahi, Omar S. and Yasser Munif, “Revolts in Syria: Tracking the convergence between authoritarianism and neoliberalism”, *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 47 (4), 2012, pp. 323-332.

### **Suggested Readings:**

Atia, Mona, *Building a House in Heaven: Pious Neoliberalism and Islamic Charity in Egypt*, University of Minnesota Press, 2013.

Buğra, Ayşe and Osman Savaşkan, *New Capitalism in Turkey: The Relationship between Politics, Religion and Business*, Edward Elgar Publishing, 2014.

Erensü, Sinan and Yahya M. Madra, “Chapter 8: Neoliberal Politics in Turkey” in Günes Murat Tezcür (ed) *The Oxford Handbook of Turkish Politics*, Oxford University Press, 2022.

Batmanghelidj, Esfandyar, “Iranian Protests And The Working Class”, *LobeLog*, 1 January 2018.

Elyachar, Julia, *Markets of Dispossession: NGOs, Economic Development and the State in Cairo*, Duke University Press, 2005.

Davis, Diana K., “Neoliberalism, environmentalism, and agricultural restructuring in Morocco”, *Geographical Journal* 172 (2), 2006, pp. 88 – 105.

Guazzone, Laura, *The Arab state and neo-liberal globalization: The restructuring of state power in the Middle East*, Garnet Publishing, 2009.

Haddad, Bassam, “The Syrian Regime’s Business Backbone” *MER262*, Spring 2012.

Haddad, Toufic, *Palestine Ltd.: Neoliberalism and Nationalism in the Occupied Territory*, IB Tauris, 2016.

Joya, Angela, “The Egyptian revolution: crisis of neoliberalism and the potential for democratic politics,” *Review of African Political Economy* 38 (129), 2011, pp. 367 – 386.

Khalidi, Raja, and Sobhi Samour, “Neoliberalism as liberation: The statehood program and the remaking of the Palestinian national movement”, *Journal of Palestine Studies* 40 (2), 2011, pp. 6-25.

Rodrik, Dani, “The Political Trilemma of the World Economy”, in *The Globalization Paradox*, Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 184 – 206.

## Week 6. \*\*\*READING WEEK\*\*\*

### Week 7. Oil Politics

How does the abundance of oil affect state-society relations in the Middle East? What is the resource curse? How analytically useful is the concept of the 'rentier state' in seeking to explain socio-political dynamics in the oil producing states of the Middle East?

#### **Required reading:**

Hanieh, Adam. "Capital, Labor, and State: Rethinking the Political Economy of Oil in the Gulf" in *The Oxford Handbook of Contemporary Middle-Eastern and North African History*: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Mitchell, Timothy. "Carbon Democracy". *Economy and Society* v.38 (August 2009): 399-413.

Ross, Michael L. "Does oil hinder democracy?." *World Politics* 53, no. 3 (2001): 325-361.

#### **Suggested readings:**

Aarts, Paul. "Democracy, Oil and the Gulf War." *Third World Quarterly* 13:3 (1992) pp. 525-538.

Al-Nakib, Farah. "Revisiting Ḥaḍar and Badū in Kuwait: citizenship, housing, and the construction of a dichotomy." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 46:1 (2014): 5-30.

Beblawi, Hazem. "The rentier state in the Arab world." *Arab Studies Quarterly* (1987) pp. 383-398.

Hanieh, Adam. *Capitalism and class in the Gulf Arab states*. Springer, 2016.

Halliday, Fred. *Arabia without sultans*. Saqi, 2013.

Crystal, Jill. *Oil and Politics in the Gulf: Rulers and Merchants in Kuwait and Qatar*. Cambridge University Press, 1990. Pp. 1-111.

Kurtz, M., "The Social Foundations of Institutional Order: 23 Reconsidering War and the Resource Curse" in *Third World State Building*," *Politics and Society* 37 (4), [2009] pp. 479-520

Shambayati, Hootan. "The rentier state, interest groups, and the paradox of autonomy: state and business in Turkey and Iran." *Comparative Politics* (1994): 307-331.

Jones, Toby Craig. "America, oil, and war in the Middle East." *Journal of American History* 99: 1 (2012) pp. 208-218.

Jones, Toby Craig. *Desert Kingdom*. Harvard University Press, 2010.

Vitalis, Robert. *America's kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi oil frontier*. Stanford University Press, 2007.

"Theorizing the Arabian Peninsula Roundtable." [Jadaliyya](#), 22 April 2013. [A collection of seven articles].

## **Week 8. Foreign Intervention: Past, Present, Future**

How and why have foreign powers intervened politically, economically and military in the Middle East? Why is the region so susceptible to external influence? How have American interests and policies towards the region changed in the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century? How similar/different are US and Chinese interests and policies towards the region?

### **Required Readings:**

Hanieh, Adam. *Lineages of Revolt: Issues of Contemporary Capitalism in the Middle East*, Haymarket Books, 2013: Chapter 2.

Conference of Middle East Chiefs of Mission, [Declassified State Department Document](#), Istanbul, February 1951.

Dannreuther, Roland, "Chapter 18: Russia, China, and the Middle East", in Louis Fawcett (ed) *International Relations of the Middle East*. Oxford University Press, 2016.

### **Suggested Readings:**

Burton, Guy, "[“Negative Peace”? China’s Approach to the Middle East](#)", *War on the Rocks*, 11 September 2020.

Cohen, Ariel, "[Will China Replace the U.S. As The Middle East Hegemon?](#)", *Forbes*, 14 February 2019.

Hanieh, Adam, *Capitalism and Class in the Gulf Arab States*, Palgrave, 2011 (Chps 2, 3, 5, 6).

Hinnebusch, Raymond. 'The US Invasion of Iraq: Explanations and Implications,' *Critique* 16, No. 3, 207: 209-228.

Hudson, Michael, "Chapter 16: The United States in the Middle East" in Louis Fawcett (ed) *International Relations of the Middle East*. Oxford University Press, 2016.

Jones, Toby, "America, Oil, and War in the Middle East," *Journal of American History* 99 (1), 2012, pp. 208-218.

Khalidi, Rashid, Ch. 2 and 3, *Resurrecting Empire: Western Footprints and America’s Perilous Path in the Middle East*, Beacon Press, 2004.

Mitchell, Timothy, "McJihad: Islam in the U.S. Global Order," *Social Text* 73 (20), 2002: 1-18.

Qureshi, Emran and Michael A. Sells (eds), "Introduction" in *The New Crusades: Constructing the Muslim Enemy*, Columbia, 2003.

Zahlan, Rosemarie Said, "Chapter 10: The International Setting", *The Making of the Modern Gulf States: Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Oman*, Ithaca Press, 1998.

## **Week 9. The Environment, Politics and Resistance**

What is the relationship between conflict, economic policy and environmental crises in the Middle East? Why are autocratic governments increasingly criminalising environmental activism? In what ways can environmentalism be co-opted into neoliberal and neo-colonial agendas?

### **Required Readings:**

Ayeb, Habib and Ray Bush, “War, Economic Reform and Environmental Crisis” in *Food Insecurity and Revolution in the Middle East and North Africa: Agrarian Questions in Egypt and Tunisia*, Anthem Press, 2019, pp. 27 – 47.

Batmanghelidj, Esfandyar, “Water and Conflict in Iran”, *LobeLog*, 26 January 2018.

Knudsen, Ståle, “Protests Against Energy Projects in Turkey: Environmental Activism Above Politics?”, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 43 (3), 2016, pp. 302-323.

### **Suggested Readings:**

Afrasiabi, Kaveh L., “The Environmental Movement in Iran: Perspectives from below and Above.” *Middle East Journal* 57 (3), 2003, pp. 432–48.

Barnes, Jessica, “Water in the Middle East: A Primer”, *Middle East Report Online*, September 2020.

Barnes, Jessica, “Overstating Climate Change in Egypt’s Uprising”, *Middle East Report Online*, 1 October 2018.

Bodetti, Austin, “How Water Scarcity Is Destroying Gaza”, *LobeLog*, 1 August 2019.

Davis, Diana K., “Neoliberalism, environmentalism, and agricultural restructuring in Morocco”, *Geographical Journal* 172 (2), 2006, pp. 88 – 105.

Eraydın, Ayda and Tuna Taşan-Kok, “State Response to Contemporary Urban Movements in Turkey: A Critical Overview of State Entrepreneurialism and Authoritarian Interventions”, *Antipode* 46 (1), 2013, pp. 110–129.

Selby, Jan, “Administering Water Under Oslo”, in *Water, Power and Politics in the Middle East: The Other Israel-Palestine Conflict*, IB Tauris, 2003, pp. 148-170.

Sowers, Jeannie, “Environmental Activism in the Middle East and North Africa”, in Harry Verhoeven (ed), *Environmental Politics in the Middle East*, Oxford University Press, 2018.

Werrell, Caitlin E. and Francesco Femia (eds), “The Arab Spring and Climate Change”, *Center for American Progress*, February 2013.

### **Week 10. The Middle East after the Arab Uprisings**

What were the common and divergent grievances and strategies observable across cases in the Arab uprisings, and what explains these? In what ways do the events associated with the Arab Uprisings challenge and/or reinforce the analytical concepts and theories traditionally used to explain the politics of the region?

### **Required Reading:**

Aarts, Paul and Mouin Rabbani, "A Decade of Arab Upheaval: Neither Exuberance Nor Cynicism", [Jadaliyya](#), 16 May 2021.

Al-Rasheed, Madawi, "Sectarianism as counter-revolution: Saudi responses to the Arab Spring", *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 11 (3), 2011, pp. 513-526.

Gause III, F. Gregory. "Why Middle East Studies missed the Arab spring: The myth of authoritarian stability." *Foreign Affairs*, 2011, pp. 81-90.

### **Suggested Readings:**

Akkoyunlu, Karabekir and Kerem Öktem, "Existential insecurity and the making of a weak authoritarian regime in Turkey", *Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 16 (4), 2016, pp. 505 – 527.

Al-Shehabi, Omar, "Political Movements in Bahrain Across the Long Twentieth Century (1900–2015)", in Amal Ghazal and Jens Hanssen (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Contemporary Middle Eastern and North African History*, Oxford University Press, 2017.

Anderson, Lisa, "Demystifying the Arab spring: parsing the differences between Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya." *Foreign Affairs*, 2011, pp. 2-7.

Ayeb, Habib and Ray Bush, "The Agrarian Origins of Regime Change" in *Food Insecurity and Revolution in the Middle East and North Africa: Agrarian Questions in Egypt and Tunisia*, Anthem Press, 2019, pp. 49 – 75.

Beinin, Joel, and Frédéric Vairel (eds), *Social movements, mobilization, and contestation in the Middle East and North Africa*. Stanford University Press, 2013.

Chalcraft, John, *Popular politics in the making of the modern Middle East*, Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Daghabheleh, Aghil and Zakia Salime, "A 'Blue' Generation and Protests in Iran", *Middle East Report Online*, 22 January 2018.

Esber, Paul Maurice, "Understating the Logic of Regime Survival? Conceptualizing State– Society Relations and Parliamentary Liberation in Post-2011 Jordan." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* (2016): 1-18.

Fawcett, Louis. "States and sovereignty in the Middle East: myths and realities." *International Affairs* 93 (4), 2017, pp. 789–807.

Hermez, Sami, "On dignity and clientelism: Lebanon in the context of the 2011 Arab Revolutions", *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 11(3), 2011, pp. 527-537.

Hertog, Steffen, "State and private sector in the GCC after the Arab uprisings", *Journal of Arabian Studies* 3 (2), 2013, pp. 174-195.

Sadiki, Larbi, "The Arab Spring: The people in International Relations" in Louis Fawcett (ed) *International Relations of the Middle East*. Oxford University Press, 2016.

Mullin, Corinna, *Tunisia's Revolution and the Domestic-International Nexus.*" *Routledge Handbook of the*

*Arab Spring*. Routledge, 2015.

Ryan, Curtis R, "Identity politics, reform, and protest in Jordan", *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 11 (3), 2011, pp. 564-578.

Tripp, Charles. *The Power and the People: Paths of resistance in the Middle East*, Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Volpi, Frédéric and Ewan Stein, "Islamism and the state after the Arab uprisings: Between people power and state power." *Democratization* 22 (2), 2015, pp. 276-293.

Ismail, Salwa, 'Urban Subalterns in the Arab Revolutions: Cairo and Damascus in Comparative Perspective', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 2013, 55(4), pp. 865-894.

Dahi, Omar S., "Understanding the Political Economy of the Arab Revolts," *Middle East Report* 259 (Summer 2011).

Wearing, David, "Chapter 6: The Arab Uprisings and the War in Yemen", in *Anglo-Arabia: Why Gulf Wealth Matters to Britain*, Polity Press 2018

Zemni, Sami, Brecht De Smet and Koenraad Bogaert, "Luxemburg on Tahrir Square: Reading the Arab Revolutions with Rosa Luxemburg's The Mass Strike." *Antipode* 45:4 (2012) pp. 888–907.

### **Week 11. Revision and Reflections**

This will be a week looking back over the module, picking up central themes and illustrative cases, and help you prepare for the final essay.