

## MSc/MA course

# STATE AND TRANSFORMATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

[Half unit course] 15 PPOH 011 (2023)

**Course Convener and Tutorial Leader:**  
**Dr. Karabekir Akkoyunlu ([ka54@soas.ac.uk](mailto:ka54@soas.ac.uk))**

### Course Description

Using a comparative approach and regional focus this module examines the key theoretical concepts and issues surrounding state formation, state building and state-society relations in the Middle East. It will introduce students to the main theoretical debates relevant to the understanding of the state as a distinctive organisation of power. Topics to be discussed include: regime types and the durability of authoritarianism, state failure and foreign intervention, military tutelage and deep state structures, leading to contemporary debates about the state in the Middle East post-Arab uprisings.

The course is taught through a **weekly in-person lecture (Thursday 1pm, B104) that will also be subsequently posted on the BLE page and a 1-hour weekly in-person tutorial for smaller groups that will be held on the following Tuesday**. The lecture will examine the major analytical theme and the seminar will be devoted to the discussion of that theme in the light the course readings. Students will be expected to take an active part in the discussions.

### Course aims and objectives

The aim of this course is to provide students taking MSc degrees in Politics and the MA in Near and Middle Eastern Studies (Politics majors) with an understanding of the major political processes and structures shaping political developments in the contemporary Middle East. Students who take the course will be expected to develop advanced analytical skills of relevance to understanding complex political situations and critical engagement with the discipline. In addition to developing their skills of critical analysis, students who complete the course will be able to demonstrate a clear understanding of the political dynamics of most of the major states in the Middle East.

### Assessment

1. **Essay:** Students will be expected to submit one review essay (**60% of grade**) for this half-unit, on a subject of your choice related to the module's key theoretical themes. The essay should be no longer than 2500 words to be submitted by Monday **8 January 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.
2. **Exam:** Students will sit a 2-hour exam in summer term answering two questions out of eight (**40% of the grade**).

## General Reading List and References

This list is intended to indicate some important central texts you should familiarise yourself with throughout the course. In the resources section you will find a number of further important websites and journals. Readings specifically tailored to each seminar are listed below.

Anderson, Betty S. *A History of the Modern Middle East: Rulers, Rebels, and Rogues*. Stanford University Press, 2016.

Cleveland, William L., and Martin Bunton. *A history of the modern Middle East*. Hachette UK, 2016.

Fawcett, Louise (ed.) *International Relations of the Middle East*, OUP, 2019.

Owen, Roger. *State Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*. Routledge, 2002.

Students are also encouraged to follow these online sources for analyses, podcasts and opinions: [al-monitor.com](http://al-monitor.com), [jadaliyya.com](http://jadaliyya.com), [merip.org](http://merip.org), [carnegieendowment.org/sada/](http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/), [ottomanhistorypodcast.com](http://ottomanhistorypodcast.com).

## Module Topics

1. Introduction: The state of the field
2. Empire, Colonialism and the Nation-State
3. Debating the 'Democratic Deficit' in the Middle East
4. The Military and the 'Deep State'
5. State power, neoliberalism and accountability
6. *Reading Week*
7. The rentier state and its implications
8. Failed states and foreign intervention
9. Statelessness and its discontents
10. The state and gender
11. Rethinking state-society relations after the Arab Uprisings

## Class Schedule and Readings:

### 1. Introduction: The state of the field

**Seminar Question:** *What, if anything, would you regard as distinctive about the state and the study of the state in the Middle East and North Africa?*

### Required readings

Davis, Eric. "10 Conceptual Sins in Analyzing Middle East Politics", [The New Middle East Blog](http://thenewmiddleeastblog.com), 28 January 2009.

Migdal, Joel. "The State-in-Society Approach" in *State in Society: Studying How States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another*. Cambridge UP, 2004, pp. 3 - 38.

## Recommended readings

Abozeid, Ahmed. "Re-reading Ibn-Khaldun in the 21st Century: Traveling Theory and the Question of Authority, Legitimacy, and State Violence in the Modern Arab World." *Arab Studies Quarterly* 43: 2 (2021) pp. 146-171.

Bourdieu, Pierre, and Samar Farage. "Rethinking the state: Genesis and structure of the bureaucratic field." *Sociological theory* 12:1 (1994) pp.1-18.

Carapico, Sheila. "Arabia Incognita: An Invitation to Arabian Peninsula Studies." In *Counter-Narratives: History, Contemporary Society, and Politics in Saudi Arabia and Yemen* (eds) Madawi Al-Rasheed and Robert Vitalis. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002: 11-34.

Mitchell, Timothy. "The limits of the state: Beyond statist approaches and their critics." *American political science review* 85: 1 (1991) pp. 77-96.

Ollman, Bertell. "What Is Political Science? What Should It Be?" *New Politics Science* 22:4 (2000), pp. 553-562.

Skocpol, Theda. "Introduction. Bringing the State Back in: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research" in Evans, P., Reuschmeyer, D. and Skocpol, T. (eds) *Bringing the State Back in*. Cambridge University Press, 1985, pp. 3 – 43.

Vu, Tuong. "Studying the state through state formation." *World Politics* 62, no. 1(2010): 148-175.

## Recommended Media

"Bernard Lewis and Leon Wieseltier vs. Edward Said and Christopher Hitchens", 1986 MESA Debate, [Youtube](#), 26 May 2018.

## 2. Empire, Colonialism and the Nation-State

**Seminar Question:** *In what ways did Ottoman and European imperialisms differ, and what are the impact and legacies of both on Middle East states?*

### Required Readings

Rogan, Eugene. "The Emergence of the Middle East into the Modern State System", in Fawcett. *International Relations of the Middle East* (Chapter 3).

Keiser, Hans-Lukas et al. "Introduction", *World War I and the End of the Ottoman Empire*, I.B. Tauris, 2015, pp. 1 – 18.

Fanon, Frantz. *The wretched of the earth*. Vol. 36. New York: Grove Press, 1963 (Chapter 3).

### Recommended Readings

Anderson, Lisa. *The State and Social Transformation in Tunisia and Libya, 1820- 1980*, Princeton University Press, 1998.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage, 1987, "Introduction", pp. 1-28.

Fahmy, Khaled. *All The Pasha's Men: Mehmed Ali, His Army and the Making of Modern Egypt*. Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Lockman, Zachary. *Contending visions of the Middle East: the history and politics of Orientalism*. Vol. 3. Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp. 182-241.

Owen, Roger. *State, power and politics in the making of the modern Middle East*. Routledge, 2013, pp. 5-23.

Lawrence, Adria. *Imperial rule and the politics of nationalism: Anti-colonial protest in the French empire*. Cambridge University Press, 2013. Chapters 2.

Kebede, Messay. "The rehabilitation of violence and the violence of rehabilitation: Fanon and colonialism." *Journal of black studies* 31, no. 5 (2001): 539-562.

Lazarus, Neil. "Disavowing decolonization: Fanon, nationalism, and the problematic of representation in current theories of colonial discourse." *Research in African Literatures* 24, no. 4 (1993): 69-98.

Mitchell, Timothy. *Colonising Egypt: With a new preface*. Univ of California Press, 1991.

Massad, Joseph A. *Colonial effects: The making of national identity in Jordan*. Columbia University Press, 2012.

## **Recommended Media**

"The Birth of Nations – Middle East", [BBC Four Documentary](#), 2011.

### **3. The 'Democratic Deficit' in the Middle East**

**Seminar Question:** *What factor(s) best explain the persistence of authoritarian structures in the Middle East? Is the region exceptional in this regard?*

#### **Required readings**

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

Hinnebusch, Raymond. "Authoritarian persistence, democratization theory and the Middle East: An overview and critique", *Democratization* 13, no. 3 (2006): 373-395

#### **Recommended readings**

Ayubi, Nazih. "Over-Stating the Arab State: Politics and Society in the Arab World." (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, no. 4 (2004): 371-392.

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

Bellin, Eva, "A Modest Transformation: Political Change in the Arab World After the 'Arab Spring'", in Clement Henry & Jang Ji-Hyang (eds.) *The Arab Spring: Will It Lead to Democratic Transitions?*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, pp. 33-48.

Diamond, Larry. "Why are there no Arab democracies?." *Journal of democracy* 21, no. 1 (2010): 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, no.1 (2004): 103-119.

M. Tahir Kilavuz & Nathanael Gratias Sumaktoyo, "Hopes and Disappointments: Regime Change and Support for Democracy After the Arab Spring", *Democratization* 27:5 (2020), pp. 854-873.

Norton, Augustus. "The Puzzle of Political Reform in the Middle East" in Fawcett. *International Relations of the Middle East* (Chapter 7).

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): 337-354.

King, S. 'Sustaining Authoritarianism in the Middle East and North Africa', *Political Science Quarterly*, 122:30 [2007] pp. 433-459

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." *Democracy without democrats* (1994): 23-47.

#### **4. The Military and the 'Deep State'**

**Seminar question:** *To what extent do military establishments continue to dominate state structures in the Middle East? Are there differences between them?*

## Required readings

O'Neil, Patrick H. "The Deep State: An Emerging Concept in Comparative Politics." *SSRN Working Paper Series*. 20 November 2017.

Safshekan, Roozbeh and Farzan Sabet. "The Ayatollah's Praetorians: The Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps and the 2009 Election Crisis." *Middle East Journal* 64:10 (2010) pp. 543 – 558.

Abul-Magd, Zeinab, İsmet Akça, and Shana Marshall. "Two Paths to Dominance: Military Businesses in Turkey and Egypt", [\*Carnegie Middle East Center\*](#), June 2020.

## Recommended readings

Baykan, Toygar Sinan, Yaprak Gürsoy and Pierre Ostiguy. "Anti-populist coups d'état in the twenty-first century: reasons, dynamics and consequences." *Third World Quarterly* 42:4 (2021) pp. 793-811.

Dodge, Toby. "Iraq's road back to dictatorship." *Survival* 54, no. 3 (2012): 147-168.

Heper, Metin, and E. Fuat Keyman. "Double-faced state: political patronage and the consolidation of democracy in Turkey." *Middle Eastern Studies* 34: 4 (1998): 259 - 277.

Kandil, Hazem. *Soldiers, spies, and statesmen: Egypt's road to revolt*. Verso Books, 2012.

Migdal, Joel S. *Strong societies and weak states: state-society relations and statecapabilities in the Third World*. Princeton University Press, 1988.

Mouawad, Jamil, and Hannes Baumann. "Wayn al-dawla?: locating the Lebanese state in social theory." *Arab studies journal* 25: 1 (2017) pp. 66-91.

Newbury, Colin Walter. *Patrons, clients, and empire: chieftaincy and over-rule in Asia, Africa, and the Pacific*. Oxford University Press, 2003.

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

Salibi, Kamal Salibi. *A House of Many Mansions: The History of Lebanon Reconsidered*. I.B. Tauris, 2005.

Sayigh, Yezid. "Egypt's Military as the Spearhead of State Capitalism." *Carnegie Endowment*. 26 October 2020.

Shah, Aqil. "Pakistan: Voting Under Military Tutelage." *Journal of Democracy* 30:1 (2019) pp. 128–142.

## 5. State power, neoliberalism and accountability

**Seminar Question:** *In what ways have neoliberal policies (re)shaped state-society relations across the Middle East?*

## 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.

## Recommended Reading

Fine, Ben and Alfredo Saad-Filho. "Thirteen things you need to know about neoliberalism." *Critical Sociology* 43: 4-5 (2017) pp. 685-706.

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

Borsuk, Imren, Pinar Dinc, Sinem Kavak and Pinar Sayan. "Consolidating and Contesting Authoritarian Neoliberalism in Turkey: Towards a Framework" in *Authoritarian Neoliberalism and Resistance in Turkey*, Springer, 2021, pp. 11 – 59. (chapter available open access at: [https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-981-16-4213-5\\_2](https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-981-16-4213-5_2))

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

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.

## 6. Reading Week

### 7. The rentier state and its implications

**Seminar question:** *How useful analytically is the concept of the 'rentier state' in seeking to explain state-society relations in the oil producing states of the Middle East and North Africa?*

## 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.

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

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.

## Recommended readings

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

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 total of seven articles]

## 8. State Failure and Foreign Intervention

**Seminar Question:** *Why and how do states fail or collapse? What are the political implications of the 'failed state' label? What is the relationship between state failure and foreign intervention in the Middle East?*



## Required Readings

Call, Charles T. "The Fallacy of the 'Failed State'". *Third World Quarterly* 29, no. 8, 2008, pp. 1491-1507.

Kliot, N. "The Collapse of the Lebanese State". *Middle Eastern Studies* 23, no. 1, 1987, pp. 54-74.

McCullough, Aoife. "Statebuilding failed in Afghanistan but why do we continue to believe that it can succeed?", [LSE International Development Blog](#), 7 October 2021.

## Recommended Readings

Bilgin, Pinar and Adam David Morton. "Historicising representations of 'failed states': Beyond the cold-war annexation of the social sciences?" *Third World Quarterly* 23, no.1, 2010, pp. 55-80.

Camacoza, I. "Libya: When Foreign Intervention Turns a Stable Nation into a Failed State". Figueroa, A.M. (Ed.) *The Impact of Foreign Interventions on Democracy and Human Rights*, Emerald Publishing, 2022, pp. 55-78.

Hamourtziadou, Lily. "From invasion to failed state: Iraq's democratic disillusionment", [Open Democracy](#), 23 July 2021.

Hill, Jonathan. "Beyond the Other? A postcolonial critique of the failed state thesis", *African Identities* 3, no. 2, 2005, pp. 139 – 154

Huntington, Samuel. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1968.

Migdal, Joel S. *Strong Societies and Weak States*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990.

Robinson, K. "Is Lebanon a Failed State? Here's What the Numbers Say". [Council on Foreign Relations](#). 16 September 2020.

Rubin, Barnett R. *The Fragmentation of Afghanistan: State Formation and Collapse in the International System*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002.

Xypolia, Iliia. 'From the White Man's Burden to the Responsible Saviour: Justifying Humanitarian Intervention in Libya', *Middle East Critique* 31, no 1., 2022, p. 1-19.

## 9. Statelessness and its discontents

**Seminar question:** *How has statelessness affected the evolution of modern Kurdish and Palestinian identities?*

### Required Reading

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.

### **Recommended Reading**

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): 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", [MERIP](#), no. 295, Summer 2005.

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.

## **10. The state and gender**

**Seminar question:** *In what ways does the state shape and continue to influence gender relations in MENA?*

### **Required Readings**

Kandiyoti, Deniz, "Locating the politics of gender: Patriarchy, neo-liberal governance and violence in Turkey", *Research and Policy on Turkey*, 1: 2, 2016, pp. 103 – 118.

Sukarieh, Maysoun. "The First Lady Phenomenon: Elites, States, and the Contradictory Politics of Women's Empowerment in the Neoliberal Arab World." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 35, no. 32015, pp. 575-587.

### **Recommended Readings**

Abu-Lughod, Lila, ed. *Remaking women: Feminism and modernity in the Middle East*. Princeton University Press, 1998.

Al-Rasheed, Madawi. *A most masculine state: Gender, politics and religion in Saudi Arabia*. Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Dalacoura, Katerina. "Homosexuality as cultural battleground in the Middle East: culture and postcolonial international theory." *Third World Quarterly* 35, no. 7, 2014, pp. 1290-1306.

Doumani, Beshara, ed. *Family history in the Middle East: Household, property, and gender*. SUNY Press, 2012.

Hasso, Frances. *Consuming Desires: Family Crisis and the State in the Middle East*. Stanford University Press, 2010.

Hatem, Mervat F. "In the Shadow of the State: Changing Definitions of Arab Women's Developmental Citizenship Rights." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 1: 3 (2005), pp. 20-45.

Kandiyoti, Deniz (ed) *Women, Islam and the state*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991.

Schwedler, Jillian. "The third gender: Western female researchers in the Middle East." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 39: 3 (2006), pp. 425-428.

Zubaida, Sami, "Women, democracy and dictatorship", [Open Democracy](#), 15 February 2012.

## 11. The state after the Arab uprisings

**Seminar question:** *In what ways did the Arab uprisings challenge established theoretical understandings of the state in the Middle East?*

### Required readings

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.

### Recommended 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.

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

Bellin, Eva, "A Modest Transformation: Political Change in the Arab World After the 'Arab Spring'", in Clement Henry & Jang Ji-Hyang (eds.) *The Arab Spring: Will It Lead to Democratic Transitions?*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, pp. 33-48.

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.

Erakat, Noura and Zachary Lockman, Maha Nassar, Ilana Feldman. "50 Years of Occupation Forum" In *Middle East Research and Information Project*, 2017.

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.

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.

M. Tahir Kilavuz & Nathanael Gratiás Sumaktoyo, "Hopes and Disappointments: Regime Change and Support for Democracy After the Arab Spring", *Democratization* 27:5 (2020), pp. 854-873.

Sadiki, Larbi. "The Arab Spring: The people in International Relations" in Louise Fawcett (ed) *International Relations of the Middle East*. Oxford University Press, 2019.

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.

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.